975.9
N15e
v.1
2000283

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 1833 02299 5556

THE EAST COAST
OF FLORIDA

A HISTORY

1500-1961

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
DR. ELLWOOD C. NANCE

ASSOCIATE EDITOR AND DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH
HELEN NANCE

[illegible]
DR. J. E. DOVELL
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
CONGRESSMAN CHARLES E. BENNETT

[illegible]
[illegible]

VOLUME I

THE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL PUBLISHING COMPANY
DELRAY BEACH, FLORIDA
1962

4092

THE EAST COAST OF FLORIDA

A HISTORY

1500-1961

EDITOR - AUTHOR
DR. ELLWOOD C. NANCE

ASSOCIATE EDITOR AND DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH
HELEN NANCE

CO-AUTHORS
DR. J. E. DOVELL
MRS. ADA COATS WILLIAMS
MRS. RUBY LEACH CARSON
MRS. IANTHE BOND HEBEL
CONGRESSMAN CHARLES E. BENNETT

THREE VOLUMES
Illustrated

v.1

Volume I

THE SOUTHERN PUBLISHING COMPANY
Delray Beach, Florida
1962

78 7310 9

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY
OF
FORT WAYNE & ALLEN CO., IND.

2000283

Copyright 1962 by The Southern Publishing Company
Delray Beach, Florida

Manufactured in the United States of America
Printed by the Benson Printing Co.
Nashville, Tennessee

A SALUTE TO THE PUBLISHER

DESERVED APPRECIATION HAS been recorded elsewhere in this work in recognition of services rendered by many good people who have contributed, in one way or another, to the production of "The East Coast of Florida". It is the considered opinion of the editor that the readers of this and future generations will feel grateful to the publisher who made possible the publication of this important work. To publish a history of the scope, length and quality of "The East Coast of Florida" requires sincere interest in the area, an understanding of the need and foresight, patience and courage—plus organizational ability and experience. Robert R. Towne, President of The Southern Publishing Company, has all these qualities with emphasis on "experience". He has been actively identified with the publication and distribution of nearly fifty histories over a period of forty years.

Our thanks to Robert Towne for his best achievement yet — the publishing of "The East Coast of Florida".

E. C. NANCE, Editor

ADVISORY BOARD

Thomas D. Bailey
Charles E. Bennett
Mrs. Ruby Leach Carson
Miss Lena Clarke
Harold Colee
Henry C. Coleman
LeRoy Collins
W. J. Cozens
Richard P. Daniel
Duane A. Deen
Dr. J. E. Dovell
Joe Eaton
Dr. J. Ollie Edmunds
Mrs. Jane Fisher
Roy E. Garnett
E. W. Gautier
J. Lewis Hall
Olan T. Hamilton
Dr. A. J. Hanna
Dr. Kathryn A. Hanna
Charles G. Hays
Mrs. John E. Hebel
Robert King High
Henry H. Hudson
Charley E. Johns
Dr. Franklyn A. Johnson
Art Keil
Comer J. Kimball
Judge James R. Knott
H. D. Lohman
Raymond R. Lord
Rt. Rev. Henry I. Louttit
Charles C. Mathis, Jr.
John Moore McCarty
E. L. McMorrough
Mrs. C. L. Menser
H. V. Nye
Verle A. Pope
Paul G. Rogers
Tinsley W. Rucker
John V. Russell
James A. Ryder
William P. Simmons
Sister Mary Alice, O.P.
Rabbi Morris A. Skop
George A. Smathers
Henry C. Smith
Dena Snodgrass
Jack Stein
Douglas Stenstrom
Mr. and Mrs. Wm. H. Stubblefield
Ed. F. Stumpf
Carl S. Swisher
Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau
Judge George W. Tedder
George W. Tedder, Jr.
Harold R. Vann
S. E. Warner
J. E. Weatherford
Mrs. Ada Coats Williams
Robert H. Wingfield
C. J. Yates

GRATITUDE FOR COOPERATION AND ASSISTANCE

MY GRATITUDE AND appreciation are recorded here for helpful suggestions and assistance of friends and co-workers:

My devoted wife, Helen, Director of Research, deserves major credit for visiting libraries for research purposes, reading manuscripts, wise advice, and general supervision of work in my study during my frequent periods of lassitude and cardiac illness.

Mrs. Cameron Beard devoted more than a year to this work in efficient secretarial work—typing hundreds of letters and more than two hundred thousand words of manuscript, visiting State Offices and libraries and doing some of the research.

I am grateful to the Florida State Governmental Offices and Officers for information and helpful suggestions.

My burden was greatly lightened by the cooperation of Florida's local Historical Societies, Chambers of Commerce, Newspapers, Public, State and Private University Librarians . . . particularly the Librarians of the University of Tampa, the Public Libraries of Jacksonville, Miami and the Florida Historical Society.

I owe special gratitude to my Co-Authors Mrs. Ada Coats Williams, Mrs. Ruby Leach Carson, Mrs. John E. Hebel, Miss Lena Clarke, Congressman Charles Bennett and Dr. J. E. Dovell, who also served on our Advisory Board.

For wise suggestions, materials or other assistance, I am indebted to the following members of our Advisory Board: The Right Reverend Henry I. Louttit, Bishop of the Diocese of South Florida; Mrs. Jane Fisher, author of the *The Fabulous Hoosier,* a book about her famous husband, the late Carl Fisher; the Honorable James R. Knott, President of the Palm Beach County Historical Society; the Honorable J. E. Weatherford, Judge of Nassau County; Miss Dena Snodgrass; Harold Colee, Executive Vice-President of the Florida State Chamber of Commerce; Rabbi Morris Skop; Dr. Franklyn Johnson; Judge Duane A. Deen; Thomas D. Bailey; Harry Simonhoff, and H. D. Lohman. Further information about these Advisors will be found elsewhere in this work.

Thanks to my daughter, Mrs. Avron Bryan, and to my son John for assistance and also to Mrs. Corita Love, Miss Lillian White, Mrs. Lillian Wood, Ben Wood and Ernest C. Dalrymple of the staff.

Other recognitions are recorded in the texts or chapter notes of this work . . . and in the preface to volume two.

PREFACE TO VOLUME I

THE EDITOR-AUTHOR of THE EAST COAST OF FLORIDA has endeavored to enhance the authenticity of this history by selecting a staff of experienced co-authors who have done painstaking research in preparing their contributions for this work. Each of the co-authors was an established author in his or her own rights before joining our staff . . . and each chapter appears under the name of the person who wrote it. Such a cooperative effort in authorship naturally produces variety in style and method of approach but it breaks the monotony of uniformity and gives the reader the feeling that he is not being exposed "to one man's opinion" but, on the contrary, to the scholarship of many dedicated historians.

The major emphasis of Volume One is focused on THE EAST COAST OF FLORIDA, but to write the history of any section of Florida, particularly such an important section as the East Coast, where Florida's history begins, would be impossible without relating it to the general history of the state. All of Volume Two of this work, which is devoted to the histories of our churches, schools, fraternal, civic, cultural and other long established organizations, is state-wide in scope.

In this first volume of THE EAST COAST OF FLORIDA our authors begin at the fountain head of Florida history, the northern section of the East Coast of Florida. They unfold for their readers the exciting and dramatic progress of the state: the discovery in 1513, the periods of settlement and colonialism, territorial status, statehood, secession from the Union, the Civil War, reconstruction, return to statehood and entry into a period of development which has not ended in this year of 1960. This year finds the present-day leaders of Florida preparing for the celebration of her Quadricentennial in 1965. The event will mark four hundred years of history which has been enriched, and sometimes exploited, by the Spanish, English, French, North Americans of many racial backgrounds, and citizens from all the European nations.

Catholic, Protestant and Jew; white men and black men . . . all have brought their gifts of heart, head and hand to this semi-tropical state of sun, sand and sea where the common man and the giant have given good account of their stewardship.

The authors of THE EAST COAST OF FLORIDA have excluded a considerable amount of material adequately covered by other Florida historians. They had two reasons for doing this: (1) To avoid tiresome repetition and (2) to reserve space for new materials heretofore not published . . . particularly the new materials included in the county histories.

The County Histories

While the authors have not ignored the wars and political parties these phases of our history, important as they may seem to some people, have not been underscored in boldfaced type, out of proportion to their significance. We have been more keenly interested in how the minds of pioneers and modern citizens operated and expanded in the realm of the spirit and mind.

The individual histories of the thirteen counties adjoining the Atlantic ocean, included in the first volume of THE EAST COAST OF FLORIDA, recover and record a great amount of local original pioneer and modern history which has never appeared in a general history of our state. In these county histories our readers will be introduced to men and women whose contributions to the spiritual and material progress of Florida have been overlooked or neglected . . . until now. These county histories are rich in pioneer human interest stories, in the beginnings

of churches, schools, industries and many other organizations and institutions which are vital in the lives of modern citizens who enjoy and profit by this rich heritage. The authors consider these county histories and the organizational histories of Volume Two the most important features of this work.

Importance of The Index

The authors and the publisher of THE EAST COAST OF FLORIDA have agreed that such a work as this should be adequately indexed in such a manner that the lay reader, the student and the scholar will be able to find a name or a subject with minimum effort. Subjects which some readers might judge worthy of special chapter treatment may be covered in this work, but in different contexts and in different time periods; hence the importance of the index. For example, this work does not have a separate chapter on Henry Flagler or Carl Fisher, two outstanding pioneer builders, but Flagler's name and a record of his deeds appear in many of the county histories, in the general history and especially in the history of St. Augustine. Carl Fisher's great contribution to the development of lower East Coast Florida is recorded in the History of Dade County. The same may be said of the histories of Florida Banking, Florida Railroads and other movements and institutions. What is not found in the index to Volume One may be found in the index to Volume Two.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	*Title*	*Page*
I	The Old World Prelude to the Discovery of the American Continent . . . . By Dr. E. C. Nance	1
II	Discovery and Exploration . . . . By Dr. J. E. Dovell	3
III	Fort Caroline, Cradle of American Freedom . . . . By The Hon. Charles E. Bennett, Congressman	8
IV	The First Spanish Period . . . . By Dr. J. E. Dovell	16
V	The British Period . . . . By Dr. J. E. Dovell	30
VI	The Second Spanish Period . . . . By Dr. J. E. Dovell	44
VII	The East Florida Rebellion—American Territory . . . . By Dr. J. E. Dovell	55
VIII	Indian War on the East Coast . . . . By Dr. J. E. Dovell	65
IX	The Movement for Statehood . . . . By Dr. J. E. Dovell	80
X	Life and Labor: 1821-1845 . . . . By Dr. J. E. Dovell	95
XI	Florida Leaves the Union . . . . By Dr. E. C. Nance	109
XII	Florida in the Civil War . . . . By Dr. E. C. Nance	114
XIII	Post War Reconstruction . . . . By Dr. E. C. Nance	121
XIV	From Reconstruction to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century . . . . By Ruby Leach Carson	136
XV	The Origin and Growth of Florida's East Coast Counties . . . . By Dr. E. C. Nance	151
XVI	Nassau County . . . Introduction by Dr. E. C. Nance to History Compiled by Workers of Writers' Program of the W.P.A. in Florida	156
XVII	Duval County . . . . By Ruby Leach Carson	175
XVIII	St. Johns County and St. Augustine . . . . By Dr. E. C. Nance	203
XIX	Flagler County . By Charles Waterman (from Suntime Magazine)	216
XX	Volusia County . . . . By Ianthe Bond Hebel	222
XXI	Brevard County . . . . By Ada Coats Williams	256
XXII	Indian River County . . . . By Ada Coats Williams	270
XXIII	St. Lucie County . . . . By Ada Coats Williams	282
XXIV	Martin County . . . . By Ada Coats Williams	301
XXV	Palm Beach County . . . . By Ada Coats Williams	313
XXVI	Broward County . . . . By Ada Coats Williams	333
XXVII	Dade County . . . . By Ruby Leach Carson	343
XXVIII	Monroe County . . . . By the Florida State Department of Agriculture and Bill Ackerman	372
	Selective Bibliography	381

CHAPTER I

THE OLD WORLD PRELUDE TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT

By Dr. E. C. Nance

MOST HISTORIANS MARK the 15th century as the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern history.

"For a long time European society had been dominated by the old forces of localism under which the feudal system had evolved and flourished. The most striking feature of the age was its individualization of everything pertaining to the political and social life of a man. The energies of society were so greatly distributed as to have no considerable working force in the direction of progress. The powers of the peoples and nations of Europe were as liberated steam floating in thin clouds or falling as mere mist in local showers. The general was wanting; the individual was omnipresent and predominant in all parts. As a result, those enterprises requiring an aggregation of force or the backing of the whole mass of society in the form of national authority, lagged or perished. The dreams of philanthropists, of scholars and statesmen, ended with the waking. The actual world was so greatly broken up and distracted as to be unfavorable in the last degree for carrying out the great projects or for demonstrating in any form the higher life of man.

"It was reserved for the Columbian epoch to witness the end of this condition in the greater part of Europe. The age of centralization came, and the struggle began between the progressionists, whose vision had reached somewhat into the future, and the reactionists, who believed that Feudalism was the final political estate of the human race. The clash between these two classes of opinions, these two kinds of activity, resulted in a transformation of society - tedious and painful it may have been, but nevertheless, transformation, in which the old perished and the new arose in its stead."

The above quotation from John Clark Ridpath's "New Complete History of the United States" gives us some idea of the political, religious and social conditions in Europe about the time the great overseas explorations started. We shall not go further into the birth of nations and the differences and unities among them.

The following events explain a part of Ridpath's evaluations of and comments on 15th century Europe and the opening up of the New World, and the discovery of America:

1. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 which resulted in the diffusion of many Greek scholars throughout Western Europe.
2. Magellan's crossing of the Pacific and his crew's circumnavigation of the globe —1521.
3. The Discovery of the American Continent by Christopher Columbus in 1492.
4. Vasco de Gama's trip to India around the Cape of Good Hope in 1497.
5. The invention of the printing press by Henne Gutenberg, about 1438.
6. The invention of the mariner's compass, allegedly invented by the Chinese and said to have been used by the Norwegians as far back as 1266.

Before the compass came into use sailors relied on the astrolabe. With this ancient gadget, the sailor determined the position of a certain star and "thereby

deducted his own position and course on the sea—when the weather was clear."

7. After the astrolabe came the quadrant and sextant, but nothing has served the navigator as faithfully and accurately as the compass.

Thus behind the explorations and discoveries that led first to the discovery, and a little later, to the settlement of this great country of ours were the conditions and inventions set forth in this chapter. The men and nations who promoted these early explorations which resulted in the discovery and settlement of the American Continent, as well as those who participated in these lonely and often dangerous activities, were prompted and persuaded by many motives: some noble, some personal, selfish and greedy, as we shall see in this history of the discovery and settlement of East Coast Florida where the history of the United States begins.

CHAPTER II

DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

By Dr. J. E. Dovell

THE DISCOVERY OF Florida, if credence may be given to historical legends, could have been made many centuries before the birth of Ponce de Leon. Recorded history, however, of the New World begins in the closing years of the fifteenth century when mariners from Portugal, Spain, England and France ventured down the coasts of Africa and finally across the Atlantic Ocean. Following the discovery of land in the New World by Christopher Columbus in 1492, rapid changes were accomplished in Europe and in the western hemisphere. On the basis of discovery and exploration the Spanish established an empire which became the envy of all other countries.

By the end of the fifteenth century, Spain had become a unified nation and was prepared for the opportunity to develop an overseas empire. The Spanish Moors had been defeated and the country united under the crowns of Aragon and Castile. The Inquisition brought further unity through the elimination of all religions save the Roman Catholic. Within twenty years after the first landfall of Columbus Spain had achieved political solidarity, based on conquest and subjugation in Europe and economic independence and wealth gained from the resources of the new overseas dominions.

The voyages of Columbus opened the flood-gates for the adventurers of all Europe. At the outset the Spanish held the lead in making further discoveries and in planting colonies on the islands and along the coasts of the Caribbean Sea. These exploits provided the training for such conquistadors as de Leon, Ayllon, Garay, and Narvaez. Within two decades the small colony left on Hispaniola by Columbus had developed into a community of 1,500 at Santo Domingo. Other towns and villages were settled on the island; mines, plantations, and ranches were employing Carib slaves. Colonies had been established on Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. The enforced labor of the Indians was never completely successful as the supply could not keep up with the demand and countless numbers of the natives died of hard work, poor treatment, and imported diseases. As a result numerous colonists were authorized to recruit laborers on unsettled islands; thus Ponce de Leon departed on a slave-hunting expedition in 1513 during which the Florida peninsula was incidentally discovered.

Columbus and his followers pushed their ships west through the Indies to the mainland of Central and South America. Balboa crossed Panama in the same year that Ponce de Leon sailed around Cape Florida. Each year the explorers widened the known limits of the western hemisphere in search of areas to conquer and to exploit for gold, glory, and God. This was indeed an era of triumph for the European sovereign and for his subjects who were eager to build their own little empires. The Spanish kings developed a system whereby the ambitious adventurers underwrote the expenses of the exploring expeditions in return for titles of nobility and the possible profits of the enterprise. Under such agreements the monarch had little or nothing to lose by the failure of the venture and everything to gain through success.

The knowledge that a new continent, and not India or other parts of Asia,

had been discovered spurred the restive European to increased activity in finding, exploring and conquering in the name of God and king in theory and for personal power and profit in practice. To the Spaniard, the new world was then north and west of Hispaniola to the undiscovered islands and continents beyond the known horizon. Ere long, the Spanish claims included Canada and Spanish explorations penetrated as far north as Virginia. Modern Florida is but a slight appendage of Spanish Florida which was the area that covered most of North America.

The discovery of Florida may have been made by either of the Italian-born navigators Americus Vespucci or John Cabot. Both sailed forth from Europe in 1497 and returned the following year. Cabot sailed southward along the Atlantic Coast from Canada perhaps as far as Florida. Vespucci's voyages were largely made in secrecy and have been involved with similar Portuguese exploits of which there is only meager documentation. The most significant relic was a map drawn by a Lisbon cartographer for Alberto Cantino, envoy of the Duke of Ferrara in Portugal, who transmitted the chart to Rome in 1502. Identification of land on the map resembling Florida has varied from Yucatan to Cuba to Florida, depending upon the point of view of the observer.

No doubt the secrecy attending many voyages resulted from their trespassing in an area of Portugal or Spain as delineated in the papal bulls of Alexander IV in 1493. Subsequent events would tend to prove that mariners had landed on the Florida east coast long before 1513. As early as 1503 a general license had been granted by Spanish officials on Hispaniola to those who wished to search for Indians for sale as slaves. The hostility of the aborigines toward Ponce de Leon and other Europeans gave evidence of previous contacts with the white men. Also, the fact that Ponce had Indian guides who gave him Indian place names of Florida and translated their meaning into Spanish would show earlier contact with Europeans.

None the less, credit for first sighting and landing on Florida belongs to Juan Ponce de Leon who had gone to Hispaniola with Columbus as one of the first colonists. Remaining in the West Indies, Ponce received royal recognition for his conquest of Puerto Rico. He was rewarded with the office of Governor of the island in 1509 but was later relieved of his post on the request of the Governor of Hispaniola, Don Diego Columbus, the son of the famed Christopher Columbus. Having been displaced as Governor of Pureto Rico, Ponce secured a patent to discover and colonize the island of Bimini which rumor held was located north and west of Cuba. As Ponce left no known records of his voyages, the only accounts are found in the general histories of Antonio de Herrera, Peter Martyr, and others. Although there were no original records left by Ponce and the second-hand details supplied by historians are meager, at best, there has been no dearth of descriptive detail from the pens of later writers or modern publicity agents.

Ponce's patent of discovery, the only surviving document of his achievements, authorized the provision of a fleet at his expense and the stipulation that any claims should be colonized in three years. Perhaps he was familiar with legends of springs whose water restored old men to youth, but the part that these legends played is founded entirely on the imagination of those whose narratives were published many years after the events took place. No doubt Ponce de Leon and the other companions and successors of Columbus believed their discoveries were on the outskirts of the fabled lands of Asiatic legends. The fountain of youth remains as a popular expression of the romantic myths which motivated, in part, the discoverors and explorers of the western hemisphere.

The three vessels of Ponce's command sailed from Puerto Rico on March 3, 1513, on a course that passed through the Bahama Islands. On March 14th, they passed San Salvador, where Columbus had first landed, and sighted the east coast of Florida on April 2, near the mouth of the St. Johns River. Herrera wrote later that the ships were "running west-northwest, the water diminishing to nine fathoms,

at one league from land, which was in thirty degrees and eight minutes, they ran along beside the coast seeking harbor, and at night anchored near the land in eight fathoms of water. And believing that this land was an island, they named it La Florida, because it had a very beautiful view of many and cool woodlands, and it was level and uniform: and because, moreover, they had discovered it in the time of the Feast of Flowers, Juan Ponce wished to conform in the name to these two reasons. He went ashore to get information, and take possession. On Friday, the 8th, they set sail, running in the same direction: and Saturday they sailed to the South".

Just where the first landing on the east coast was made will not be decided until a supporting document or record is found. Various decisions, based on the history of Herrera written eighty years later, place the happening somewhat between Fernandina and Miami though the area between the St. Johns River and St. Augustine appears the most likely.

The second landing made by Ponce was below Cape Canaveral where hostile Indians forced a retreat to the Spanish ships. Sailing southward into the Gulf Stream, which amazed him, further landings were made on the islands and shore of Biscayne Bay for water and firewood. The voyage continued along the Florida Keys and to the Tortugas before the course was turned north. In the latter days of May the expedition anchored off the shore of an estuary that may well have been Charlotte Harbor. Ponce lingered on the lower Gulf Coast for two weeks and then returned to the Tortugas. His landings on the Florida coasts were mainly to replenish water and wood supplies and to learn about the aborigines. On the return trip to Puerto Rico the expedition visited the northwestern coast of Cuba and then sailed back along the Florida Keys and through the Bahamas reaching Puerto Rico in September. Ponce recognized the value of the Bahama Channel as an exit from the Gulf of Mexico and the waterway soon became the main route for the treasure fleets from the Caribbean ports to Spain. The later establishment and support of Spanish Florida may be attributed to the desire to protect the advantages of the Bahama Channel to Spanish maritime commerce.

Following his return to Puerto Rico, Ponce embarked for Spain and reported his discoveries to the King. The sovereign rewarded him with another patent to colonize the islands of Bimini and Florida, an expedition that was to be delayed for seven years. In the interim, several Spanish adventurers visited the Florida coast to explore and to trade with the Indians. These expeditions from the West Indies gradually established the fact that Florida was peninsular, rather than insular, in geographic character.

In February, 1521, the second expedition of Ponce de Leon left Puerto Rico for Florida. With a force of some two hundred men the Spanish leader attempted to plant a colony in the neighborhood of Charlotte Harbor, but the Indians attacked the Spaniards and forced them to retire to their ships. Ponce was fatally wounded and died shortly after making port in Cuba. For the next forty years the Florida coast continued in the manner in which Ponce had found the area in 1513. As a result of the discovery of the Bahama Channel and, with that, the charting of the route for ships from the Americas via Havana to Spain the Floridan peninsula served only as a silent guardian. As long as no other nation cast eyes on Florida the Spanish were content to leave the wilderness undisturbed.

The utilization of the Bahama Channel as the homeward route of the treasure ships did result in numerous involuntary landings on the Florida east coast. Evidence of shipwrecks from the wrath of seasonal storms and on the Florida reefs was recorded as early as 1528. Most of the survivors of these wrecks were killed by the natives who became the first Americans to engage in salvage. A few, however, escaped death, and the *Memoir* of Fontaneda is the narrative of one survivor who lived in captivity among the Indians for many years. The failure of the Spanish to settle Florida can be attributed to several reasons: scarcity of precious

metals, Indian hostility, sandy soil, and violent seasonal storms. In view of these things, the favorable conditions in other sections of Latin America were more profitable for development and further efforts to settle the Florida east coast did not pass beyond the planning stage.

The failure of the Spanish in Florida, in the face of their other American successes, to establish settlements on the Atlantic or Gulf coasts brought an order from Philip II in 1561 which stated that there would be no further effort to colonize the peninsula. The decision was made on the recommendations of the survivors of several expeditions as well as the opinion of Pedro Menendez who later established the first permanent settlement at St. Augustine.

In 1562, however, Spanish interest was renewed on the commencement of French activity to plant colonies in the southeastern section of North America. The entrance of France was a threat to the security of the Spanish possessions in the Americas which comprised an empire so valuable that no price was too high to pay for its protection. The possibility of French interference inaugurated a chain of events during which the St. Augustine settlement was begun and was concluded in the warfare between two of the greatest seamen of the period, Jean Jacques Ribault and Pedro Menendez de Aviles.

While the papal bulls of Alexander divided the new world between Spain and Portugal there was no guarantee in the documents against the participation of other European nations in colonial activities in the western hemisphere. Throughout the colonial history of the Americas the Spanish were engaged in defensive warfare to hold their American colonies against the armed forces of France, Portugal, and England, and from all other forces of pirates, freebooters, and adventurers. By 1511 Spanish law prohibited the sale or gift of maps or other information to foreigners but the lure of the wealth of the new world could not be foreclosed to aliens who were willing to risk life and limb for glory and gold.

France in 1560 was in a state of seeming decadence as a result of the civil revolution that was an aftermath of the Protestant Reformation. French leaders believed their problems could be solved in the creation of a colonial empire which would return prestige and income as well as provide new homes for religious dissidents. When Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France and leader of the Huguenots, came into power he embarked on a program of overseas colonial expansion as a means of restoring national prestige and prosperity. Coligny decided to challenge Spanish international supremacy and to find a refuge for the unpopular Protestants. In 1555 he had financed an unsuccessful French expedition to Brazil; in 1562 a new expedition was prepared for the creation of a colony in the Spanish colonial area of North America.

For the leader of the new venture Coligny selected Jean Ribault, Huguenot admiral and diplomat of Dieppe. The French ships under Ribault's command sailed from the port of Havre on February 16 and arrived off the Florida east coast in latitude 29° 30′ on April 30. Ribault named the point, probably in the vicinity of Matanzas Inlet, French Cape, and moved northward to the mouth of the St. Johns River the following day. The river was named May because of the date of its discovery and Ribault described the surroundings as "the fairest, frutefulest and pleasantest of all the worlde, the sight of the faire meadows is a pleasure not able to be expressed with tongue."

Ribault and his men first landed on the northern bank of the St. Johns and there offered a prayer; they were the first Europeans to arrive in what is now the United States. The Frenchmen then crossed to the south side of the river and erected a column as evidence of claiming the area in the name of France. Ribault's forces remained several days near the mouth of the river, in the vicinity of the present Mayport, and then sailed northward along the coast to the region that is now South Carolina. At the Broad River the little fleet entered the harbor of Port Royal, where on May 22, 1562, Ribault planted a second column in honor of the

French king. Here the first French colony was started when thirty volunteers were left to man and defend the settlement. On June 11 the vessels left for France, promising to return within six months with more ships and supplies.

When Ribault reached France the nation was again beset with civil and religious conflicts. During the succeeding months he participated in the fight with his townsmen against the Catholic government, but on the surrender of Dieppe Ribault made his way to England. In May, 1563, he published the accounts of the Florida voyage of the previous year and this led to a meeting with Queen Elizabeth and the promise of her assistance for another expedition to Florida. During this time Ribault's English associates were engaged in intrigue and conspiracy with the result that he was imprisoned on the charge of planning to escape across the English channel.

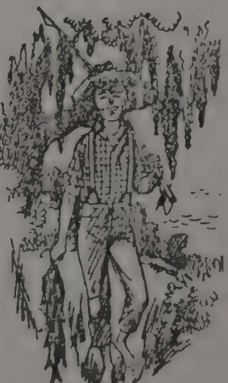
Meanwhile, the group that Ribault had stationed at Fort Royal suffered from a lack of food and other supplies. Believing that they had been deserted, construction was begun on a small ship in which it was hoped they could return to France. On completion of the vessel all of the group save one put out to sea and sailed a long distance before being overtaken and rescued by the crew of an English ship.

When news of Ribault's venture reached Philip II of Spain a protest was made to the French government against this threat to Spanish trade and territory. In 1563, the Spanish king ordered the government of Cuba to obtain information on the French settlement, to seize any inhabitants, and to destroy any fortifications or markers bearing the arms of France. In May, 1564, a ship under the command of Manrique de Rojas left Havana to carry out Philip's assignment. Manrique sailed along the Florida east coast and made numerous landings from the vicinity of New Smyrna Beach to Port Royal. In conferences with the Indians he learned of Ribault's visit to the St. Johns River and of the group at Port Royal. By June 11, Manrique had reached the neighborhood where Ribault had left the group of French soldiers and on the following day located William Rouffi, who had remained with the local Indians rather than risk his life in the boat in which the others had departed. Under Manrique's questioning Rouffi stated that Ribault had come "to this coast of Florida to settle and to discover whether it was a good location for going out into the Bahama Channel to capture the fleets from the Indies". The Spanish burned the buildings at Port Royal and seized the column for the Cuban governor before returning to Havana.

During the time that Ribault was in England there was a cessation of the French civil strife. This truce gave Coligny another opportunity to develop plans of conquest and settlement in North America. In April, 1564, a second expedition left France to establish a colony in Florida.

SELECTED REFERENCES

Chatelain, Verne E., *The Defense of Spanish Florida,* Washington, 1941.
Connor, Jeannette T., *Jean Ribault,* De Land, 1927.
Connor, Jeannette T., *Pedro Menendez de Aviles,* De Land, 1923.
Lawson, Edward W., *The Discovery of Florida,* St. Augustine, 1946.
Lowery, Woodbury, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States: 1513-1561,* New York, 1901.
Olschki, Leonardo, *Ponce de Leon's Fountain of Youth: History of a Geographical Myth,* Hispanic American Historical Review, August, 1941.
Parkman, Francis, *Pioneers of France in the New World,* Boston, 1865.
True, David O., *Memoir of Fontaneda,* Coral Gables, 1944.
Florida Historical Quarterly:
Bennett, Charles E., *Fort Caroline—Cradle of American Freedom,* July, 1956.
Chatelain, Verne E., *Spanish Contributions in Florida to American Culture,* January, 1941.
Davis, T. Frederick, *Ponce de Leon's Voyages to Florida,* July, 1935.
Wenhold, Lucy L., *Manrique de Rojas Report on French Settlement in Florida, 1564,* July, 1959.



CHAPTER III

FORT CAROLINE, CRADLE OF AMERICAN FREEDOM

By The Honorable Charles E. Bennett, Member of Congress

ALONG THE SOUTHERN bank of the St. Johns River in northeastern Florida stand a wooded bluff and adjoining shorelands which may well be considered the birthplace of American ideals and freedom; or, at least, the cradle of American ideals in the distant years of 1564 and 1565. Here was the beginning of the first permanent settlement of our country. (The United States government has established at this site a wooded 116 acre park, along the St. Johns River, including an interpretive museum, open free to the general public. It is reached by State Route 10, with turn off on the St. Johns Bluff Road. It is 10 miles east of Jacksonville.)

Although the history of St. Johns Bluff, as the area is generally designated, stretches across the centuries from 1562 with almost uninterrupted activities of significance to modern America, its history until recently has been little known outside of Florida, except by specialists in this particular period of history. The establishment of the memorial in 1957 has opened wide the doors of this historic period to the minds of many Americans who previously have given it less thought than it deserved.

St. Johns Bluff rises abruptly, about 70 feet above the waters of the St. Johns, approximately five miles from where the river empties into the Atlantic Ocean. You can look northeastward over the St. Johns to Fort George Island, which is the site of a 16th and 17th century Spanish mission ruins. On Fort George Island, some historians say, are remnants of this mission. This Island was also the location of one of Oglethorpe's headquarters (a building of which is still standing), and the buildings which are still in use there were once used for the residential seat of John McIntosh in his 19th century revolutionary efforts against Spanish rule, and also for the later slave importation activities of Zephaniah Kingsley. These points of interest on Fort George Island are now open to the public, free of charge, as part of Kingsley Plantation State Park. You can look eastward over marshes, distant forests, and see the Atlantic Ocean as a misty horizon; and usually at the mouth of the river you can easily see Navy carriers homeported at Mayport Naval Station. To the south and west stretch beautiful woodlands. Out of sight along the St. Johns to the west lies the city of Jacksonville; and the most westerly land in the park is an island which has long been called Calypso Island.

This spectacular promontory bows to no other land in America; for here transpired some of the most important history of our country. Heavy subtropical growth of live oak, holly, magnolia, palm and palmetto whisper of the idealism, romance and tragedy that have made it a land which all Americans should cherish.

This area, the bluff and its adjoining acres, including the lowlands and Calypso Island, is the very cradle of the American tradition of personal freedom. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the curtain rose on its history when Jean Ribault, a Frenchman, came to the St. Johns River on May 1, 1562, in an effort to find

a suitable place to locate a colony of Europeans, mostly French Huguenots, who desired to escape from the religious massacres and other oppressions of Europe of the 16th century.

It will be recalled that Ribault, upon his return to Europe, was an involuntary but temporary guest in the prisons of Queen Elizabeth (in the tower of London). There he wrote a book about his findings in the New World. So, it remained for another to lead the actual colonization movement in 1564; Rene Laudonniere, who had accompanied Ribault in 1562.

Laudonniere led a group of about 300 men and women to the St. Johns, arriving at its shores on June 24, 1564. Perhaps never has our land welcomed a more diverse group. About their only point in common was their desire for freedom. Some wore the gilded armor and brightly colored clothes befitting their high rank. Others were clad in simple clothes which indicated the manual labor to which they were accustomed. They were not all Frenchmen. Laudonniere's group included, among a predominantly Protestant population, many Catholics. Their movement had been approved by John Calvin, the religious reformer, and by Charles IX, Catholic King of France. There were at the time no other settlements of white people in North America, north of Mexico.

The site chosen for habitation was the St. Johns bluff area, at which they arrived on June 25, 1564. They named their settlement La Caroline, after the King of France, Charles IX. The name La Caroline was gradually and then permanently changed to Fort Caroline. The choice of terrain was no doubt made on account of the commanding view from the bluff and for the ability of the land to sustain life, the colonists finding it to be productive of, among other things, corn, potatoes and grapes. Work began on the fort after a prayer of thanksgiving and an invocation of divine blessing.

Ribault said of this land that it was "the fairest, frute fullest and pleasantest of all the worlde," and that "the sight of the faire meadowes is a pleasure not able to be expressed with tongue." Laudonnierre said of it "the place was so pleasant that melancholias would be forced to change their nature" as they viewed it.

The colonists built a triangular fort in the flat land to the west of the bluff. Here they flew the French flag and set their ponderous cannon marked with the French coat of arms. Moats were dug on all sides and an impressive gate constructed and decorated with the arms of France and of Admiral Gaspard Coligny, a backer of, but not a participant, in the settlement. Buildings for munitions were set up inside the fort, and sentinels kept watch there and on the bluff. Some habitations were erected inside the fort but there were many houses built outside. The fortifications and houses were chiefly built of logs and earth. However, we are advised that the French also made brick and mortar for their houses from rock and/or clay found near by.

The colonists came supplied with seeds, tools, and domestic animals. There were horses, sheep, asses, chickens, hogs, cattle and dogs. Many of the animals were probably consumed as food, for the settlers had difficulty in raising crops in the wild new land. They dug a well and also used a somewhat distant spring, probably the present source of Shipyard Creek to the west of the bluff and within the park lands.

Time keeping was by use of an hour glass and lighting was by candle and lantern. Beds were built and hammocks strung according to preference. There was a flour mill, a bakery and a blacksmith shop.

Among the settlers were carpenters, mechanics, ordnance men, blacksmiths, barbers, tailors, shoemakers and brewers, as well as an artist, a crossbow maker, an astronomer, a physician and people of various other talents.

At first there was no regularly ordained preacher and religious services were conducted by laymen. They also conducted missionary work among the Indians. The colonists had a large bell to call the people to worship. A reenforcement expedition from France later added a preacher to their number.

These people were not long-faced zealots, however. They were liberal in their views and they found pleasure in earthly pursuits as well as religious services. They enjoyed drinking the wine which they produced. A letter from one of these settlers stated: "We hope to make some wine soon, which will be rather good." It is noted once they had just produced 20 hogsheads of wine. They also quickly took up the habit of smoking from the Indians and were perhaps the first white men to take up smoking as a habit. They brought many books with them and they also played cards for amusement. An artist among them, Jacques Le Moyne, drew and painted the first pictures by Europeans of what is now the United States. His work can be studied in museum displays at Fort Caroline National Memorial.

They enjoyed music by a fiddler, a piano (spinet) player, drummer, trumpeters, and fifers. Long after the French control had become a thing of the past, early Floridians would hear the Indians of that neighborhood singing French songs which they had learned from their romantic French companions.

Some of the men were impatient and bored with the struggle for survival in a wild land and took to pirating the Spanish ships of the Caribbean. These were returned to the colony for trial; and we find the colonists solemnly debating and deciding the question of whether they should be shot before or after hanging.

The community practiced in considerable measure the republican and democratic principles of political freedom. Even the actual location of the settlement was decided upon by many opinions being expressed and "all resolving" to live at La Caroline. We find the colonists similiarly deciding on the question of whether or not a boat should be fitted up for a voyage to France. There was some criticism from France of Laudonniere's administration. It was thought by some Frenchmen that he sought complete independence from the Mother country. We find Laudonnier saying of his critics that some people criticize because they think "that by diminishing the work of others, they can add to the force of their own weak courage." That is one of the most remarkable dangers that can come to a republic.

Some of the colonists occupied themselves very largely with trading with the Indians. An interesting little story has come down to us about one youth by the name of Pierre Gambie, who set himself up as a business man and trader. Gambie went to an island in the St. Johns, probably the land now called Fleming's Island, and traded there with the Indian population. It was not long before he was growing rich, married to the Indian Chief's daughter and acting as second in command among the Indians. It is said that he stayed among the Indians for about a year before he decided to return to La Caroline on a visit. On the way he was killed by an Indian with whom he had experienced difficulty before. The Indian who killed Gambie was apparently motivated by resentment from the previous dispute and by a desire to obtain the riches which the French boy achieved through his good business with the Indians.

It is recorded that at La Caroline were born eight or ten children, the first children of freedom-seeking Americans born in what is now the United States, and apparently the first recorded births of any white persons in what is now the United States.

A few of the colonists returned to Europe shortly after coming to America and a number of important visits were made to the colony. The colony was reenforced by Captain Bourdet from France in 1564, visited by Sir John Hawkins, the Englishman, in 1565 and again reenforced by Ribault in 1565.

The visit by Sir John Hawkins was the first visit to the United States by a slave trading expedition. Hawkins, the slave trader and corsair, was sailing in the good ship, Jesus, which was accompanied by several other ships. A sailor who accompanied Hawkins said that the expedition was getting low on water but since a fresh wind had come up "every man was contented to pinch his owne bellie, whatsoever had happened" and the result was that the expedition eventually put into the St.

Johns River for water, although Hawkins had expected to get his water supply further to the south. In speaking of the habit of smoking at the colony the sailor said:

> "The Floridians when they travell, have a kind of herbe dried, who with a cane and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbes put together, doe sucke thorow the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therewith they live foure or five dayes without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen used for this purpose; yet they do holde opinion withal, that it causeth water and fleame to void from their stomachs."

The reinforcements brought by Ribault numbered about 600 and included both men and women. They had been with the colony but a very short time when an expedition headed by Pedro Menendez (under orders from King Philip II of Spain) made its appearance at the mouth of the St. Johns. This expedition was sent to wipe out Fort Caroline and to hold the land for Spain. Menendez first took his forces to what is now the site of St. Augustine and thereupon founded the city of St. Augustine, the oldest continuously existing city in the United States. When Menendez came, La Caroline was the only settlement of white people on the North American Continent, north of Mexico. It antedated St. Augustine by over a year, and its existence was the reason why St. Augustine was founded and thereafter maintained through the years. Previous to La Caroline, Philip II had given orders against Spanish settlement efforts north of Mexico, for several earlier efforts had resulted in costly failures.

The French and Spanish vessels approached each other in a heavy surf at the mouth of the St. Johns. Messages were exchanged. Menendez demanded surrender and received the prompt reply "I am the Admiral but sooner I prefer death." The French vessels prepared for attack but the sea was growing rougher and wind made the ships unmanageable. Without coming close enough to engage the Spanish vessels in full battle, the French vessels were swept down the Florida coast by the tropical storm and wrecked near what is now Daytona Beach.

Menendez, knowing that Ribault and his boats were occupied in the storm, made his way to St. Augustine and from there set out over land toward La Caroline with 500 soldiers. Their road had to be cut through the jungle and underbrush and the journey took about three days. On the night before the attack on the French colony, Menendez and his men camped at a small pond, which is still to be seen within the park lands. About the break of day on September 20, 1565, Menendez assembled at the shore of the pond a council of his men to decide whether they should go on or whether they should turn back and leave America to the French. There were dissenters but the strong will of Menendez was able to persuade the other leaders to go forward into battle. The Spaniards made quick work of killing 142 of the colony at Fort Caroline and capturing a number of women and children and a few men, including Spanish shipwrecked sailors whom the French had given haven. Some of the early records seem to imply that Menendez was a bit tardy about ordering that women and children should be spared; and these records also state that some infants were killed and their bodies erected on the points of pikes stuck in the ground.

A very human little story about this trip from the newly founded St. Augustine to the older La Caroline community is found in the Spanish writings, in which we are told that a man by the name of Juan de San Vicente was very much against Menendez making this trip to La Caroline and begged off from taking the trip by telling Menendez that he had a very serious stomach ache, and an injured leg. Vicente's real motives were shown by his remarks made after the departure of Menendez when he said: "I swear to God that I am expecting the news that all our soldiers have been killed, so that we who remain here may embark on these three ships and go to the Indies, for it is not reasonable that we should all die like beasts."

It should be noted that the French at La Caroline were unprepared because of the stormy weather and the early hour of the attack. Most of the people at the fort were

inexperienced in fighting, or were sick. Laudonniere himself had been very ill and he escaped from the fort (with the assistance of a page boy) after he had been left for dead with his sword arm slashed. He was soon met in his flight by Nicolas le Challeux, an ancient carpenter, who marveled at his own strength in being able to leap over the wall, being strongly sustained through the fear of the circumstances from which he was fleeing. Le Challeux, who had been on his way to work, still had in his hand his chisel, which proved helpful to him in his flight toward the sea from St. Johns Bluff.

Laudonniere was also joined in flight by an unmarried woman whose duties had been to serve the community as a nurse and to care for the chickens. Laudonniere had found her working as a waitress in a tavern in France. Admiral Coligny had doubted the propriety of taking an unmarried woman on the venture to America. Several of the colonists had asked her hand at La Caroline and she ultimately married one of them in France. In her escape from the fort she was stabbed in the breast but she recovered and accompanied the enfeebled leader in his flounderings towards the sea through the marshes.

Jacques Ribault, the son of Jean Ribault, took Laudonniere and a few more of the fugitives from the colony back to France. Jacques had been anchored near the colony at the time of the onslaught. He had been deterred from entering the fray because of fear of firing on his own people. Perhaps also the acts of the Spaniards gave him little enthusiasm for the combat. It is recorded that the assailants took the eyes of the dead and flicked them from the points of their daggers in the direction of the French ships.

Jean Ribault, the father, as well as about 350 of his followers, were massacred on the Florida coast at Matanzas Inlet where Menendez found them trying to get across to Anastasia Island after their shipwreck. Menendez ambiguously offered the French his mercy and then tied them in groups of ten and slaughtered them on the beaches at Matanzas, they having delivered up to him their arms relying upon his mercy. He spared those of the French who were Catholics and also persons with particular abilities as workmen or musicians. Life was offered to those who would recant and become Catholics. The man who actually killed Ribault first enquired of him as to whether Ribault did not expect his soldiers to obey orders. Ribault said "yes." Then the Spaniard said "I propose to obey the orders of my commander also. I am ordered to kill you." When Ribault knew that he was to die he said, "Twenty years more or less are of little account." Then he chanted a psalm and received the dagger thrust which ended his life.

According to some early accounts, Ribault's beard and skin were sent to King Philip of Spain and his head was cut in four pieces, which were distributed on the ends of lances on each corner of the fort at St. Augustine. Menendez wrote of Ribault to Philip: "I think it a very great good fortune that this man be dead, for the King of France could accomplish more with him and fifty thousand ducats than with other men and five hundred thousand ducats; and he could do more in one year, than another in ten. . . ." Menendez thus disclosed that the real purpose of the conflict was to make firm the territorial claim of Spain over France in this part of the New World; all other apparent purposes of the conflict being rather immaterial.

The combat at La Caroline between the French and the Spanish was the first international conflict of white people in what is now the United States. The road which Menendez cleared between St. Augustine and La Caroline became the first regularly and continuously used highway in what is now the United States.

Menendez left 300 men at La Caroline, which he renamed San Mateo and which continued as a fort and mission settlement for a great number of years. From this San Mateo colony were sent in 1566 the first colonists to Virginia.

At St. Johns Bluff one of the earliest churches in the new world was built in 1565 by Menendez. It was constructed from the planks which had been hewn for a

Huguenot boat. The Spanish arms were erected over the main gate of the fort at San Mateo where the French arms had previously been. The Spanish renamed the river San Juan, from which the present name of St. Johns is derived. The French name had been the River of May, after the date of the discovery on May 1, 1562.

Menendez took captives at La Caroline, at Matanzas and also at Cape Canaveral, where some of those shipwrecked from Ribault's fleet had established themselves. It is probable that some of these French people, perhaps several hundred, ultimately mingled with the newcomers to Florida to become a permanent part of the American race. The records indicate that a goodly number remained in Florida for several years at least, and a recorded incident concerning one of them shows that he was still at St. Augustine more than ten years after his capture. It is known that Menendez treated these French people with great kindness after the exigencies of the first few days of conflict no longer made such treatment possible. The author has heard of one modern Florida family tracing descent from these early French Huguenots; and more adequate records would doubtless reveal a number of modern Floridians with this blood in their veins.

In 1568, Dominique de Gourgues, a Frenchman, and probably a Catholic, borrowed money and sold most of his estate to finance an expedition to St. Johns Bluff to revenge the acts of Menendez. He took 180 men and slaughtered about 400 at San Mateo. According to the account, the De Gourgues forces, after cutting their feet in their march through the oyster shell marshes, surprized some of the Spaniards as they sat about in the sun picking their teeth after a meal. Forthwith, the French slew most of them. De Gourgues hanged some of the Spaniards, having captured them for that purpose. He tacked up a sign over their bodies announcing that he did this to them not as to Spaniards, but as to robbers and murderers.

The inspiration for this act was a sign which Menendez is said to have placed over Frenchmen whom he hanged at Fort Caroline, declaring that this was done not unto Frenchmen but unto heretics.

An old Indian woman who expressed herself as being able to die in peace now that the French had returned, must have had but a short satisfaction, for Spain quickly rebuilt and reoccupied San Mateo upon the speedy departure of De Gourgues. During his brief stay, the Indians sang for him hymns that they had learned from the colony at La Caroline, including "Happy is One to Be A Volunteer for God."

In 1586 most of St. Augustine's population withdrew to San Mateo under the attack of Sir Francis Drake, the Englishman who burned St. Augustine in that year. San Mateo itself only escaped from Drake's intended attack upon it by the providentially bad weather, which prevented, or at least discouraged Drake from making his planned attack on the latter settlement. A year or so earlier a pirate vessel was captured at San Mateo by the Spanish. San Mateo is mentioned as continuing as a fort or mission in later writing, being one of the two settlements in Florida mentioned by Coreal in 1669. But activity there apparently declined for a number of years.

In the early 18th century the land fell under the control of two British generals, Governor James Moore of South Carolina, and then General James Oglethorpe of Georgia. British forces, including highland-clad Scots, pushed to the gates of St. Augustine but were unable to conquer that city. Oglethorpe maintained his headquarters on Fort George Island, across the river from St. Johns Bluff.

It is highly improbable that there has ever been, since the original French settlement in 1564, any considerable period of time when this St. Johns Bluff area has not been inhabited by white people.

A new impetus to life there occurred when England took over all of Florida in 1763. Tories from the English colonies in the north began settling at St. Johns Bluff in the early part of the American Revolution. By the time England turned back Florida to Spain in 1783 a prosperous town known as St. Johns Town flourished at St. Johns Bluff. A British fort was erected on top of the bluff.

About 300 buildings at St. Johns Town gave accommodations to some 1500 in-

habitants. There were taverns, a Masonic Lodge, a livery stable, a drygoods store, a hardware store and a warehouse. Water Street and Prince's Street were lined with frame houses, some of which were imposing two-story buildings. The people of St. Johns Town had slaves and engaged in active naval stores trade. They were served by a physician and a minister of religion. Quite often they were bothered by "banditti" and occasionally the American forces gave them some consternation by approaching the near vicinity. English troops were stationed there to man the fort on the bluff, which was protected by cannon.

When Spain took Florida back from the British in 1783 St. Johns Town was renamed St. Vincent Ferrer, which had a stormy and colorful career, following the steady growth experienced under the British regime. Semi-peaceful occupation was only established by the Spanish after two outlaws, Daniel McGirt and William Bowles, had been captured and thrown into prison. These highwaymen had used the village as a headquarters for their band of marauders.

Some of the English who remained in Florida, and some others of the local inhabitants, were not content with Spanish rule and they established the "Territory of East Florida" (1812-15). John McIntosh, its director, lived on Ft. George Island. For a time the bluff fell under the influence of this organization as the army of its revolutionary government which, aided by United States troops, extended a military occupation from Fernandina to considerably south of St. Johns Bluff.

The unsettled conditions in the St. Johns Bluff area in the 19th century did not encourage peaceful settlement; and St. Vincent Ferrer fell into slow decay and attracted few newcomers for a long period of time. Furthermore, Zephaniah Kingsley, one of the most successful slave importers in America, acquired the bluff and much of the land around it in the early part of the 19th century. He imported slaves to Florida and then smuggled them across the border into the United States, which had by then made the importation of slaves illegal. Kingsley used the bluff and its adjoining slopes as a shipbuilding site. From this activity came the present name of Shipyard Creek, which empties into the St. Johns to the west of the bluff and at the mouth of which is Calypso Island. This creek is the western boundary of the park. Kingsley lived at the old McIntosh plantation on Ft. George Island. There he set up his principal wife, a Negro princess, Anna Madegigine Jai, whom he married in Madagascar by the rituals of the natives there. She lived in the old "White House" of the Territory of East Florida and proved herself to be an able business woman and a firm mistress of her slaves. This unorthodox mingling of races in marriage did not, however, result in harmony in the lives of those involved, and Anna's descendants moved to other localities.

During the War Between the States the bluff teemed with life in the Confederate fortifications there at the top of the bluff. These fortifications were established by General Joseph Finegal of the Confederate Army. The guns of the bluff were able to keep the United States troops from coming up the river on several occasions. The engagements on September 11, and 17, 1862, resulted in some loss of life to the Confederate forces. Finally, 1,573 United States troops marched overland from Mayport, being supported from the river by ten vessels, six of them gun boats. They made such an alarming display that the 500 Confederates retreated and left the bluff to the Union Army on October 3, 1862. President Jefferson Davis in a letter in 1863 wrote that the loss of this position was "a serious calamity." The earthworks of the Confederate forces are still traceable today on the bluff.

In April 1898, during the Spanish-American War, the United States government built and occupied on this tract a coast defense concrete fort, now standing in perfect condition. Two American soldiers were killed there in preparing mines for the St. Johns River channel.

The bluff, which was the attraction for the various settlements, has still substantially the same appearance which it has had from those early times. There has been some erosion along the shore in the vicinity; but it cannot be denied that a very

substantial portion of the land used by the French and by the subsequent occupations remains and is today in the park lands both at the top of the bluff and in the low lands to the west of the bluff. Also a spring, probably mentioned in the early account of this French colony, can yet be seen in the park lands. The spot where Menendez camped before his descent on La Caroline can be readily identified, this being the place where he held the council which determined the nationality of a large portion of the New World, and this site is also in the park lands. In the vicinity, Spanish coins struck between 1516 and 1555 have been found and also a gold ring with the French fleurs-de-lis upon it. Of less intrinsic value, but equally interesting have been things recently discovered by archeologists working in the area. One can walk along the top of the bluff and see, as reminders of the early Indian occupations, many oyster shells and bits of pottery in the sandy soil. Bullets and shot of various kinds have often been picked up by visitors there.

St. Johns Bluff, as we know it now, has the virginial beauty which was described by all the great men who touched it or who were near it in the early days. As the sailor with Hawkins said, "It flourisheth with medow, pasture ground, with woods of Cedar and Cypress, and other sort, as better cannot be in the world." That English sailor also reported that Florida is "all the yeare longe so greene, as any time in the Summer with us. . . ."

So, today in this beautiful land in northeast Florida, surrounded on all sides by increasing activity, there exists this important historic site memorialized by the United States government as the Fort Caroline National Memorial. It may be rightly termed the cradle of the American tradition of freedom, the birthplace of the first child born on our shores to this tradition, the place of the first recorded birth of a white child in what now is the United States, the spot which marks the beginning of permanent colonization of our vast continent north of Mexico, the site of the first highway in what is now the United States, a spot fortified by more nations than any other spot in the United States, the site of the council which decided the nationality of a large portion of the New World, and a spot which has a continuous history touching almost every phase of American development. Fort Caroline forced the Spanish to establish and maintain St. Augustine and inspired the English to busy themselves in establishing the colonies at Roanoke and Jamestown. As the first foothold of the permanent settlement of the United States and as the cradle of American freedom in our beginning years of 1564 and 1565, it should long inspire future generations of Americans.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST SPANISH PERIOD

By Dr. J. E. Dovell

Spanish at St. Augustine

SPAIN'S DETERMINATION to defend Florida against other European powers became the theme of the history of the southeastern regions of the United States for two hundred years. Spanish imperialism in the western hemisphere required the maintenance of the Florida colony for the defense of the trade routes and the mere survival of the colony was a tribute to their tenacity. The place occupied by Spanish Florida in American Colonial history has been minimized by some historians since Spanish culture was later replaced almost entirely by Anglo-American influences.

St. Augustine, for many years known as "The Ancient City," has the distinction of being the oldest settlement of continuous existence within the United States. The city became the capital of the only successful Spanish colony along the Atlantic Coast and was the base of operations from which Spanish control of the eastern half of North America was exercised. Verne Chatelain noted that: "As the political, military, and religious capital of the provinces of La Florida, therefore, when the term geographically speaking, included all of the vast territory east of the Mississippi River from Cape Sable to Labrador, the little settlement founded in 1565 by Pedro Menendez de Aviles assumes a position in the history of international politics out of all proportion to its apparent rank among Spanish towns in the New World, despite the neglect and poverty which constantly threatened to overwhelm it."

From St. Augustine, during the first Spanish period, numerous individuals were dispatched to explore and to conquer Florida, Georgia, Carolina, Virginia and the Mississippi valley. From the offices and under the auspices of the Catholic church, missionaries were sent to Christianize the Indians and spread Spanish culture as far as Virginia. Many political and military officials departed from St. Augustine and carried Spanish intrigue into distant sections, later embroiling England, France and the United States in the international rivalries and wars of American history.

The establishment of a successful colony in Florida by Menendez was a task that required great courage and determination. The problems faced by his predecessors had ended in failure, but in these failures, Menendez benefited by some of the lessons learned of the obstacles in the wilderness and how they could be overcome. Always an aggressive and courageous fighter, he had given proof of his ability to solve problems and achieve success in his undertakings.

In his contract with the king, Menendez agreed to finance the Florida colony. In return, the king granted him land to the extent of twenty-five leagues square, two pearl fisheries, a monopoly of maritime trade, and the profits from Negro laborers, five hundred of whom he was to purchase and own as slaves. He was also given the titles of Marquis over his land grant, Captain General of the fleet under his command, and Governor and Adelantado of Florida, with the right to transmit the latter title to his heirs. The original intent of the Spanish was to create a colonial system in Florida after the pattern of similar systems which were then operating in other colonies. This system recognized a compromise of private business and government regulation which resulted in the economic nationalism of the sixteenth century.

After the return from the attack on Fort Caroline, Menendez remained at St. Augustine until early November. He was occupied with the business of establishing

the colony, and organizing its government and defenses. Plans were laid for the extension of the Spanish realm over the peninsula first and the North American Continent later. His first plan was to locate a harbor in the Florida Keys and erect a fort for the protection of the lower east coast and the Bahama Channel. The fort was to be garrisoned with troops which he hoped to secure in Havana before returning to St. Augustine. When this chore was accomplished he planned to sail north and build forts on Chesapeake Bay and at Port Royal. Further planning included a search for a water passage across Florida and the construction of a fort at a suitable harbor on the Gulf coast of the peninsula.

When Menendez received word that some stragglers from Ribault's forces were on the coast to the southward, a hundred men were put on board three ships and a hundred and fifty more were sent overland to the vicinity of Cape Canaveral. The Frenchmen had built a small fort and were engaged in constructing a vessel in which they hoped to escape from Florida. The survivor's of Ribault's forces surrendered to the Spanish and both groups continued to a large Indian village on the Indian River. Menendez and his party remained at the village for several days while exploring the section for a site for future Spanish settlement.

When Mendendez reached the St. Lucie River, he left two hundred men at a site named Santa Lucia and sailed to Cuba. At Havana he found that his nephew, Pedro Menendez Marques, had arrived with vessels and colonists for the Florida colony. Some of the reinforcements were dispatched to St. Augustine; the remainder left Cuba with Menendez in February 1566, for a cruise along the Gulf coast of the peninsula of Florida.

Menendez wanted to discover a safe channel for the routing of Spanish ships between the Tortugas Islands and the Florida Keys. Then, having heard of Spanish captives who were held by Indians on the west coast and wishing to explore the region, he cruised along the shore line in a small vessel while the larger ships followed offshore. Somewhere along Charlotte Harbor he located a captive Spaniard who was one of a dozen alive, of two hundred Spanish cast ashore over a twenty year period.

After spending several weeks at the west coast, Menendez sent several of his ships back to Havana for supplies and with two remaining vessels returned to Santa Lucia and St. Augustine. In the interim, since departing in November, disturbances and uprisings had been encountered at Santa Lucia, St. Augustine, and San Mateo.

Discontent and distress had given way to desperation, but the arrival of ships with supplies from Havana along with the return of the Governor settled many of the problems. Nonetheless, mutineers and deserters who managed escapes to other colonies in the West Indies publicized stories of the hardships encountered on the East Coast of Florida.

Shortly after his return to St. Augustine in March, Menendez set forth on a voyage to the north. During the ensuing six weeks he made friendly contacts at Indian villages along the Georgia coast and built Fort San Felipe near Port Royal, South Carolina, which was garrisoned with a hundred men. In the following year he was busy with voyages along both the Atlantic and Gulf coasts and to Cuba for provisions and other supplies.

By the summer of 1567, two years after the first landing at St. Augustine, Menendez had established the capital and several outlying posts. Military defense was supplied with principal garrisons at St. Augustine, San Mateo and Santa Elena with two hunderd and fifty soldiers and additional colonists at each of the three places. Several smaller forts had been located at strategic points in the Carolinas and Georgia and along both Florida coasts. Mission stations had been established for the Tequesta Indians on Biscayne Bay and for the Calusa Indians at Charlotte Harbor.

From 1567 until his death in 1574, Menendez continued to direct the affairs of the Florida colony although most of his time and activities were devoted to the

royal service of the king: protection for Spanish shipping and settlements against the adventurers and pirates who infested the Caribbean Sea and adjacent Atlantic Ocean areas. Because of his frequent absences from Florida there was no real leadership among his deputies whose authority deteriorated under the existing colonial system that evolved in the colony. This lack of leadership was made more evident in the face of frictions and jealousies of the colonists themselves.

The failure or inability of Menendez to fulfill his promises of regular pay and allowances of food and clothing to the colonists resulted in loss of confidence in their leader. Facing hunger and other privations in the Florida wilderness and confronted with an indefinite tenure, many of the settlers sought to escape their harsh conditions. However, desertion was a criminal act and the means of escape were unavailable; those who did desert and escape usually met a worse fate than those who worked out an existence in the Florida wilds.

Organization of the Colony

The Spanish plans for Florida were based on the success of the royal plantations which had been so profitable in the earlier American colonies. In return for the rewards of private enterprise and profits the Crown stipulated that the proprietor promote the established church, remit the required taxes, and observe the regulations of immigration and commerce. Menendez's contract for Florida was faithful to the existing laws and customs; the colonization was largely financed by the grantee and any profits would accrue to him. Unfortunately, the precious metals which had made the adventurer's role so worthwhile in previous experiences were found only in the salvage of shipwrecks along the coast and the pearl fisheries were never a reality. The exploitation of the resources of Florida would depend upon the agricultural produce wrested from the earth; the productive soils of Florida's east coast are seldom located near the seashore. Agricultural lands suitable to the knowledge of the Spaniard's utility were beyond the defenses of the forts and never available in the quantity of the profitable plantations of the islands of the West Indies. Further, farming in Florida meant arduous labor in periods of excessive summer heat and rainfall and a continuous combat against insects, animals, and even the Indians. The Spanish confined their agricultural pursuits to vegetables, fruits, and flowers and those who sought a living from agriculture generally turned elsewhere.

The livestock, plants, and seeds imported by Menendez for the beginning of agriculture in Florida were largely consumed as food. As the first Governor spent most of his brief existence in matters of defense he had little time for agriculture whose development was so disappointing that few of his successors were concerned either. Spanish introductions of citrus, figs and grapes met with some success and there was some cultivation of Indian maize and tobacco. The colonists tended their vegetables and flower gardens and there was recourse to fishing and the products of the sea: fish, oysters, shrimp and turtles. Although the colonists faced many privations there was no starvation for those who were resourceful.

The private grants and native slave labor of other Spanish colonies was never introduced along the Florida east coast. The lack of private landholding created an innovation in Indian relations, for the Crown and Church held that the soil was the property of the Indians and that Spanish settlers could not hold land in private ownership. The colonists and the missionaries were ordered to observe the Indian rights in land as well as to instruct the natives in the established religion. This policy was contrary to those in other Spanish colonies and partly explains the final expulsion of Spain from Florida. Under this policy Florida remained a wilderness home for the Indians, a condition which enabled the English to mobilize the natives against the Spanish. Such English activities forced the Spanish from Florida and they were soon followed by the removal of the Indians in much the same fashion.

The death of Menendez in 1574 required a consideration by the Spanish king for the future of Florida. In the nine years of his governorship the intrepid leader had carried most of the burden of the colony. He had promoted an aggressive policy and had alienated the officials of the House of Trade and the Council of the Indies who resented his independence and proprietorship in Florida. The Crown was faced with the choice of promoting a new means of supporting the North American establishment or abandoning the colony. The decision was made to replace Menendez' proprietorship with royal subsidies for the maintenance of a colonial presidio. Florida would be continued as an armed base for the protection of maritime commerce. The colony would provide the northern outpost to guard Spanish interests in Latin America and would be governed by officials responsible to the king and the Council of the Indies.

According to Chatelain, "the cost of this program was paid by a subsidy known as the situado. Each year one or more ships must be sent from St. Augustine to Vera Cruz, Mexico where the situado was collected, and certain supplies including military equipment, clothing, flour and other foodstuffs were purchased. Thereafter, it was necessary to carry this cargo of money and supplies under the covetous eyes of the pirates to Havana, and thence to St. Augustine. At best the system was thoroughly unsatisfactory, and when, as sometimes happened, the supply ships were captured or wrecked, the inhabitants were reduced to the direst of circumstances: all the more serious because no one could leave Florida legally without the permission of the Spanish government and because it was almost impossible to secure such relief. In view of these economic weaknesses, it may well be wondered how the colony could continue to exist, much less make progress." Spaniards who received orders to the Florida colony regarded their new assignment as a sentence to penal servitude and obedience to such orders required courage beyond the call of duty.

Political organization in Florida was similar to the pattern of the older Spanish colonies. Although nominally under the jurisdiction of the Viceroy of Mexico, the remote location brought frequent contact with the colonial officials in Cuba. Final jurisdiction over Spanish colonial administration was in the hands of the Council of the Indies as the representative of the king. An intermediate agency, under the Mexican Viceroy, was charged with supervisory administration; the Audencia of Santo Domingo. This body, composed of judges with judicial and administrative authority, was theoretically responsible for the situado and the inspections and audits of the local officers under their jurisdiction. The administration of trade and commerce in the colonial empire was in the Casa de Contratacion or House of Trade. This agency promoted the economic interests of the colonies for assistance with royal tax revenues based on profitable enterprises within the colonial realm.

The framework of government within the colony followed a set pattern. The governor was appointed by the king from a list of prospects submitted to him by the Council of the Indies. As representative of the king the governor was given almost absolute authority. The usual term of appointment was for six years and in his absence the governor selected a lieutenant governor as a second in command for the colony. Subsidiary officers included the treasurer who disbursed funds on the requisition of the governor, the accountant who served as the controller or bookkeeper, and the factor who served as a storekeeper for the distribution of supplies. Lesser officials included a notary, chief pilot, sergeant major, surgeons, barbers, blacksmiths, masons and other artisans. The chief pilot and sergeant were civil and military officials in charge of the armed forces under the respective commanding officers of the land and naval detachments. These offices were later held by natives of established Florida families on something of a career basis which made them important contacts between the governor and the inhabitants of the colony.

Responsible government was secured by the Crown through investigations at the conclusion of each governor's term of office and special investigations that were

held on occasion. The investigations included the audit records of the officials and hearings with the testimony and questioning of witnesses. On account of the hearings conducted during the investigations the colonial officials were inclined to cultivate the friendship of colonists whose testimony would enhance their reputations and assist desirable promotions in the king's service. From this feature of the investigations there arose some invisible government within the colony and a character of representation developed on the isolated Florida frontier that was never written into the imperial plans of the colonial system.

Despite the rigid political organization provided by the Crown a certain amount of popular control developed in Florida with the passage of years. Menendez had established an assembly for local representation as a part of the town government at St. Augustine. Although the governor appointed the members of the assembly, usually from among the principal inhabitants, the assembly introduced practices which reflected the interests of the citizens. Critics of the assembly held that the body later degenerated into a closed group where admittance was gained by purchase and that self-government was indeed available for those who had the influence and funds to gain membership.

The two institutions supported by the Crown in Florida were the missions and the fort or presidio. The missions were organized for the spread of religion and civilization as well as a method of defensive control of the frontier. The presidios were organized for their obvious purposes of military and naval defense for the protection of the colony and the trade routes against hostile foreigners and Indians. The presidio was essentially a fort with a garrison of armed forces, their families, and servants. Other members of the community included civil and religious officials and, with the passage of time, tradesmen, artisans, and some fishermen and a few farmers and ranchers.

Social Life

Because of the development of the Florida colony as a frontier outpost the military forces dominated the social life during the two hundred years of the first Spanish period. Nevertheless, from the records presently available a consideration of the social conditions gives a picture of some community life.

The population of Florida from 1565 to 1763 was mostly of Spanish orgin though during the second hundred years many persons of foreign nativity became residents. When Menendez left Spain in 1565 his force numbered two thousand, but five hundred persons deserted in Hispaniola and a similar number deserted from Florida. When he left St. Augustine there was a complement of only seventy men and an unknown number of women and children. The population rose slowly to 1,175 in 1690, but declined to 800 in 1710. By 1730 the population had again increased to 1,350 and was about 3,100 in 1763 when the colony passed to England. Of this number, 551 were military and 87 were free Negroes. There were 545 families including 961 men, 798 women, and 1,337 children. Slaves numbered 303; Canary Islanders, 246; Germans, 24; and 83 Indians were evacuated with the Spanish to Cuba. Less than a dozen people chose to remain at St. Augustine.

Because of the military character of the Florida colony many of the residents were unmarried men. Many records indicate, however, that goodly numbers of single women of Spanish ancestry came to Florida for the purpose of marrying these single soldiers and civil servants. There were also mixed marriages between Spaniards and Indian women and some intermarriage, legal or otherwise, with Negro women. Families were large, often with as many as ten to fifteen children, but the mortality rate was high so that there was no great natural increase during the first hundred years. The population was static until the second hundred years when there was an increase in the garrison to defend Florida from English encroachments arising in Georgia and South Carolina.

For many years the forts, buildings and houses were of wood construction; after 1600 there was a gradual transition to the use of clay or tabby made of lime from burned shells mixed with sand. With the opening of the coquina quarries at the time of the construction of Castillo de San Marcos the native sand-shell rock was used for the construction of public and private buildings. By 1763, 200 private dwellings, the church, parish house, convent, governor's residence and the hospitals were built with coquina walls.

Significant in the growth of St. Augustine was a series of royal orders, especially a cedula of 1573, which relocated the community on its present site and was the first instance of town planning in the United States. Following a general plan used for Spanish settlements, the governor controlled the zoning details of the location of the city, the plaza, intersecting streets, platting of blocks and lots, and sites of buildings and churches.

Fortunately, some of the buildings from the early period have survived at St. Augustine and others have been restored. The Spanish style of architecture was simple in detail, the houses being rectangular of one or two stories. In some cases the roofs were flat, covered with wood or tabby, and in other cases pitched with beams and wood shingles. There were few windows and doors and the floors were made of earth or tramped earth and shell since wood was subject to dampness, rot and termites. Many of the two-story houses copied the continental feature of overhanging balconies which practically covered the prevailing narrow streets.

For many years outside kitchens and ovens were used for food as there were no chimneys or fireplaces in the early Florida houses. A later visitor suggested that fireplaces be substitued for stone urns filled with live coals which the Spanish used to heat one room at a time. On the installation of patios behind the houses, after 1580, ovens were placed in a corner of the enclosure like the barbecue pits of modern homes. The patios or Spanish gardens were enclosed with a wooden wall or wall of tabby and coquina and gave privacy to the members of the household. Flowers, vines and shrubs, trees and even vegetables were planted around the patios for their beauty and utility.

The almost forgotten culture of Spanish Florida came from the diffusion of the European background with the influences of the frontier. By the end of the first Spanish period this diffusion produced a way of life that was recognized as relatively pleasant by those who visited St. Augustine. The written accounts give occasional mention of social life in communal gatherings and celebrations. While an existence on the Florida outpost was somewhat dreary and monotonous, there were many festive occasions in the colorful surroundings of old St. Augustine. The daily routine was frequently interrupted for marriages, christenings, and even funerals. The arrival and departure of ships for foreign parts was sufficient cause for a celebration and the pleasures of sailing, fishing, and other water sports gave opportunity for diversions.

As the social center of the colony the church provided the various services of the sacraments and many occasions for pomp and ceremony. Processions and parades marked the inauguration of a new governor and the departure of an old one. The arrival of a church or civil official for a visitation or inspection usually resulted in a reception for all the members of the community. The visitations of the bishops of Cuba, Altamirano in 1606 and Calderon in 1674, were events marked by many religious activities, services and celebrations.

From the very nature of the colony the military groups were a predominant factor. The maintenance of the military establishment and the members of the armed forces were the economic support of the community. With the implementation of the military after 1675, Florida was a presidio more than ever before. There was a marked increase in the activities of provisioning and housing the increased forces; the construction of forts, defense lines, and other fortifications required a

labor force recruited from both outside and inside the colony. The additional labor force of freemen, slaves, and Indians contributed a great addition to the industry and economy of Spanish Florida.

Within a generation following the founding of St. Augustine the population of Florida was gradually stablized. An entry in the records of 1608 notes the birth of a child whose mother was a native of Florida, a second generation Creole within forty-three years. Since the minor civil and military offices were open to native born, and there were promotions available in these positions, the military and civil system was soon filled with officers and soldiers from the local population. As a result law enforcement was largely in the hands of the community. Smuggling and illegal landholding for small farms became "illicit but recognized" sources of income.

Society in the Florida colony was patterned on the caste and class lines of Europe although there were many deviations effected by the influences of the isolation and remoteness of the American frontier. The institution of slavery was introduced into the peninsula fifty years before the first slaves were brought to Jamestown by the English. Property rights in slaves were held by the king, but in practice slaves were assigned to individuals for specified types of work. Through the years many Negroes were freed by purchase or manumission. After 1750, many slaves who escaped from their owners in Georgia and the Carolinas made their way to Florida and relative freedom under the Spanish. Many of these Negroes lived in settlements such as Mosa Village near St. Augustine.

The tranquility of life at St. Augustine or at the remote frontier posts was frequently disturbed by the Indian uprisings or the guns of pirates and other enemies. From the attack of Francis Drake in 1568 to the change of flags in 1763 there were numerous days or weeks or months of danger to life and property, Raids and attacks resulted in death and destruction with resultant loss and suffering to the inhabitants of Florida. In the earlier years they fled to the woods helplessly, while after the forts were built the refuge secured during a long seige was small compensation for the destruction of property and even less for the work of rebuilding the community.

Commenting on life in the first Spanish period James Alexander Robertson wrote that "one can never lose sight of the desolation and misery existing in the colony; its insecurity against Indians, pirates, and possible more legitimate aggression; the niggardly aid given by the mother country; the hostility or grudging co-operation of the governor of Cuba; the high-handed methods of the visitador; the difficulties in collecting the subsidy; the precariousness in which the soldiers lived; the paucity of products in Florida; and the whole vicious economic condition. There is, indeed, little that relieves the situation. Florida was, in fact, almost one of the last bounds of the world of that day, so far as its welfare was concerned. It speaks volumes for the loyalty of the Spaniards that they stayed in a region that had so little hope of an improvement in existing conditions."

Missionary Activities

The activities of the Catholic missions in the first Spanish period were an important influence in the life of the colony once the decision to hold the region had been made by the Crown. The missions influenced the religious life of St. Augustine, but had a greater effect on the province in locating settlements, mission posts, defenses, and determining policies of commerce. At first, the missions were a source of colonial strength, but their establishment and operation on a purely altruistic basis was the vulnerable weakness which later opened the way to English and American conquests in Florida.

To understand the growth and expansion of the Spanish missions in Florida is to visualize the relationship of the Spanish Church and state. Most of the exploring

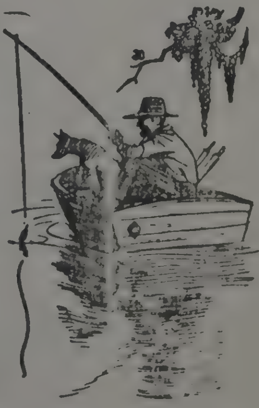
expeditions that reached Florida were accompanied by members of the various religious orders or secular priests: Augustinian, Dominican, Franciscan, Jesuit, and Trinitarian. In 1493 the Pope had bestowed the exclusive privilege of converting the aborigines of the Americas upon the Catholic kings of Europe. The privilege included royal jurisdiction of all religious matters overseas such as the authority to nominate all appointments to church offices. On their part, the kings were bound to support the missionary efforts in the western hemisphere through maintenance of the personnel involved and the provision of churches, monasteries, and convents. The kings provided the government of the religious factions in temporal matters, but the religious activities were actually directed by the regular and secular clergy.

The division of labor within the Catholic church in Florida was between the secular clergy who were in charge of the parish church and the chaplains who were stationed at the garrisons. The number of secular priests at St. Augustine was generally less than six. The activities of working with the Indians and establishing the missions in the wilderness was delegated to the regular clergy. These works were first assumed by members of the Society of Jesus and later by members of the Franciscan Order. The Franciscans began their work in 1574 with only a few priests, but by 1650 there were fifty friars and numerous initiates and other subordinates engaged in the Spanish missionary efforts in the southeastern region. With this small staff the Franciscans supported over fifty mission stations and numerous other centers which were visited by Friars from time to time, and were precursors of the religious circuit riders of American frontier days.

The Florida missionaries were members of the official quota of personnel assigned to the colony and were financed by the royal subsidy from the Viceroy of Mexico. This policy was contrary to the charity financing of the Franciscan Order generally. The increase in missionary activities in Florida effected a proportionate decrease in the military and civil activities of the province. In consequence, the military and civil officers were unhappy when faced with the expanding missionary efforts at their expense. Arguments between representatives of the religious orders and the other officials continued through the first Spanish dominion and became the cause of much jealously and bickering. The missionaries defended their growth and expense on the grounds of their successful conversion and pacification of the Indians which brought relative peace within the colony. In this, the religious factions were in accord with the royal officers at home and abroad.

Control of the Florida missions was vested in the Bishop of Cuba who supervised Cuba and Florida as the province of Santa Elena. There are records of at least two visits of these officials; the first visit was made by Bishop Altamirano during Holy Week in March, 1606. He spent three months in Florida and traveled to most of the missions holding services and conferring with the friars and their Indian converts. Almost two dozen young men, many of them Spaniards of Florida birth, were ordained into the church ministry and more than 2,400 whites and aborigines received confirmation at his hands.

In 1674, Bishop Calderon visited Florida for almost a year and spent eight months in traveling and visiting the mission stations. His visit was memorable in the letters that have been preserved on the conditions of the colony, especially in his description of life and labor among the Spanish and Indians. Calderon observed that there were three hundred Spaniards at St. Augustine and that the sandy soil around the capital was "unproductive, and corn grew only sparsely and at the cost of much labor. The section does not produce any sort of raw material which could attract trade, and has no resources other than the government allowance which in waits each year from the City of Mexico, and by which the infantry is fed and clothed."



These officials, and several others of record, devoted much time and effort in their inspections and observations of the affairs of Spanish Florida. Colonial policies involving the relations between religious, civil, and military institutions and

their separate officials gave rise to continuing irritations and aggravations. Problems involving the economics of the colony were major sources of difficulties; this was especially true of the problem of obtaining land for agricultural purposes. Although the Church and Crown opposed private land grants, there were many religious officials who sought both agricultural development and military expansion at the outlying missions.

The zeal of the Franciscans, evidenced by their energy, promoted a steady growth of the Florida missions. By 1597, there were mission stations from St. Augustine scattered northward for two hundred miles. Hostility of the Guale Indians of Georgia later led to guerilla wars that brought destruction to the mission stations north of San Pedro on the St. Mary's River at Cumberland Island. A punitive force marched into the Guale area and with the aid of additional missionaries, restored the mission stations.

During the seventeenth century the mission stations were strengthened to the northward and expanded westward from St. Augustine, San Mateo, San Pedro, and in Guale. By 1650, a chain of missions extended westward from St. Augustine across the St. Johns to Apalache Bay on the Gulf coast. Another chain of missions was established southward from St. Augustine to Cape Canaveral. The westward expansion was of short duration because of hostility from the Indians who were in alliance with English traders from South Carolina. The effect of these alliances resulted in the raiding and destruction of these western mission stations. At the end of the century the missionary activities of the Franciscans on the northern and western frontiers were largely blocked and the stations destroyed by English and Indian raiders from Georgia and South Carolina.

The work of the Spanish missions was a reflection of the devotion of the Franciscans. Their activities took them far afield from such civilization as existed at St. Augustine into the lonely wildnerness amidst savage aborigines. The numerous massacres and murders were mute testimony to the dangerous character of their work.

The rigorous support the missionaries gave to the Indians, ancient rights in the land has been noted as a weakness in the final challenge to the Spanish claims. In resisting attempts to alienate the land of the Indians, the missions blocked the settlement and defense of the outlying sections by landed proprietors, planters and farmers. Reluctance to arm the Indian or to incorporate the Indian methods of warfare, unlike the French and the English in other areas of North America, finally ruined Spain's colony in Florida.

Colonial Defense

The history of the Florida east coast from 1565 to 1763 is virtually the history of the Spanish attempts to defend the shoreline from the Florida Keys to Chesapeake Bay. Protection of the coast included defense of seaborne commerce from enemy and pirate raids, from disaster of storms or on reefs, and providing refuge for the victims of shipwreck. On the land, protection to settlements, forts and missions involved construction and maintenance of defenses and patrols of reconnaissance and supply by boat and horse.

Problems of finance and manpower within the means of the royal subsidy were insoluble at best and when the subsidy failed to arrive the colony existed on little beyond faith. The officials were almost always pessimistic in their reports and the governors generally expressed a feeling of futility. Many of them were extremely doubtful of the value of the colony and felt that Florida should have been abandoned. That Spain continued to hold Florida for two centuries with a small garrison at St. Augustine and at the outposts is evidence of little more than strength of purpose.

The defense of Florida was well planned by Menendez and his ideas prevailed

throughout the first Spanish period. He selected St. Augustine, a sheltered harbor near the outlet of the Bahama Channel, as the capital and center of operations. Havana, situated at the inlet to the Channel protected the southern end. Outlying forts were placed at San Mateo and Santa Elena. These forts guarded the northern ends of the trade routes and served as supply depots for contemplated expansion inland. Blockhouses, with small garrisons, were placed at Charlotte Harbor and on Tampa Bay. On the lower east coast garrisons and missions were placed at Matanzas Inlet, St. Lucie River, and Miami River. Menendez had hoped to control the Indians through the influence of friendship and missions, but the hostile character of the aborigines brought his recommendation that the South Florida Indians should be removed to the West Indies "so that no one of them would be living therein, and if any vessel shall be wrecked, the people can easily go in safety to the fort of St. Augustine and take refuge there". This plan of Indian removal preceded a later plan of removal by the United States by 250 years!

The resources available to the governors of Florida were too limited for the amount of expansion that was envisioned by Menendez. Less than two years after the founding of the colony a French force invaded the St. Johns River area. In order to revenge the Spanish attack on Fort Caroline and the subsequent massacres at Matanzas Inlet, Dominique de Gourges leading three ships and one hundred and eighty men, entered the river and proceeded to San Mateo in April, 1567. The Frenchmen captured the Spanish fort and hung all the Spaniards who had not been killed in the attack. Having secured their revenge, de Gourges and his men sailed off for their homeland and seized three Spanish ships en route, the crews of which were tossed into the ocean.

Shortly after the death of Menendez the blockhouses and missions on the Gulf coast and those on the east coast below Matanzas Inlet were evacuated and left to the Indians. For the remainder of the first period, Spanish occupation on the east coast comprised little more than a narrow strip from a small fort guarding Matanzas Inlet to Santa Elena in lower South Carolina. Santa Elena was virtually abandoned following Indian raids in 1576 and completely abandoned in 1587 when the members of the garrisons and supporting inhabitants were moved to St. Augustine.

While the Spanish did move their forces out of Santa Elena they did not relinquish their claims to South Carolina. In the succeeding years the missionaries established stations through Guale under the protection of military and naval patrols who served notice that the Spaniards intended to guard the east coast. But the expanded mission system proved too extensive to defend with the forces alloted under the subsidy and the mission stations in existence after 1700 were on the coast from Cumberland Island to St. Augustine together with several south of the Matanzas River.

One of the major problems faced by Menendez and the succeeding governors of Florida arose from the activities of pirates and adventurers who frequented the trade routes on the prowl for the profits of freebooting. These pirates and adventurers not only preyed upon maritime commerce, but often led their followers into Spanish ports where raiding, pillaging, and robbing took place. In 1580, Spanish defenders met an attack of French forces at the mouth of the St. Johns River, destroying one ship and killing over fifty men. In the interim before the devastating attack, led by Francis Drake in 1586, the physical defenses at St. Augustine were strengthened as much as possible with the men and materials available.

But, meanwhile, a new national peril threatened Spain's hold on the region. Walter Raleigh, favorite of the Virgin Queen Elizabeth, promised his patroness to build up an English Virginia to rival Spanish Florida. He did not succeed in carrying out his pledge, in what was later North Carolina, but his efforts ultimately led to an English outpost at Jamestown. Indirectly Francis Drake seconded his effort by raiding the Spanish town of St. Augustine. The outcome of this con-

flict was determined in the English channel rather than on the Florida coast, and in the victory over the Great Armada the English were more than compensated for the failure of Raleigh's Roanoke settlement.

The threat of English attack and the possibility of English colonization along the eastern seaboard were realized when Drake stood off the bar at St. Augustine in June 1586. With some forty two ships and two thousand men the Englishmen destroyed the capital of Florida. The establishment of the Raleigh colonies was further "evidence that a sustained effort was being made to challenge the Spanish claims to this territory." The concern of the Spanish in Florida resulted in three expeditions from St. Augustine to Virginia, in 1588, 1609, and 1611, but other than to make reconnaissances, the Spanish Crown made no real effort to stop this foreign aggression.

"Thus during the sixteenth century we may trace in the same general area the feeble beginnings of Spanish Florida, French Carolina, and English Virginia. After the first faint efforts the French temporarily dropped out of the contest, leaving the field to Spain and England. For upwards of half a century these two nations were represented by struggling colonies, far removed from each other on the Atlantic coast. During this interval Charles I of England . . . granted the intervening region to a favorite, Robert Heath . . . Meanwhile, English settlers strayed from Virginia toward southern water courses and Spanish missionaries continued spasmodic efforts along the lower coastal regions and toward the Piedmont. Charles the Second . . . awakened the Spaniards from inaction when in 1663 he issued to eight of his favorites a charter that included the territory from the thirty-first to the thirty-sixth parallels."

However, the Florida colony on the Matanzas River, "which neither the French and English navies and armed forces nor Indian foes, famine, poverty, pestilence, insurrections and threats of abandonment" could stifle would soon develop into an important frontier outpost. The mission system was functioning at the greatest expansion ever enjoyed, but the day had arrived when the efforts of the missionaries would no longer serve to protect the outpost of Spanish Florida. English attacks upon Santo Domingo and the conquest of Jamaica enabled England to gain a firm foothold in the West Indies in the years 1655-60. The establishment of a colony on the Cape Fear River in 1663, and the machinations of settlers with the Indians in explorations southward as far as the old site of Santa Elena were premonitions of troubles to come in the near future.

The period of vacillation, however, was now nearing an end and two events soon occurred which affected "the destiny of Spanish Florida, as well as the entire Caribbean region". In May 1668, Robert Searles (alias Davis), the English pirate, attacked St. Augustine, plundered the public buildings and homes and killed sixty Spaniards. With Searles went the English intriguer, Dr. Henry Woodward, who had been captured among the Indians by a Spanish border patrol. The second event, the establishment of Charles Town in 1670 at the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper rivers, moved the Spanish through the Viceroy of Mexico to begin construction of a massive stone fort, the Castillo de San Marcos, at the north entrance to St. Augustine harbor.

Actual construction of the Castillo began in 1672 and the fortress was virtually completed in 1687. The building of the fort produced a small "boom" in the community. The structure received its first baptism of fire in 1702 and was attacked again in 1733 and 1740 but was never taken by force. The English intrusion, coupled with fierce pirate raids, stimulated a Spanish program of defense. At Santa Catalina a garrison was now established beside the mission. It was the founding of Charleston that introduced the stone age to St. Augustine. Funds were appropriated, stone was quarried, lime kilns were opened, and an engineer and artisans brought from Havana. Indians were levied from Guale, Timucua, and Apalache to work on the fortfication. Delays occurred but when Quiroga (1687) came

as governor he found "completed in the main" the great castle which still stands at St. Augustine, a monument to Spain's determination.

The English settlement in Carolina did not go unchallenged by the Spanish in Florida. In the summer of 1670, Governor Manuel de Cendoya ordered an expedition against Charleston which was forced to return to Florida by a severe storm along the Atlantic coast. Though the colonial administration was strongly urged by the royal government to attack the English interlopers, the Governor refused to send another expedition without help from Cuba or Mexico. Such assistance was never given and the opportunity passed for destroying the Charleston settlement before it had grown to be too strong to attack.

The decline of Spanish power on the high seas with the defeat of the Armada in the latter part of the sixteenth century was followed by a similar military decline upon the European continent. Continued Spanish reverses forced the conclusion of the Treaty of Madrid of 1670 whereby the rulers of England and Spain agreed to tolerate each other's presence in America. Thus, roughly a century after Menendez's founding of the colony the Spanish lost the first battle for Florida and brought to an end what Isaac Cox has called the Period of Definition. The worthless character of the Treaty is recognized in the Spanish determination to defend the colony and the subsequent English claim down to latitude 29° and the territory between Charleston and St. Augustine.

In the second century of the colony the continental American settlements of the European nations were but pawns in the wars which came one after another for the full hundred years. The period opened with Indian attacks, stimulated by the Carolina settlers against the Spanish mission outpost at Santa Catalina, off the Georgia coast, in 1680. Although the preliminary struggle failed, the missionaries and guards retreated toward St. Augustine and thus encouraged the invaders.

The English, shrewd students of human nature and quick to take advantage of the weaknesses of their enemies, soon discovered ways to injure still further the frontier organization of the Spaniards. This they did partly by supplying the Indians with firearms and by wholesale bribery; but even more, they were able to accomplish their objectives by playing upon various injustices, real or fancied. One Indian tribe after another repudiated its ancient alliance with Spain and sought refuge under the protecting wing of the Carolinians.

The hold of the Carolina traders on the Indians of Guale was tightened by their willingness to purchase the captives of their Indian allies as slaves, a factor which further encouraged war upon the Timucua mission Indians. At the same time piratical raids by both English and French buccaneers brought destruction and ruin to the Georgia missions. By 1686 the northern Guale missions were abandoned by the Spaniards and apparently re-established south of the St. Mary's River at Santa Maria, San Juan and Santa Cruz islands; Amelia, Talbot and Fort George islands in what is now the area of Nassau and Duval counties, though the locations are not definite.

If Anglo-Indian alliances, combined with freebooting raids, forced the evacuation of Old Guale, it was not without a stroke of revenge. In 1683 a Scotch settlement had been planted at Port Royal which had served as an informal base of operations against the Spanish. In September 1686, three vessels and a strong force from St. Augustine destroyed the Port Royal installations and pillaged English plantations on Edisto Island. While proceeding to Charleston and seeking further revenge, two ships were lost in a hurricane, a disaster which spared further depredations by the Spaniards.

Concurrent with the evacuation of the coastal areas above the St. Mary's River was the struggle for the control of western Georgia and western Florida. In Apalache and Apalachicola, hostilities also began in this period, following a brief interval of determined Spanish effort to push the mission and military system into the more remote wilderness beyond the junction of the Chattachoochee and Flint

rivers. Against this move the English, having all the advantage because of the close alliance between the Carolina fur traders and Indians, countered swiftly, sending raiding parties, one after another, in the two decades from 1685 to 1705, deep into the mission country of Apalache. The Apalache missions, though remaining in Spanish hands, never regained their strength.

Several counterattacks by Spanish military forces resulted in little more than guerilla warfare against the natives of the Anglo-Indian alliances and the destruction of villages and the relocation of the Lower Creeks to lands nearer their English benefactors.

At the turn of the century the crisis of the contest was reached in the campaigns of Colonel James Moore, governor of Carolina, at St. Augustine and later in Apalache. In this period the immediate peril for Spain arose in the war over the succession to the Spanish throne and the world-wide Spanish dominions, referred to in America as Queen Anne's War. The English in Carolina sought control over Spanish Florida in a proposed seizure of St. Augustine, whereas the Spanish in turn threatened Charleston.

In November 1702 Moore entered St. Augustine harbor and captured the city, but failed to take the Castillo de San Marcos. The castle withstood the first baptism of fire by the English for two months before Moore raised the seige. The climax was reached when Moore led a force into the western country in December 1703. The English and their Indian allies destroyed thirteen missions and Indian villages in Apalache and western Timucua.

Although Moore had been successful in the western country, the effects of his raids were overcome to some extent. Spanish influence among the Indians grew stronger, especially after the uprising of the Yemasee against their English neighbors. Many of the Indians returned to settle in the St. Augustine and St. Marks areas of Florida. San Marcos de Apalache was re-established as a fort in 1718, and became an outpost the importance of which increased in the English and second Spanish periods.

On the Atlantic seaboard, England and Spain continued the game of cat and mouse. In 1721 the situation became unbalanced when the English closed the gap between Charleston and St. Augustine with the construction of a fort on the Altamaha River. The settlement of Georgia by James Oglethorpe in 1733 was the beginning of the final clash between the two nations for the control of Florida. The English began fortifying the former mission stations and erected forts on St. Simons, Cumberland, Amelia and Fort George (San Juan) islands and down the coast to the very locale of St. Augustine itself.

Late in May 1740, Oglethorpe invaded St. Augustine and laid siege to the fort, but after several weeks of unsuccessful effort, withdrew his forces. Henceforth, for three decades, the colonial authorities of English Georgia, Spanish Florida, and French Louisiana maneuvered to check the expansion of each other and to advance their respective national pretensions. Intrigues, slave raids, and the trade in peltries kept the disputed frontier in commotion. The War of Jenkins' Ear led to renewed invasions from Georgia answered by equally futile incursions from Florida.

The outcome of the Seven Years' War in 1763 saw the cession of French territory east of the Mississippi and Spanish relinquishment of Florida for Havana and Manila. In reality, two centuries of Spanish sovereignty in Florida maintained a presidio and little else, but enough had been done in this region to uncover its resources and to point the way to later English and American colonial policies, which would make full use of the vast potentialities of the land. Though, in this respect, the Spanish contribution to American culture was indirect, it nonetheless was real and substantial.

SELECTED REFERENCES

CRANE, VERNER, *The Southern Frontier*, Durham, 1929.
GEIGER, MAYNARD, *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida*, Washington, 1937.
KERRIGAN, ANTHONY, *Barcia's History of Florida*, Gainesville, 1951.
LANNING, JOHN T., *The Spanish Missions of Florida*, Chapel Hill, 1935.
VARNER, JOHN G., *Florida of the Inca*, Austin, 1951.
Florida Historical Quarterly:
BOYD, MARK F., *The Siege of St. Augustine by Governor Moore*, April, 1948.
BOYD, MARK F., *The Expedition of Marcus Delgado*, July, 1937.
DUNKLE, JOHN R., *Population of St. Augustine*, July, 1958.
TE PASKE, JOHN J., *Economic Problems of Florida Governors, 1700-1763*, July, 1958.

CHAPTER V

THE BRITISH PERIOD

By Dr. J. E. Dovell

Colonial Rivalries

By 1725, THE lines of conflict over the control of North America were being drawn by the imperial forces of England, France and Spain. In the northern part of the continent England and France were later to fight along their colonial boundaries in Canada and in the Mohawk and Ohio valleys. Further south, the English migrated into the Mississippi valley to fight the French in the middle of the continent. In Florida, the colonial rivalry was resolved into a struggle involving the three nations for the control of the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico areas.

In 1755, England and France began the series of engagements known as the Seven Years' War for world leadership and supremacy in North America and India. Spain remained neutral until 1762 and then became an ally of France in the fight over the North American continent. But for the Spanish the war was soon lost when the English seized Canada and most of Cuba. In view of their successes the English decided to hold Canada and to push for the cession of either Puerto Rico or Florida to consolidate the Anglo-American empire along the Atlantic coast. France offered to give England her territory west of the Mississippi so that the Spanish might retain Florida, but the English preferred to integrate their colonial empire with the peninsula included and thus hold the entire Atlantic coast line.

By the treaty of 1763 England came into control of colonies from Canada to Florida and eastern Louisiana along with all of the unsettled frontier east of the Mississippi. The growth of the English seabord colonies within the present United States influenced the choice for the consolidation of the empire in North America rather than the addition of West Indies Islands to a sugar empire. The French compensated the Spanish in the cession of all territory west of the Mississippi; the continent was divided between England and Spain, with the river marking the boundary between the two colonial empires.

The acquisition of the Florida providence and of eastern Louisiana together with the dominion of North America from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi River presented the English colonial authorities with a number of problems involving imperial organization. Foremost among these problems was the conciliation of the Indian tribes in the prevention of further encroachment on Indian lands by English settlers and backwoodsmen. Other problems included: the provision for lands for settlers, boundaries and governments for the new territories, Indian trade, and extradition of fugitives from justice. A new imperial policy was embodied in the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763.

The Proclamation reserved the lands west of the Alleghanies, from Florida to Canada, for the exclusive use of the Indians and prohibited the private purchase of Indian lands. "Prospective settlers were to be drawn off, as far as possible, into Nova Scotia, Quebec, and the Floridas, and for their encouragement civil governments of the usual colonial pattern were immediately to be set up in Quebec and East and West Florida. In the three new continental colonies—Quebec and East and West Florida-compensation for the land-hungry Englishmen in America was given in lands to be granted on very favorable terms."

By the Proclamation of 1763 boundaries were defined for the newly established colonies of the Floridas: "Those of the East Florida were to be: the Gulf of Mexico and the Apalachicola River on the west; on the north a line from the Apalachicola at the point where the 'Chatahouchee' and Flint Rivers meet, to the source of the St. Mary's River, and thence the course of that river to the Atlantic; on the east and south the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Florida, including all islands within six leagues of the coast.

"The boundaries of West Florida were to be the Gulf of Mexico on the south (including all islands within six leagues of the coast), Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas and the Mississippi as far north as the thirty-first parallel on the north, and the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola rivers on the east—in 1764—the northern boundary was moved to a line drawn due east from the confluence of the Yazoo and Mississippi rivers. This increased the size of the colony, which now embraced the former Spanish territory including and adjacent to Pensacola; former French territory including and adjacent to Mobile, Biloxi, and Natchez; and certain land that might have been claimed by Georgia under the Charter of 1732."

The addition of the great strip of land to the British colonial empire along the Gulf and lower Atlantic coasts secured the southern frontier against foreign agents, border incidents, and places of escape for runaway slaves or other fugitives. Further, control of Florida spelled control over maritime commerce in the southern seas and over the profitable Indian trade. The opening of lands to settlement promised economic rewards in agrarian production, an area the Spanish had deliberately ignored. The division of the southern territory, however, with the capital of East Florida at St. Augustine and the capital of West Florida at Pensacola created two colonies whose existence was completely detached, except for matters of military defense. East Florida and St. Augustine were dominated by affairs in the northern Atlantic colonies; west Florida and Pensacola were influenced by affairs in Mississippi valley politics.

Organization of the Colony

Under the terms of the treaty of Paris of 1763 the change of flags and transfer of the Floridas was fixed at three months, or sooner, upon ratification of the document. Spanish subjects were permitted free exit, with rights of sale of property to British subjects, within eighteen months of the ratification. News of the treaty reached St. Augustine in March, 1763, when a ship of the British navy brought an account from the governor of South Carolina. Orders for the British occupation of the ceded territories by troops leaving Cuba were effected in July, when Major Francis Ogilvie arrived at St. Augustine and assumed possession of East Florida. The British were politely received as the Spaniards delivered the province with pomp and ceremony, military honors being paid to pictures of the Spanish monarchs.

Meanwhile, the departure of the Spaniards and other residents of East Florida had been under way since April 12th, when three schooners sailed from St. Augustine to Havana. By February 1764 some 3,100 persons had sailed from East Florida for Cuba and other destinations in the Spanish dominions. Spanish officials "used every means to persuade the Floridians to leave, not merely by impressing on them the risk to their religion under the British flag, but by offering them ample remuneration in land in Cuba for their losses in Florida". During the period of the transition some ill-feelings were engendered as a result of Spanish attempts to dispose of their property before leaving St. Augustine. Retiring Governor Melchor Feliu reported that British troops had begun to dismantle the houses and were "stealing everything that could be carried off and burned", a process that "had greatly reduced the value of most of the houses." The English reported the Span-

iards to be "troublesome guests while they stayed, but their departure ended the differences in law, language, and, for the time at least, in land ownership".

The only other Spanish settlement in East Florida, San Marcos de Apalache, a fort located at the confluence of the Wakulla and St. Marks rivers, was not occupied by the British until late February 1764. The isolated fort and outpost at St. Marks was held by a small British garrison until 1769 when it was abandoned as a military post and delivered to an Indian trader for use as a store.

Under the terms of the Proclamation of October 7, 1763, inhabitants of the newly created colonies were provided with a governmental framework similar to the other royal colonies in North America. The colonists were promised the resources of English law and the royal governors and councils were provided with the power to establish representative assemblies, courts of law; and to grant land to settlers, with lenient terms to veterans of the armed forces. Major Ogilvie, commanding officer at St. Augustine, and virtual governor of East Florida until September 1764, observed on receipt of the Proclamation that "there were not in East Florida sufficient inhabitants for the calling of an assembly or the formation of a council".

The first civil governor of East Florida, James Grant, interrupted a military career which carried him to generalship to serve for seven years at St. Augustine. Grant received his commission in 1763 but did not arrive in the colony until August 1764 and delayed his inauguration until the last day of October. He had been greeted with a firing of guns in salute, but the usual festivities for welcoming a new governor were lacking since the populace of the settlement consisted of Major Ogilivie, his officers and troops, a few gentlemen and some lesser settlers. The inauguration was delayed until several persons Grant had invited to the colony could arrive and form the necessary complement for a Council.

On October 31 Grant published his commission and then organized "His Majesty's Council for East Florida." The first Council, rather distinguished in its personnel, included the chief justice James Moultrie, his brother John Moultrie, John Dunnett, James Box, John Ainslie, Robert Catherwood, John Holmes, and John Stuart, superintendent of Indian affairs and surveyor general of customs in America for the Southern District. At the first meeting, held on the inauguration day, the governor and councilors were sworn in and the chief justice and attorney general were also sworn in upon receiving their commissions. In later sessions Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions were constituted as well as a Court of Chancery and Vice-Admiralty. "The government thus formed remained under the charge of James Grant until July 1771, when he sailed for England" for reasons of health, though he did not resign the governorship until 1773. In the interim, until the arrival of Patrick Tonyn as Grant's successor, John Moultrie served as president of the Council, and upon receipt of his commission as Lieutenant Governor to March 1774.

During these years the "infant colony", as Grant called it, grew slowly. In 1770, William Gerrard De Brahm, surveyor general of the Southern District in America, listed 144 married men, 145 unmarried men, some 900 negroes and 1400 settlers who had been imported by Dr. Andrew Turnbull for the New Smyrna colony. Bernard Romans, an assistant to De Brahm, noted that there were 300 houses left at St. Augustine and "at most a thousand inhabitants" before 1775. There was little change in the town; the British adapted the public buildings and private homes to their own use. The fort, governor's house, and churches were converted or reconstructed along much the same lines as the original buildings and served the same general purposes.

One observer wrote that "apart from the military officers and the higher government officials who formed the elite of the local society, the populace was made up of small traders and artisans and the minor government officials. Municipal institutions were lacking, though a school, a bathing-house, a market and a slaughter-

ing-pen were maintained at public expense. The tedium of life in such a remote outpost was somewhat relieved by the generous hospitality of the bachelor Governor, Grant, and by balls and assemblies . . . The brief stay in town of General Haldimand, in command of the Southern Brigade, provided the occasion, perhaps, for a good deal of entertaining, and later, in 1771, the presence of the 'music' or military band of the Major of Brigade made it, by Grant's account, 'the gayest place in America, nothing but balls, assemblies and concerts.' But in general it had more of the attributes of a disorderly garrison town, a purgatory for the 'remittance man' and the struggling petty official, 'where luxury and debauchery reigned amidst scarity' and the small number of females occasioned much divisions and irregularity."

The government of the East Florida colony followed the general pattern that had been established in the eighteenth century. The governor, as the royal appointee, filled a vice-regal position and was endowed with important powers, though these were limited in his commission and so necessitated a continuing correspondence with colonial officials in London. As the head of a civil establishment, the governor was assisted by the usual staff of major and minor officials, all of whom were appointed by the chief executive, though the more important offices were subject to approval in London.

Governmental problems of Indian relations occupied an important place on the British governor's agenda. Although the Proclamation of 1763 and subsequent plans sought to transfer Indian affairs from colonial to imperial control, the plans were never carried out. Grant was forced to rely on his own resources in his official relations with the East Florida Indians, mainly lower Creeks who lived across the St. Johns River in the northwestern areas of the colony. Fortunately, the Governor had served with the British army on the American frontier, participating in the Cherokee wars, and evolved a policy of kind treatment, and peaceful negotiations together with a distribution of presents at public conferences.

Governor Grant and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, John Stuart, called the first Indian conference at Picolata on the St. Johns River in November, 1765, to settle on the tribual boundaries in East Florida. Provisions and a large supply of presents were sent ahead by water; Stuart, Grant, and the official delegation came by land, accompanied by an impressive escort of officers, drummers and fifty privates.

An excellent account of the proceedings and the ceremonies of the "Congress Held in a Pavillion" was made by the naturalist, John Bartram, "in company with several Gentlemen whose curiosity led them to be present." The first day was occupied with singing and dancing by the Indians, and shaking of hands and smoking of the peace pipe by Grant, Stuart, and the assembled chiefs. The chiefs, in turn "according to their dignity had each a fine silver medal hung in a fine silk ribbon two yards long which ye governor hung about each chief's neck while ye drums beat and ye guns fired." Several days were occupied with speechmaking and bargaining, and on November 18 a treaty was signed alloting all of the country east of the St. Johns and the northeast corner between the St. Johns and the St. Mary's to English settlement. On the following day Grant distributed gifts of guns, kettles, hoes, blankets, and linen to the Indian Chiefs.

A similar meeting was held two years later at the same location for confirmation of continued friendly relations, and exchange of presents. The major problem in Indian relations, however, concerned the regulation of the profitable Indian commerce and the Indian traders. The growing desire of the Indians for guns, powder and bullets, cloth, and other items of English manufacture was recognized in the Proclamation of 1763 whereby Indian traders were to be licensed by the colonial governors. While the majority of the Indian trade in the Southeast passed through Augusta or Savannah, shipments of animal hides and skins through St. Augustine are recorded in the shipping returns.

The number of licensed Indian traders in the province was five in 1765 according to Grant. They were, apparantly, Burgess, an express rider who had a store at Puckanawhitla; M'Alley, a Dutchman; Barnet, who had a store west of the St. Johns on the road to Apalache; Wilson, one of the local merchants of St. Augustine who had a store at Clement's Bluff high up the St. Johns; and James Spalding. Spalding lived on St. Simon Island near Frederica in Georgia and was the senior member of the firm of Spalding and Kelsall, which had several trading houses in East Florida, particularly "Spalding's upper store" on the St. Johns River.

Both John Bartram and his son, William, visited the Spalding stores on the St. Johns River; while William Bartram accompanied a Spalding agent to Alachua and the Suwanee River where lesser trading posts were established in 1774. The trading activities of the Spalding interests were later absorbed by the great house of Panton, Leslie and Company. William Panton, John Leslie and Thomas Forbes had come out from Scotland to Charleston and Savannah and established a partnership whose storehouses "extended from Sunbury, Georgia, to Volusia, Florida, and their canoes floated to and from Frederica, the central store-house." Because of the attachment of the firm to the British cause, Panton and his partners moved to St. Augustine during the American Revolution and operated as Panton, Forbes and Company. By the end of the war, the firm, then known as Panton, Leslie and Company "was transacting more business than any other concern engaged in Southern Indian trade." Upon the cession of Florida to Spain in 1783, Panton, Leslie and Company continued their operations under a virtual monopoly from the Spanish government.

The decision of the British government to maintain an imperial military organization in North America after 1763 had a direct effect on the Florida colonies. St. Augustine was selected as one of the main military stations at which English troops would be maintained. Planned service strength included a regiment of infantry, a company of artillery, and a number of military and civil personnel for staff and auxiliary services. Detachments from St. Augustine were maintained at New Providence in the Bahamas and at Apalache, Picolata, Matanzas, Anastasia Island, and New Smyrna.

In 1768 a further military reorganization was decided on by the British government, in which St. Augustine was to become the station for three regiments, and the headquarters of the Southern Brigade. Owing to difficulties in providing shipping to transport the troops over the treacherous bar, and in finding accomodation for them on arrival, the plan was never carried out, though Brigadier General Frederick Haldinand made St. Augustine his headquarters for a year from April 1769, until recalled to West Florida by the fears of a Spanish attack there.

In addition to matters of civil government and military defense, instructions to the colonial governors also entailed the responsibility of the established church, the Church of England, and of the public morals of the colony. In his commission, Grant was authorized "to collate any Person or Persons to any churches, Chapels, and other ecclesiastical benefices" in the colony when vacancies should occur. In East Florida, the crown-supported civil list included the salaries for ministers of the church at St. Augustine and at St. Marks and public funds provided house rent for the minister and for repairs to the parish church; "the crown agent sent out a Bible, two Prayer Books, some communion plates and an altar cloth for the church."

A church historian noted that during the time in which East and West Florida were British provinces no fewer than nine clergymen were licensed for service by the Bishop of London, who was the diocesan head of the Church of England in America. Besides there were other ministers who held occasional services, as well as school-masters. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (incorporated in 1701, and the great missionary agency of the English Church during the colonial period) co-operated with the Bishop of London to the extent

of selecting clergymen for the Florida posts. Each regularly licensed clergyman received a royal bounty to defray the cost of his travel; while his salary, which amounted to 100 pounds a year, was paid by the British government.

The Reverend John Forbes, appointed to the congregation at St. Augustine in 1763, arrived in the colony in 1764 and remained until 1783. Forbes was very active in the life of the province and played "a prominent part in the administrative and judicial life of the province as well as in the Church."

When Andrew Turnbull founded the New Smyrna colony and imported several hundred Minorcans, two Roman Catholic Priests, Father Pedro Camps and Father Bartolome Casanovas, accompained the colonists and ministered to the members of their faith. When the Minorcans later moved to St. Augustine, the priests reestablished the church there. In 1784, Johann Schoepf, a German tourist in America, noted that an association of Anabaptist Negroes held services in a cabin at St. Augustine.

Among the positions on the colony's civil list salaries for two schoolmasters were included. "It is interesting that the British government made provision for the public support of education in the Floridas at a time when at home and in the older colonies it was left to local or charitable initiative." Several schoolmen directed educational activity during the British period and an order of the Council stipulated a curriculum based on English, Latin, Greek, writing, and arithmetic.

When Grant sailed for England in July 1771, the government of East Florida had been under his guidance for seven years and his departure was accompanied with misgivings on the part of the colonists. The first British governor was popular with both the gentle folk and the artisans and tradespeople. James Grant Forbes, son of Reverend John Forbes, wrote that the first governor "possessed the *savoir vivre* to such a degree, that upon hearing of any coolness or dissension between those about him, they were brought together at his table, (always well provided), and reconciled before they were allowed to leave it."

The government over which Grant presided differed from the framework of other royal colonies. A General Assembly was not created until 1781 and the expenses of the government were met from an anual subsidy from the English Parliment. Charles L. Mowat, able student of British East Florida, noted that the two aspects were closely connected: "a population too small to have an assembly would hardly be able to raise the funds for the . . . colonial government; a population which did not pay taxes for its government could hardly complain if it was governed without its consent expressed in an assembly." Likewise, the trend of political thought in East Florida differed from that of the northern colonists. In the matter of the stamp duties Grant wrote that "the Licentious Spirit, which has appeared in most of His Majesty's American Colonies, in opposition to an Act of the British parliament has not spread to East Florida."

In attempting to explain the absence of a popular assembly, Charles L. Mowat noted that Grant was "evidently something of a martinet, and seeing the rising tension in the colonies to the north . . . decided to prolong a policy which at first was intended to be temporary." His successor, John Moultrie, who served three years as interim governor, likewise failed to activate an assembly. Patrick Tonyn, characterized as a haughty autocrat, saw no reason to alter the policy when he assumed the governorship in 1774, especially in view of the mounting revolutionary spirit to the north.

Colonization and Commerce

2000283

The exodus of the Spaniards and other groups from East Florida at the change of flags in 1763 left the colony virtually depopulated. As a result of the migration, "strenuous efforts were made by the British to encourage the settlement of the land, by the provision of military defense and civil government at the expense of Great

Britain, by generous—probably over-generous—grants of land, and by numerous accounts of the country in magazines and books published in Great Britain itself." In issuing the Proclamation of 1763 the British Crown had hoped that the vast acreage of the Floridas would attract English settlers and backwoodsmen to the South in place of encroachment upon the Indian reserve. Generous grants were offered to former military service men and to ordinary persons: one hundred acres as the head of a family with fifty additional acres for each member of he family. Twenty thousand acre townships were also granted to parties on terms of settlement, at their own expense, with families from England or other countries on the basis of one hundred acres for each individual placed on the grant.

Between 1765 and 1775, the only years with extant records, 1,650,000 acres were granted in East Florida, of which 1,440,000 acres was given on 114 British Orders in Council and 210,700 acres was given "in response to 576 local petitions, mostly for land on family right, as very few officers or ex-soldiers asked for the 'King's Bounty' " Of the large township grants, Governor Tonyn listed only sixteen, whose total acreage was 222,000, that had been settled in 1776. Unfortunately the records contain no mention of land purchases in St. Augustine, nor in the country, nor of backwoodsmen or squatters on public and private domain.

In spite of the large amount of land granted, there were but few settlers and the growth of the colony was slow and disappointing. The Florida land boom, concurrent with those of the northern colonies, provided grants to those whom Bernard Romans tabbed "the monopolisers of East Florida," who "planted their baronies in the pine barrens." Such grants, left in an uncultivated and unsettled state, were a bar to further use and a block to colonial growth.

The campaign of the British government to attract settlers to East Florida was marked by at least two measures. The first was the insertion in the London Gazette of a notice advising persons desirous of obtaining grants of land in the Floridas for the cultivation of silk, cotton, wine, oil, indigo, Cochineal, and other commodities to submit their proposals in writing . . . to the Board of Trade. This advertisement was reproduced in the Scots Magazine for November, 1763, and was referred to in some detail in the Gentleman's Magazine for the same month.

The second official measure came in the form of a proclamation from Governor Grant that explained how "family right" lands could be acquired on application to the East Florida Council. The governor extolled, in some detail, the virtues of the climate and the fertility of the soil and his proclamation "had wide circulation throughout the American colonies and was reproduced in books and gazettes."

Simultaneously, the new colony received a considerable amount of publicity, informing the public in England and America of Florida and attempting to remove the prejudicies against its reputedly poor climate and unproductive soil. Articles and descriptive information appeared in the *American Gazetteer* in 1762; Robert Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America* (London, 1765) ; and in *Gentleman's Magazine* and *Slots Magazine,* January, 1767. Other works, describing the topography and natural features and vegetation of East Florida included William Roberts' *Account of the First Discovery, and Natural History of Florida* (London, 1763) ; William Stork, *An Account of East-Florida* (London, 1766) ; and *An Extract from the Account of East Florida, Published by Dr. Stork* (London, 1766).

The results of all these literary flights were on the whole disappointing. Both at the time and later it was difficult to get a true picture of the growth of population and settlement in East Florida previous to the outbreak of the American Revolution. The settled area of East Florida was but the small northeastern corner of the peninsula: along the St. Mary's River; the region between the St. Johns and the east coast; and the same coast southward from St. Augustine as far as New Smyrna.

According to estimates there were approximately one hundred planters and farmers in East Florida in the years just before the American Revolution. Governors Grant and Tonyn and interim Governor Moultrie actively engaged in planting.

Grant's farm was near St. Augustine, where in 1774 the overseer reported a crop of 5,460 pounds of indigo. Tonyn's plantation was on the St. Johns at Broclair Bluff, while Moultrie possessed twelve tracts encompassing 14,300 acres. Moultrie developed Bella Vista near St. Augustine into a country seat on the Matanzas River: "A considerable stone mansion, surrounded by park land including pleasure gardens and a bowling green, fish ponds, and walks planted with a great variety of trees." Moultrie settled Rozetta, on the Tomoka River near Daytona, in 1770, where he was cultivating several hundred acres in 1783 with the assistance of 180 slaves and employees. Other plantations included Richard Oswald's "Mount Oswald" on the Tomoka, Robert Bisset's "Mount Plenty" in the New Smyrna area, Lord Egmont's on Amelia Island, Abraham Marshall's "Satonia," Francis Philip Fatio's "New Switzerland," James Penman's "Jericho," and Francis Levett's "Julianton," all on the St. Johns.

The plantations of Denys Rolle, an Englishman of some wealth and position, and Dr. Andrew Turnbull, a prosperous English physician, were in the nature of individual colonial settlements. Rolle had originally planned to establish an asylum for poor Englishmen where blighted individuals might be rehabilitated in the New World (years later unfounded tradition held that Rolle's efforts were in behalf of prostitutes, but there is no evidence to support such a theory). The settlement was made at Mount Pleasant on the St. Johns River between East Palatka and San Mateo. Various groups of vagrants and beggars were brought to "Rollestown" but there was little successful economic endeavor until Negro slaves were employed. By 1782, Rolle had secured 80,000 acres and claimed he had spent 28,000 pounds, although the British commissioners for East Florida claims allowed him but 6,500 pounds upon the retrocession of Florida to Spain.

The most ambitious attempt at colonial settlement was undertaken by Dr. Turnbull and his associates south of St. Augustine on the Halifax River near Mosquito Inlet, now known as Ponce de Leon Inlet. Turnbull had lived for several years in Asia Minor and had married into the family of a Greek merchant of Smyrna. Visiting East Florida in 1767, the English doctor selected the location which he named in honor of his wife's birthplace.

Turnbull returned to the Mediterranean to produce colonists for the grants on the east coast and by the end of August, 1768, over twelve hundred Greeks, Italians and Minorcans had arrived at New Smyrna. Adequate provisions had not been prepared for such numbers and the ill-fated colony was plagued by misfortune from its beginning. A very high death rate of a thousand in the first two years was attributable in part, to a lack of food, clothing, and shelter. Misunderstandings between the English overseers and the Mediterrean laborers were amplified out of proportion and were followed by open defiance and subsequent execution of two colonists. Turnbull was diligent and assiduous and bent every effort to remedy the situation, but he had neither money nor credit to buy clothes, nor the necessary material and tools to build suitable homes.

Conditions gradually improved and the settlement produced a surplus of corn and rice in 1770 and a profitable indigo crop in 1774. But continued misunderstandings between colonisers and colonists resulted in the abandoment of New Smyrna in 1777. The revolution in the northern colonies persuaded Governor Tonyn to allow the release of some of the settlers from their indentures and to wink at the desertion of indentures by others. By 1778 the New Smyrna settlers were scattered throughout St. Augustine where their descendants have remained to the present time.

Perhaps the best measure of the success of the British endeavor to settle the land and develop the resources of East Florida is found in the commerce of the colony. Although St. Augustine offered one of the poorest harbors on the Atlantic coast on account of the shallow bar and dangerous entrance channels, domestic and foreign trade passed through the capital as virtually the only port of entry in the

colony. In 1764, 32 ships entered St. Augustine; 31 in 1765; 36 in 1767; 52 in 1768; 56 in 1769; 50 in 1770; 30 in 1771; and 26 in 1772. Most of the vessels came on the short coastal run from Charleston, where most goods to or from East Florida were trans-shipped into larger vessels going to the northern ports or to Europe. The vessels in the coastal trade were generally small sloops of less than thirty tons, and almost invariably were from Charleston or Savannah. Most of the factors or agents who handled the Florida plantation produce and, in turn, supplied the flour, pork, rice, hardware and Negroes, operated out of Charleston which served as the capital of commerce for the southern colonies.

Exports of the two Floridas to England amounted to 22,335 pounds in 1774, while the Floridas' imports from England stood at 67,000 pounds in 1771. While no positive figure is available, probably half of this trade was with East Florida. The leading article of export from East Florida was indigo, encouraged by a bounty of four pence a pound. From St. Augustine indigo exports rose from 6,000 pounds in 1770 to 28,000 pounds in 1771; 58,000 in 1776; 29,000 in 1778; and 125,533 in 1782.

The export of citrus products rose from 21 barrels of oranges in 1764 to 50,000 in 1770 and 65,000 in 1776. Incidental citrus exports included "quarter-casks" of orange juice, "hogheads" of dried citrus peel, and lemons and limes. Export of rice reached 1,170 barrels in 1777. The skin and hide trade from St. Augustine retained modest proportions in comparsion with other colonial ports. Lumber and naval stores exports gradually rose, especially during the Revolution: in 1778, 8,000 barrels of tar and 2,000 barrels of turpentine left the colony. Trade and commerce rose rapidly in the early years of the Revolution at the port of St. Augustine but the overall total of commerce with England gradually declined as the war ran its course.

East Florida in the American Revolution

The third and last British governor, Colonel Patrick Tonyn, arrived in St. Augustine on March 1, 1774. The revolutionary spirit in the northern colonies soon fanned the flame of defiance into open rebellion and the new governor's regime was plagued with problems incident to the ensuing war. At the outset Tonyn fell heir to the domestic problems that Lieutenant Governor Moultrie had been unable to resolve. A number of disputes had arisen over the failure to summon an assembly as well as from personal rivalaries and jealousies over Grant's successor. Chief Justice William Drayton and Dr. Andrew Turnbull, members of the Council, took exception to Moultrie's actions and to all effects organized a party of opposition to the local administration. With the inauguration of Tonyn, these leaders and their friends continued a policy of opposition which had begun partly over the matter of the assembly, partly as a result of a personal though unexplained quarrel.

Tonyn aligned his interests with those of Moultrie and looked upon Drayton and Turnbull as leaders of an opposition to be stamped out as alien and seditious. Drayton, however, head of the judicature in a loyalist colony whose governor seemed to him the worst kind of tyrant, came to feel that the calamity of the Revolution was the result of the blunders and misdemeanors of just such tyrannical governors in other colonies. Drayton continued to lead the opposition faction during the Revolution, until his removal as chief justice in 1777 and departure for England in early 1778.

Mowat characterizes Drayton as a "champion of the American cause in a loyalist colony, a conspirator boring from within. Yet, though there is much to lend color to this interpretation, it seems possible that he hoped, by his opposition, to secure the removal of the governor and so preserve, under a more conciliatory executive, the connection with the British crown which might, after all, have been restored by consent in the other colonies at least as late as 1777, before Saratoga."

After the departure of the leader of what Tonyn noted as the "inflamed faction" the opposition collapsed. There had been little actual sentiment in East Florida for the revolutionary cause. Sparse settlement in the colony and isolation from the other colonies accentuated their dependence on government funds for salaries and other expenses of the colony; the arguments over taxation in other colonies were meaningless. The leaders in Florida were office-holders whose personal interests and sentiments upheld the Crown of England. In November, 1775, Tonyn advertized the loyalty of the province in a proclamation "inviting loyalists to leave the provinces then in revolt and find a welcome and a refuge in East Florida, where they would receive free grants of land and enjoy many other advantages." The arrival of loyalist refugees, beginning in 1775, saved East Florida for the loyal cause, and on the British evacuation of Charleston and Savannah in 1782 and 1783 the province became the temporary home of thousands in the mass emigration of loyalists. The historian James Forbes illustrated the solidarity of loyalist sentiment in noting that information of the signing of the American Declaration of Independence in St. Augustine was received with such indignation that John Adams and John Hancock were burned in effigy in the plaza.

The outbreak of hostilities between the American colonies and Great Britain in East Florida began with the boarding of the English brigantine *Betsy* standing off the St. Augustine bar in August 1775. This act of privateering by the South Carolina Sloop of war *Commerce,* during which powder and stores were removed, served notice on Tonyn that import of supplies from other colonies or from England were in peril of capture at sea. Throughout the war the colony was cut off from intercourse and trade with the rebellious colonies to the north and was victimized by privateers. By the same method St. Augustine sought to avenge and reimburse herself for her losses. Numerous accounts of the war at sea: attack, raids, and counter-attacks by English and American men-of-war and privateers, point out the inability of either belligerent to control the coast lines or achieve lasting naval victory in Florida waters.

Military operations on the mainland, and on the islands along the coast, likewise deteriorated into a series of raids and counter-raids in the once "debatable land" between the St. Johns and Savannah rivers: East Florida never became a real theater of war during the years which followed, though she seemed always to be on the verge of becoming so. Forces for the defense of the province were composed of royal troops in the St. Augustine garrison and the outposts of New Smyrna, Matanzas, Cowford (Jacksonville) and St. Johns Bluff. Their numbers varied, though there were seldom more than five hundred regulars at any time during the war. Additional forces were provided with the establishment of a militia in which companies were to be raised on the St. Johns, St. Augustine, New Smyrna, and four companies of Negroes. What services the militia actually performed are uncertain, for their establishment probably never moved beyond a paper organization.

Much more controversial was Tonyn's organization of a provincial corps known as the East Florida Rangers in 1776. Their commander was Thomas Brown, who had been tarred and feathered and forced to leave his plantation near Augusta, Georgia, for his Tory principles. The Rangers consisted ultimately of some one hundred and thirty men, both inhabitants of East Florida and refugees organized in four companies. They received their clothing, provisions and one shilling a day, but provided their own horses.

In the summer of 1776 a number of guerilla raids were made by American troops on English plantations along the St. Marys River. Tonyn, when apprised of the raids on cattle and Negroes, ordered the settlers to move their chattels across the St. Johns and dispatched troops and armed schooners to the area for defense. In February 1777, the East Florida forces penetrated Georgia to the

Satilla River where Fort McIntosh, an American outpost, was destroyed and the foraging expedition returned to St. Augustine with several hundred head of cattle. A retaliatory American raid crossed the St. Marys River in May, but was repulsed by the English at Trout Creek, just north of Cowford on the St. Johns. The following year, a British force invaded Georgia and destroyed Fort Barrington on the Altamaha before retiring to the St. Marys. Again in retaliation Americans crossed the St. Marys, but the British Florida forces stopped the invasion at Alligator Bridge on one of the branches of Nassau River. The final military operation of the East Florida forces was in a supporting action to capture Savannah in November and December 1778. Some nine hundred Florida troops attacked the fort at Sunbury, south of Savannah and forced its surrender and moved on to Savannah which had already fallen to the British.

With the reduction and occupation of Savannah in December, 1778, and of Charleston in May, 1780, Florida was reasonably tranquil throughout the remainder of the Revolution, except for the descents of privateers upon its coast and shipping, and the constant fear of an attack by the Spanish. In the last years of the Revolution the active participation of Spain against the English, which resulted in the conquest of British West Florida, was a source of scheming by the governor of Cuba and a source of worry to the governor of East Florida. A number of Spanish subjects were in East Florida and transmitted reports on military and civil operations to Cuban officials, but the anticipated invasion was never undertaken.

Incident to the prosecution of the Revolution, and significant to the citizens of East Florida, was the use of the Castillo de San Marcos as a prison for patriots who could not be trusted to the town jail or the more comfortable State House or the prison ship *Otter*, anchored in the harbor of St. Augustine. The first prisoners for incarceration arrived in September 1776, having been sent by the Earl of Dunmore who had taken the Americans in the Virginia campaign. The number of prisoners was augmented from time to time and included French, Spanish, and American seamen from captured prizes or shipwrecks.

The best known prisoners arrived in the fall of 1780 from South Carolina where many of the patriots had been captured and paroled when Charleston was occupied by the British in the spring. About a month later General Clinton issued a proclamation which the affected citizens considered an affront to their honor and a violation of the articles of capitulation. One result was that Lord Cornwallis loaded sixty-three of the rebel prisoners and some of their servants aboard two ships and sent them to the Florida Capital as hostages of war. The roster of hostages included many of the leaders from South Carolina. The most famous were three signers of the Declaration of Independence: Arthur Middleton, Edward Rutledge, and Thomas Heyward, Jr. Most of these patriots were paroled within the town and lived in various private and public houses, although fiery old Brigadier General Christopher Gadsden was confined in the fort for forty-two weeks. In August 1781 the Carolinians were transported to Philadelphia and exchanged.

The American Revolution affected the civil life of the colony profoundly: the military and naval engagements along the coast, the threat of Spanish invasion, the movement of armed forces, and the bitter feelings engendered in war-time were not conducive to ordered public or private life. From 1775 to 1782 a gradual accretion of loyalist refugees placed an additional burden on the housing and food facilities. Although the white population of 2,100 in 1771 was said by Tonyn to be but 1,000 in October 1782, the number of Negroes had increased from 900 in 1771 to about 3,000 in 1782. Under a set of additional instructions the governor granted lands in previously unsettled grants. New towns were developed: Hester's Bluff, usually known as St. Johns Bluff, on the lower St. Johns, and Hillsborough on the St. Marys. St. Johns Bluff soon had 300 houses, two taverns, a

public house, a livery stable, a dry-goods store, a physician, and even a lodge of Freemasons. A missionary conducted regular religious services there.

By the middle of 1779 Tonyn wrote the Colonial Office in London for permission to summon an assembly, since the malignant spirit had subsided, but the governor postponed the organization of such a body when the patriot prisoners arrived. Later, in March 1781, Tonyn issued a writ for an election of nineteen assemblymen and the General Assembly met in two sessions: 1781 and 1782-83.

The second session, in January 1783, opened under the shadow of Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown; lived on through the months when Savannah and Charleston were evacuated and the fate of East Florida, crowded with refugees, was in the balance; heard the news of the restoration of the province to Spain, and concluded, never to meet again, when many of the inhabitants had already departed for good.

The global war that had begun in 1778 between England and France, and of which the American Revolution was one phase, drew to a close in late 1782 with hostilities brought to an end in January 1783. The surrender of the British forces under Cornwallis at Yorktown in October 1781 foreshadowed conclusion of the war in North America and the fate of East Florida in the retrocession to Spain. In February 1782 the English Parliament decided to make peace and recognise the independence of the thirteen North American colonies. Thus, in the spring of 1782 the British began an orderly evacuation of troops and loyalists from New York, Charleston, Savannah, and St. Augustine. The tragic news reached the capital of East Florida through military channels and as the cession of the province was unexpected, Governor Patrick Tonyn feared that the discontent of the populace might find expression in tumult and disorder. He therefore laid the matter before the legislative branch of the government, with recommendations calculated to calm the public mind. Agreeably to the governor's wishes, the two houses prepared an address to the king, which, though breathing loyalty, expressed their great disappointment at the outcome of the war.

The evacuation of Georgia, South Carolina and East Florida proceeded, however, under a coordinated plan of movement. In July 1782 news reached St. Augustine that the evacuation of the colony had been postponed and Florida would serve as a refuge to the people from Savannah and Charleston. Accordingly, in the fall of 1782 and winter of 1783, nearly twelve thousand Loyalists arrived from the other colonies. These, together with the previous residents and refugees, gave East Florida a population of 6,000 whites and 11,000 Negroes, a total of 17,000, before its own evacuation in the months to follow.

The great increase in population engendered a degree of prosperity, even if momentary, that the capital had never enjoyed before. Old residents and newcomers, soldiers and seamen from the transports, Negro slaves, and frequent and unwelcome bands of visiting Indians, all must have added confusion and noise to the narrow streets, the square, and the harbor. Laws and regulations concerning sale of liquor and conduct of gaming houses, size and price of bread appeared in the contemporary newspapers. The *East Florida Gazette* appeared as a weekly in 1783-84 and two books were printed in the same period. Extant copies of the *Gazette* advertised theatrical performances in the statehouse by a group of amateurs as a benefit for distressed refugees.

Meanwhile, the peace negotiations were underway and the Floridas once again served as a pawn, being traded to Spain for English retention of Gibraltar. Under terms of the preliminary treaty of peace of January 1783 and the definitive treaty of September the Floridas were ceded to Spain, while British subjects were allowed eighteen months to settle their property rights in the colony as English citizens.

Suddenly, out of a clear sky, came word to the people of East Florida of these distant negotiations in which, unknown to them, their fate had been sealed. The

crowded life of the still expanding province was cut short. Tonyn issued a proclamation in April 1783 regarding the cession of the colony and requesting the residents to settle their affairs. In May the governor requested the cultivation and harvest of crops, since there was no certainty when the evacuation would occur nor any notice as to where the colonists might migrate. The emigration began without news of the defiinitive treaty: The first to depart left in June 1783. One shipload went to Jamaica, and another to New Providence. During the rest of the summer and for many months to come the outward stream continued to flow. The Bahama Islands, as it proved were able to accomodate still larger numbers. Jamaica and the other West Indian islands received their share, as did Nova Scotia and England itself. Some went to the distant shores of Central America, and some up the Mississippi River. A few, mostly of the more prominent, went back to their old homes in Georgia, the Carolinas, and other states. When the Spanish arrived to take possession most of the English inhabitants had gone.

A goodly number of the residents elected to remain in East Florida. A return submitted by Tonyn showed 450 whites and 200 Negroes while Spanish authorities later reported 469 whites and the same number of Negroes. A Spanish census of St. Augustine in 1786 gives the same figures for the capital but no mention of an estimated twenty families on Amelia Island or sixty families between the St. Marys and St. Johns Rivers or of any others on the St. Johns at Cowford or further south.

Tonyn did not receive official orders to evacuate the province until the spring of 1784. The emigration was conducted under conditions of utmost confusion. Robbing and plundering were rife. The people were angry at heart, and there was a fear of some disturbance whenever the Spaniards should arrive. The troops were mutinous at the thought of their enforced departure. The town was full of people from Carolina and Georgia reclaiming Negroes assertedly plundered during the war. The Indians were frequently in town, swearing vengeance against the King for giving away their country and threatening to murder any Spaniard. On top of this, banditti from the American states, swollen by other exasperated and disorderly people, began to infest the frontier and made raids on the plantations.

Many British subjects were unable or reluctant to migrate, and when the Spaniish governor, Manuel de Zespedes, arrived on June 27 he found the province in turmoil. The delivery of the fort on July 12 brought an end to the British rule, although the withdrawal of the English was not complete until the end of 1785. The relations between Tonyn and Zespedes became involved as the old and new governors engaged in a series of disputes.

The story of British East Florida is a brief and hazy episode in the history of British imperialism. The colony failed to survive the test of economic merchantilism and the disabilities of poor harbors and poor soil did not render it worthy of retention over other possessions at the peace table. Physical remains were few. The St. Marys boundary, the name New Smyrna. In the population of Florida the Minorcans are still an important and respected element in St. Augustine, and descendants are still to be found in the state. Moreover, even in the second Spanish regime Florida was never quite as it had been before the British came. The land policy was modified under the British example. Roman Catholicism was not required of settlers. The British rule left a heritage of freedom which did not wholly disappear, and Spanish exclusiveness never returned in all its fullness.

SELECTED REFERENCES

BARRS, BURTON, *East Florida in the American Revolution,* Jacksonville, 1949.
CURLEY, MICHAEL J., *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas,* Washington, 1940.
FORBES, JOHN G., *Sketches of Florida,* New York, 1821.
MOWAT, CHARLES L., *East Florida as a British Province,* Berkeley, 1943.
SEIBERT, WILBUR H., *Loyalists in East Florida,* DeLand, 1929.

STAUNTON, EDITH P., *Early Plantations on the Halifax,* Ormond, 1949.
Florida Historical Quarterly:
BOYD, MARK F. and LATORRE, *Spanish Interest in British Florida,* October, 1953.
CORSE, CARITA D., *Denys Rolle and Rollestown,* October, 1928.
MOWAT, CHARLES L., *St. Augustine Under the British Flag,* October, 1941.
PENNINGTON, E. L., *John Forbes,* January, 1930.
SEIBERT, WILBUR H., *Port of St. Augustine During British Regime,* April, 1946.
TELLER, BARBARA G., *The Case of Some Inhabitants of East Florida, 1767-1785,* October, 1954.

CHAPTER VI

THE SECOND SPANISH PERIOD

By Dr. J. E. Dovell

Political Administration

THE RETURN OF Spanish authority to St. Augustine and the Florida east coast was marked by much delay on the part of the English and frequent arguments on the part of the Spanish. The formal transfer of East Florida took place on July 12, 1784, almost ten months after the ratification of the treaty which authorized the change of flags. Manuel de Zespedes, the new Spanish governor, had arrived almost a month earlier with five hundred military and civil personnel including a number of families who had been evacuated in 1763.

Following the final departure of all of the English residents in 1786 there were about 1,700 people in East Florida. Of these, there were 450 in the garrisons; 213 were considered foreigners and domestics, 539 Minorcans, Italians, Greeks and their slaves, 132 natives of Florida returned from the first Spanish period, and 300 other civilians. Among the group named as foreigners there were 23 families of 85 white persons and 86 Negro slaves. The majority of these so-called foreigners were British subjects who decided to remain in Spanish Florida.

Among the British residents who chose to stay in Florida were many tradesmen, merchants, farmers, and virtually all of the Minorcans and other settlers from the ill-fated Turnbull Colony at New Smyrna. Among the remaining British were such leaders as Francis Philip Fatio, John Leslie, Jesse Fish, and John Hudson. Fatio owned several plantations on the St. Johns River, a large store, and a house in St. Augustine. John Leslie, a partner of Panton and Leslie, lived in St. Augustine where he managed the East Florida branch of the large trading establishment. Fish owned several properties in St. Augustine and a large plantation on Anastasia Island nearby from whose groves citrus products had been exported to England. Hudson maintained a large plantation with forty-six slaves.

The foreigners who remained in East Florida from the British Period were characterized by Joseph B. Lackey as "an industrious and law-abiding people who were to play a creditable part throughout the Spanish period, and whose descendants were to continue to contribute to the stability and well-being of territory and state under the American flag." But the evacuation of the British left East Florida with many abandoned houses and plantations; of almost 300 houses in St. Augustine more than 100 were found uninhabitable by the incoming Spanish residents. The Spanish governor reported that less than a dozen persons owned all of the slaves in the province and that the remainder of the inhabitants were completely destitute of the means to secure the necessities of life at the prices prevailing in Cuba.

Although Governor Zespedes proclaimed the commencement of Spanish sovereignty over East Florida on July 4, 1784, the departure of the British governor and his party was not accomplished until almost eighteen months later in 1785. As might have been expected the interim was marked with almost continual arguments and disagreeable episodes. While the treaty of transfer gave the ultimate authority to Zespedes, the document also gave the former British governor Tonyn the authority to protect English rights. The Spanish governor was principally involved with the problem of restoring civil order in the Colony in the aftermath of the American Revolution and the subsequent exodus of the British. He was con-

fronted with lawlessness, confusion, and tumult arising from mutinous troops, British loyalists, and depredations and pillage by white, Negro and Indian vagrants.

Before the arrival of the Spanish, Tonyn had been involved with the plundering of refugees and vagrants who had crossed into Florida from Georgia and the Carolinas at the close of the war to the north. One group, under the leadership of Daniel McGirt and John Lindner, Jr., engaged in attack and plunder of planters and plantations on both sides of the St. Johns River. Tonyn had organized an armed force which seized numbers of the banditti, but some of them escaped and were again on the prowl when, on July 14th, Zespedes proclaimed a period of amnesty for offenders to leave the colony with their property. Several of the group later surrendered and left East Florida, but civil order was not fully restored until February 1785, when McGirt and several others were arrested and sent to Havana.

Another source of conflict arose in Zespedes' proclamation on the theft and concealment of Negro slaves for British removal from Spanish East Florida. There were still several thousand Negroes in East Florida after the assumption of Spanish authority in 1784: slaves of Loyalist refugees, slaves stolen from other colonies, free Negroes, and many runaway and fugitive slaves. Zespedes ordered all Negroes classified as those who were actually free, those freed by military proclamation, those belonging to British subjects, and all others in the province. Slaveholders were required to prove legal titles for their bondsmen or face seizure of their slaves as property of the Crown. Free Negroes were ordered to secure work permits and employment or face seizure by the colonial government. In order to prohibit further illegal trade in slaves the governor announced a heavy fine for the master of any ship who embarked a passenger without a passport from his office. Tonyn accused Zespedes of violating the treaty which provided that the English could leave Florida with their property and further, that proof of ownership would be difficult as slaves were generally held without a deed or other written proof. The agitation that was stirred by the proclamation generally redounded to the benefit of the Negroes since after their registration the freedom of many of the former bondsmen was recognized by the Spanish.

Under the system of government established by Spain in East Florida during the second period the executive authority rested in the office of the governor who was charged with the enforcement of the royal laws and orders and the directions of the Captain-General of Cuba. The representative institutions of a legislative body and an independent court system were not provided nor were there any municipal governments to share the governor's grant of power. The problem of government in East Florida was restricted to the Coastal area from St. Augustine to the St. Marys River and the majority of the population was in or near the "Ancient City." Under the Spanish constitution of 1812 East Florida was made a district of the province of Havana and the governor became a subordinate of the governor of Havana. The administration of Florida was a dependent on the Spanish subsidy as in the first period. Zespedes soon found his colony in the same dire straits that had plagued his predecessors and complained about the situation "that everyone was wholly dependent on the king for salary; and that there were no opportunities to make a living such as were usually found in countries with trade and agriculture. Moreover, the money, after it arrived, did not circulate among the inhabitants, for it was inevitably paid to the Americans for their provisions or to the English for their houses and goods."

The government of East Florida during the second occupation continued on a provisional basis for several years after the retrocession. Zespedes had first received his commission in 1783 and had shortly dispatched several officers to arrange the change in government. Among them were Carlos Howard and Mariano de la Rocque: the former served as secretary of the government for a decade and the latter as an engineer for several years. When Zespedes established the permanent government the personnel included on the governor's staff were an adjutant major

and assistant, the secretary of the government, a captain, and two secretaries. In the treasury department were the treasurer, several assistants, two secretaries, two customhouse guards, five warehouse guards and two laborers. The construction and repair department included a carpenter, blacksmith, wheelwright, cooper, ship-carpenter, calker, and supervisor of royal works. The hospital staff comprised a comptroller, commissary, superintendent, chaplain, physician, surgeon, two pharmacists, six practitioners in medicine and surgery, four ward supervisors, baker, supply steward, clothier, cook and eight servants. On the staff of the church there were two priests, two assistants, and a sacristan. The St. Augustine school was provided with a teacher who was assisted by one of the priests. For the naval establishment of gunboats, launches, and pilot boats, there were five masters, boatswain, ships-carpenter, sixteen sailors, two pilots, cabin-boy, and twenty-two oarsmen. Another master of boats for hauling of supplies on boats rowed by prisoners and a boatmaster of craft to ferry Indians were provided. Two additional boatmasters and eight oarsmen were assigned to the St. Johns and St. Marys Rivers. There were also two Indian interpreters supplied to the governor.

Other public officials included a legal advisor and a surveyor general. On matters of finance the governor, legal advisor, treasurer and an accountant assembled as a board to consider colonial problems. The governor, however, directed the military, political, and ecclesiastical life of the province as well as the municipal administration of St. Augustine. Much of the detail of direction was in the hands of the captains of the three militia companies that were maintained at St. Augustine.

Government for the population of several hundred scattered along the St. Johns, St. Marys and Nassau rivers was in the hands of the military leaders of detachments located in these rural sections. Later two districts, Fernandina and St. Johns, were created and civil officers were employed to account for supplies and finances. By 1817 there were civil and military detachments at Fernandina and San Nicholas on the St. Johns; there was also a physician at each of these locations.

During the East Florida rebellion of 1812-1813, the St. Marys and St. Johns sections were removed from Spanish control. The return to Spanish rule in June, 1813, presented a problem to Governor Sebastian Kindelan as the Spanish Constitution of 1812 provided for the creation of a local government of representative character, but compliance with the new constitution would have placed the section in the hands of the rebels. A compromise plan was installed with the organization of three districts in charge of leaders endowed with police and court powers. For leaders of the districts the governor selected residents who had remained loyal to Spain. These leaders were authorized to hear and settle minor cases of civil and criminal law, but they served mainly as conservators of the peace. Law enforcement and arrest remained the duty of the military detachments on the request of the district leader whose decisions could be appealed to the governor at St. Augustine.

The Fernandina district was placed under the leadership of Philip Robert Yonge, the upper St. Johns under Francis Fatio, and the lower St. Johns under Farquhar Bethune. With the exception of the East Florida rebellion the plans for local government outside St. Augustine were relatively successful. This may be noted in the proclamations of the American officials, on the transfer of the province from Spanish hands, to continue the system then in effect until otherwise directed by the new territorial government.

Colonial Economy and The Indians

For two centuries—1565-1763—Spain had managed to hold the Florida provinces as outposts against foreign aggression on New Spain. Although the English on the Atlantic Coast and the French on the Gulf Coast frequently challenged Spanish ability to hold the Gulf of Mexico, the acquisition of Louisiana in 1762 and the retrocession of Florida in 1783 fulfilled, in part, the Spanish plans for interposing

a wilderness barrier between New Spain and the colonies of her rivals. But the independence of the United States introduced a new element in Spanish colonial administrative policies. The new nation encouraged the settlement of the back country along its frontiers yet lacked the force to govern the western sections or the southern frontiers and these settlers created their own rules of order and methods of enforcement.

The increasing number of American settlers rendered the historic Spanish wilderness barrier relatively useless as the frontiersmen moved south and west. Spanish inability to stop the English on the Atlantic coast from Jamestown to the St. Marys River in the eighteenth century was a warning of the struggle that would follow with the Americans in the early years of the nineteenth century. Spanish officials were aware of the danger and prepared, with a change of policy, to encourage trade and settlement in the hope that the new residents and the resultant commerce would establish a new barrier for defense where the missionary and the garrison had previously failed.

The Spanish in East Florida were further involved during the second dominion with problems concerning the Indians, problems which had been relatively minor in the first period. For the southern Indians the treaty of 1763, and the transfer of the Floridas to England, had marked the end of an era where tribal goods were replaced by the trade goods of European manufacture distributed by European traders. The establishment of English sovereignty eliminated the French and Spanish traders and the English further encouraged the Indians by prohibiting white settlement in the Mississippi Valley. The English also placed men of ability as supervisors of the profitable Indian trade, a practice which assured the southern tribes of superior trade goods at economical prices. During the American Revolution neither the Americans nor the Spanish could secure the support of any important Indian tribes. The Indian friendship for the British later contributed to the final defeat of the tribes at the hands of the Americans who remained bitter at this stand of the red men.

The retrocession of Florida to Spain and the American victory in the war with England placed the southern Indians between new neighbors: the Spaniards who had never catered to the Indian trade and the land hungry Americans whose trading abilities were unknown. The English, at the conclusion of the American Revolution, signed away the Indian territory and abandoned the trade upon which the Indians had become dependent. On the publication of the Treaty of 1783 the Indians were faced with the problem of dealing with their enemies for both trade and political recognition. That the Indians sought Spanish protection against the Americans was the result of complicating factors, planned and accidental.

By 1783, British Indian trade was largely carried on through East Florida establishments. Foremost among these traders was the house of Panton, Leslie and Company at St. Augustine. Trade was largely with the upper and lower Creeks of Georgia and Alabama and the Seminoles of Florida. The interruption of trade by the American War brought many hardships to these Indians and when the British began their evacuation of East Florida the Indian leaders visited Governor Tonyn and Wiliam Panton in St. Augustine. The English governor sought to conciliate the Indians and to encourage them to transfer their erstwhile friendship with the English to the incoming Spanish regime. The Indians also visited William Panton and urged the British trader to remain in East Florida and continue the trading establishment. Panton agreed to the request as he foresaw a great financial opportunity if the Creeks and Seminoles transferred their allegiance from the English to the Spanish.

During 1783 and 1784 Tonyn continued to espouse the cause of Panton, Leslie and Company in the Indian trade. He wrote the Spanish governor at Pensacola that the company could exert a strong influence in securing the Indian's allegiance against the Americans and urged that the trading house be granted permission to

operate under the Spanish after the transfer of the colony. In May, 1784, the Minister of the Indies signed an order permitting Panton, Leslie and Company to conduct the trade as had been requested. When Zespedes arrived the governor met with the traders and the company furnished trade goods which were used to pacify the Indians who had gathered at St. Augustine in anticipation of a meeting with the new administration.

In the succeeding years the Spanish governors and the Panton partners engaged in an association that approached the commercial operations of the British East India Company in another part of the world. By 1795, the Panton operations extended from St. Augustine to St. Marks, Pensacola, and Mobile along the Gulf and into the Mississippi Valley as far as Vicksburg and Memphis. On the death of Panton in 1802 the partnership was reorganized as John Forbes and Company and the new organization continued its trade monopoly until 1817.

Within a few years after 1784, and continuing through the remainder of most of the second Spanish Period, the Panton Company not only secured the Florida Indian trade but a thriving though illegal trade with the residents of the Floridas. With good business connections in the Bahamas and substantial credit in England plus cooperation and assistance from colonial officials and Indian leaders the Panton House became eminently successful. In 1795, when the Treaty of San Lorenzo between the United States and Spain set the Florida boundary at the thirty-first parallel the Panton partners stopped their operations across the border. The Company continued the Indian trade in the Floridas and expanded domestic trade by importing cloth, furniture, and other merchandise and exporting lumber, naval stores, cotton, flour, and beef. The partners supplied the Spanish garrisons with meat and provisions much of which was secured from the Indians and even financed the planters in the purchase of slaves and supplies.

The wars of the French Revolution and the internal strife in Spain severely handicapped the Florida colony, but these conflicts worked to the advantage of the British traders. The wars upon the seas and the American embargoes forced colonial merchants and traders into utilizing American shipping and by 1808 the commercial conquest of the Floridas was accomplished through the instruments of a neutral flag and the essential commodity of flour. The Spanish were rendered powerless in peace or in war to fill the needs of the Florida colonists.

The political aspect of the Spanish plans for Indian control was closely allied with the economic aspect. The conciliatory policies of the Spanish governors were aimed at alliances with the Indians for support against the Americans. During the second Spanish Period the British, through their officials in the Bahamas, also maintained an influence over the Florida Indians and British subjects frequented the Florida wilderness in the furtherance of this influence. These alliances of the Spanish and the British with the Indians brought on years of border wars on the American frontier and ultimately were responsible, in large measure, for the American acquisition of the peninsula.

The profitable Indian trade of the Panton partners attracted the attention of other British merchants and many of the loyalists who had gone to the Bahamas maintained contacts in Florida. The port of Nassau was a center for the operators of a contraband trade with the Indians along the coasts and on the rivers of the peninsula. The most notorious of these interlopers was William Augustus Bowles who was employed by a group of Nassau merchants in 1787 seeking to compete with the Panton associates. In a series of adventures Bowles convoyed trade goods into Florida and attacked Panton stores from the St. Johns to the St. Marks until his final capture by the Spanish in 1803. Numerous other British traders and adventurers descended upon the Florida coasts, but none of them were successful in their challenge of the Panton monopoly.

The Spanish toleration of the Panton partners in order to secure Indian friendship and project a barrier against the expanding United States ended in failure.

The subsequent invasions and the final acquisition of the Florida territory were largely the result of Spanish temporizing with the British traders to whose machinations the Americans attributed their troubles with the Indians in the southern border lands.

A second important aspect of the Spanish colonial economy in East Florida during the second Spanish period was revealed in the new laws relating to commerce and immigration. In a reversal of the policies of the first Spanish Period, there were attempts to open Florida to settlement in the hope that the peopling of the wilderness with loyal subjects would form a living barrier for the defense of the Florida colonies. Thus, a royal order of 1786 allowed British and other foreign subjects to remain in Florida and retain possession of their lands by taking the oath of allegiance to Spain. The civilian population of East Florida counted several hundred non-Spanish, non-Catholic residents who represented a large proportion of the colony after the transfer.

A second royal order of liberalization, issued in 1788, opened East Florida to foreigners who were encouraged to become Spanish citizens and to accept free lands. Although the population of East Florida increased from 1,400 to 4,500 in the years of 1787 to 1804 the new policy should have attracted more settlers since the Spanish system of land grants proved to be more liberal than the American. Spanish land grants of 100 acres were offered to the head of a family and an additional 50 acres for each white or colored member of the family. An additional thousand acres could be obtained if the land was placed in cultivation. At the end of the East Florida rebellion, in 1815, land grants were authorized for veterans of the loyal forces. Royal orders of 1804 and 1806 closed the colony of East Florida to citizens of the United States. In later years saw mill and cattle ranch grants were also made, but there were relatively few of either of these two types of grants. In East Florida, 129,000 acres were confirmed to grantees for habitation and cultivation from 1790 to 1821.

In the hope of encouraging the growth of the Floridas many exceptions to colonial policy were made and although the actual population increased there was little comparison with that of the United States. Commenting on the reasons for this failure, Arthur P. Whitaker, historian of Spanish America wrote that "the system forbade three forms of activity among the American frontiersman: local self-government, public worship, and land speculation." However, a number of British planters from the Bahamas entered East Florida between 1790 and 1804 and secured grants for agricultural purposes. Some of these were former British residents who returned to the East Coast and re-established their holdings in the second Spanish period.

The closing of immigration to Americans by the Spanish did not prevent them from crossing the Florida boundary. In 1791, the Spanish governor wrote that an effective prohibition of traffic across the border would require hundreds of guards whereas only three guards were then regularly employed. During the East Florida rebellion, Americans crossed the boundary at will and settled on lands in East Florida which were secured by purchase, grant or squatters rights.

Contrary to the policies of the British Period, Spanish land grants were much smaller in size. Beginning in 1816, however, the Spanish governor began to make large land grants although there had been no royal change in his powers. Most of the area between the St. Marys and the St. Johns, along the east coast and the banks of the St. Johns, Halifax, and Indian rivers was given to various individuals. Included among these were the Delespine grant of 42,000 acres on the Indian River, the Fleming Grant of 20,000 acres on the San Sebastian near St. Augustine, the Fatio grant of 20,000 acres on the Nassau River, and the Clark and Huerta grants on the St. Johns River near Palatka.

In East Florida, the return to Spanish authority in the second period was marked by a broad relaxation of the exclusive character of the first period. The departure of the English did not eliminate elements of English freedoms or bring the authoritarian policies of the earlier Spanish period. The English who remained formed a nucleus which grew as non-Spanish immigrants added to the diversities of the local culture and the population gained a complexity that had not been previously tolerated in the Spanish American colonies.

As previously noted, the population of East Florida grew from 1,400 in 1787 to 4,500 in 1804. Half the population in the latter year was composed of Negroes. By 1817, the population had grown to about 5,000: 1,500 in or around St. Augustine, 500 in or around Fernandina, and the remainder spread through the colony from the St. Marys River southward to New Smyrna. Among the residents of St. Augustine, the Spanish element was predominant, but most of the rest of the residents were Americans with a mixture of English, French, and German.

The occupations of the residents of St. Augustine revealed in the census of 1786 give an indication of the economic life of the little capital. Among the foreigners were merchants, planters, tailors, widows, butcher, innkeeper, shoemakers, farmers, and an overseer. Among the native Floridians were sailors, shopkeeper, farmer, tobacconist, shoemakers, merchants, trader, notary, widows, and planters. Among the Spaniars were a priest, sailors, saloonkeepers, farmers, merchants, carpenter, tailor and clerks. Many residents were employed in the royal offices and garrison and others were employed in gardening and fishing.

A description of 42 squares or blocks of the city in 1788 enumerated 114 masonry houses, 19 of coquina rock, and 133 of wood. A similar list of 1790 covering 39 blocks enumerated 270 buildings not including those used for public or religious purposes. A visitor in 1817 wrote that they were commodious and were intersected with orange trees, "their golden fruit and deep green foliage, not only render the air agreeable, but beautify the appearance of this interesting little town, in the center of which rises a large structure dedicated to the Catholic religion. . . . The proverbial salubrity of the climate has obtained for St. Augustine the designation of the Montpelier of North America; indeed such is the character of the province of East Florida."

Fernandina on Amelia Island was the only other town of consequence in East Florida during the second Spanish period. The town enjoyed some prosperity following the American Embargo Act of 1807 and the closing of the American foreign slave trade in 1808. At this time Fernandina became a free port and enjoyed the questionable businesses of smuggling of goods and contraband slave trade. Susan L'Engle, a Fatio descendant later wrote that "Vessels crowded the harbor with flags of many nations floating in the breeze; bales of cotton were piled up in the streets, stores and warehouses were filled with merchandise. The port was the theater of illicit trade and the resort of smugglers."

Some of the planters owned homes in Fernandina while others placed their residences on rivers or waterways on their plantations on the islands or mainland nearby. Outside both Fernandina and St. Augustine there were a number of areas of rural settlements. On Amelia Island, and the lesser islands such as Tiger, Talbot and Ft. George, numerous plantations and farms produced the staple crops of cotton, rice and sugar and the subsistence crops of corn and garden produce. Considerable agricultural activity was also undertaken along the St. Johns and its tributaries. South of St. Augustine on the Matanzas, Halifax, and Indian rivers were numerous plantations. A number of these plantations had survived from the British period while others were developed as a result of the liberal land grants of the second Spanish period. Nor did the closing of East Florida to the Americans

stop those who, even so, "steal in, and acquire possession as squatters, a term applied to vagrant and untitled settlers in the wilds of North America."

From the fragmentary reports of the period numerous references bear witness to the profits available to the industrious planter. From the plantation crops of cotton, rice, and sugar came cash income from a ready sale. The processing of cotton and sugar required gins and sugar houses but their costs were soon returned from the sales of the produce. Food for the residents and employees came from the corn and rice plantings as well as herds of livestock which were maintained for consumption and sale. Incidental to the clearing of lands and the operation of the plantations in East Florida was the sale of timber products from the forest. Where in other areas settlers girdled or burned the trees, in East Florida the planters sold the lumber and other products of the forest at a profit.

On the rewards of agriculture in the second Spanish period a visitor wrote that: "To those who are fond of a country residence, and its consequent seclusion, I imagine the life of a planter must have peculiar charm, particularly in a country where they are not distressed by the visits of tax-gatherers or parish wardens. . . . The planter has a sure vent for his produce and an immediate return. In Carolina and Georgia the income of a planter is estimated at twenty-five per cent upon his principal, independent of the maintenance of his family. In the province of East Florida the profits of the planter are still higher, in consequence of his exemption from every species of taxation, and the price of his negroes, which is considerably lower. A good field hand in the Carolinas and Georgia is worth, on the average, from eight to nine hundred dollars, while those of Florida may be purchased at an average of four to five hundred, consequently little more than half of the capital is necessary."

Most of the labor on the plantations was performed by Negro slaves. In 1787, it was reported that three-fourths of the five hundred slaves in East Florida were owned by a small minority of the planters; by 1821, the number of slaves had increased several times but the same ratio of ownership continued. The best known slave trader along the east coast was Zephaniah Kingsley, the master of Fort George Island. His plantations were worked by slaves which he imported from Africa and after a period of training were sold and replaced by new imports. Kingsley defended the slavery regime as a benevolent system in which the Negroes were more secure than free laborers.

There are numerous references to the yeoman farmers and ranchers of East Florida the majority of whom were Americans who chose to migrate into Spanish Florida and work out their existence on this southern frontier. Though less well known, because of the paucity of records, the small farmers and ranchers produced a goodly share of the food supplies for the Spanish garrisons and the residents of St. Augustine and Fernandina. An interesting case, fairly well documented is that of Francisco Sanchez who was born in East Florida during the first Spanish period, remained through the British period, and flourished as one of the provisioners of the government employees in the second Spanish period.

The retrocession of East Florida to Spain was accompanied by the restoration of the Roman Catholic church as the dominant religious force in the colony. Although representatives of this faith had remained in St. Augustine in the British interim they had ministered under certain handicaps when Catholicism was displaced as the church of the colony. In 1783, Father Thomas Hassett was appointed vicar of East Florida and pastor of the St. Augustine parish. Three other priests were assigned to East Florida as assistants to the vicar, all under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Cuba. The ministers of the church were instructed to secure ecclesiastical unity among the Roman Catholic parishioners of the colony and to secure the conversion of the Anglo-American residents into the Catholic faith.

At St. Augustine the parish church was in ruins and the priests secured a house on the plaza for the conduct of religious services. The construction of a new church

was begun in 1793 and the building was completed in 1797. Beginning in 1787 a parochial school was opened at St. Augustine with a teacher for the lower grades and another for the higher grades. Although there was some difficulty in obtaining teachers for the school because of the poor remuneration offered, the institution continued through the second Spanish period under either religious or lay personnel or both.

In regard to the problem of the conversion of the non-Catholics, especially in the rural areas, new parishes were created on the St. Johns and Amelia Island. Although non-Catholics were permitted to remain in East Florida if they swore allegiance to the Spanish Crown, there were a large number of conversions to the Roman Catholic faith. The baptism of persons of Anglo-Saxon ancestry and their subsequent marriage to persons of Spanish or Creole descent gave rise to a mixed population in the new generation. By this intermarriage of persons of the various national backgrounds a cosmopolitan character developed to the extent that a majority of the residents of East Florida chose to remain in the territory in 1821 and easily changed their allegiance from Spain to the United States. This, of course, was in direct contrast to the earlier transfer of 1763 when most of the Spanish residents chose to leave the colony.

The Catholic church remained an important institution throughout the second period of Spanish East Florida. However, the weakness of Spanish authority and the poverty of finances worked a hardship on the clergy dependent on the crown for support and livlihood. The dominance of the Anglo-Americans was evident in the provision of a school for children of English-speaking parents at St. Augustine in 1802. When the residents of Fernandina requested a church and a priest for the community the bishop of Cuba granted the request, but the officials of the colony were unable to provide a building for lack of sufficient money.

Social life in the second period though briefly described, revolved around the governor and the military and civil establishment at St. Augustine. The governor in 1819 "was about forty-five years of age, of active and vigorous mind, anxious to promote the prosperity of the province . . . his urbanity and other amiable qualities render him accessible to the meanest individual and justice is sure to follow an appeal to his decision." The town was described as a great military station and beyond this nothing. "In one way or another the people were all engaged in servicing the king. They kept the king's accounts, labored at the king's fort, wrought in the king's forge, manned the king's pilot boats . . . A guard of soldiers kept watch over the great treasure chest in the fort; a guard watched at the powder house in the plain south of the barracks; a guard noted the marking of high noon on the sun dial and, by the flowing of the sands in the hour glass on the plaza all day and all night, recorded the passing of time by strokes of a bell."

In support of the garrison and civil officials were the mercantile establishments, inns, and taverns of the town; the gardeners, hunters, and fishers who brought in produce for sale; and the planters and ranchers of the outlying areas. A visitor to St. Augustine in 1819 wrote the following impression:

"The whole of this society is extremely courteous to strangers: they form one family and those little jealousies, animosities and bickerings, so disgraceful to our small English communities, do not sully their meetings of friendly chit chat, called as in Spain turtulias. The women are deservedly celebrated for their charms; their lovely black eyes have a vast deal of expression, their complexions a clear brunette. much attention is paid to the arrangement of their hair; at mass they are always well dressed in black silk basquinas (petticoats) with the little mantilla (black lace veil) over their heads; the men in military costumes: good order and temperance are their characteristic virtues."

The hospitality of the townspeople and those in the rural areas has already been alluded to. Regarding travelers and guests, the daughter of a planter remembered that: "All who came to father's hospitable home were made welcome. He literally

kept open house . . . Our house was often crowded with guests for weeks at a time; but we were more than repaid for the trouble and inconvenience by the variety it afforded, and its pleasant diversion from the monotony of country life.

"The advent of many noteworthy personages into the country, during that time, was a matter of common interest . . . Whether they came to Florida from curiosity, adverse fortunes, or a spirit of adventure, and whether as permanent settlers or for temporary abode he never inquired, but hospitably entertained them."

In the years of the East Florida rebellion and the invasions and occupations that followed there was "no direct intercourse with the outer world. Letters and newspapers were chance acquisitions, and St. Augustine was but little better off." Captain Francis Philip Fatio, Jr., organized a mail service in cooperation with Governor Coppinger and friends in Fernandina and St. Marys. Coppinger sent two dragoons with mail from St. Augustine to San Pablo once a week. Fatio dispatched the mail by boat to Fernandina where Farquhar Bethune sent the bags on to George J. F. Clarke at St. Marys. Mail from the United States and Europe returned over the same route to San Pablo and St. Augustine where Captain George Fleming acted as postmaster, an ararngement that continued until the change of flags.

Dancing was a favorite amusement and balls were frequent, and were generally opened with minuets by the elder couples, "succeeded by the younger couples displaying their handsome light figures in Spanish dances." At carnival times the residents received masqueraders in their homes and balls were in progress over the town.

In St. Augustine the "Posey" or "bouquet" dances were apparently of frequent occurrence. The ladies of a household "no matter what their rank or station in life may be, erect in a room of their house, a neat little altar, lit up with candles, and dressed with pots and festoons of flowers. This is understood by the gentlemen as a polite invitation to call and admire the taste of the fair architects. It is continued for several successive evenings; in the meantime the lady selects from her visitors, some happy beau, whom she delights to honor, and presents him with a bouquet of choice flowers . . . he is the king of the ball, which shortly after succeeds."

Probably a less popular amusement, at least to the parties concerned, were the "Shivarees of idle people, who dress themselves in grotesque masquerade, whenever a widow or widower are married. They often parade about the streets, and play buffon tricks for two or three days; haunting the residence of the newly married pair, with noise and riot, until they can be bought off with money or whiskey."

The presence of the Hibernian or Irish regiment in St. Augustine contributed much to the social life of the community. One of the officers, Juan O'Donovan, clandestinely married a daughter of Governor Zespedes. The church records bear evidence of several similar unions. In addition to the members of the infantry regiment there were several Irish priests and among their Irish parishioners were a number of the influential and successful members of the province.

As in many Latin communities with a military flavor, games of chance were popular. Considerable time was whiled away and countless wagers were settled after battles of game cocks in the cock pit. Dog fights, bull baiting and bull fighting were other sports that attracted the soldiers and townspeople. A visitor at Cowford, in 1819, stopped at a "grog shop," "where we met several graziers and woodmen gambling and drinking. This rencontre was rather agreeable than otherwise. The night was passed in noisy mirth, drinking, and gambling, vices too prevalent." A unique social gathering, sponsored by the commandant of the garrison at Fernnandina, is described by one of the guests at a Sunday picnic at the Domingo Fernandez plantation on Amelia Island. "There were a banquet and a ball, but the crowning pleasure of the day was a bull-fight. On withdrawing from dinner we were conducted to the arena . . . Seats raised above one another encircled a large space. A young Spaniard, fantastically dressed in close-fitting garments, with several little red flags in his hand marched around a little while; then several dogs

of various sizes, but not at all formidable looking, for they seemed bent on sport, were admitted. The matador played with the dogs, brandishing the flags in their faces and making them bark furiously. Then a hush, 'the bull is coming,' and a half-grown white bull was set loose in the arena. The dogs immediately made an attack on him, and the matador, shaking the flags in his face, incited the animal to turn on him instead of the dogs. With his stiletto he made agile thrusts and evaded attack on himself, darting up the steps of the amphitheatre when pressed by the bull. All this vastly amused the company. Cries resounded of "Bravo, el torete!" When the bull had the advantage, or "Bravo Francesco! bravo el matador!" when the man prevailed. At last the little animal, which was declared to have made a good fight, was led off bleeding, but not badly hurt, they said. The company returned to the house; fruit was served—splendid watermelons, peaches, and figs in abundance, and dancing, which had been indulged in during the morning and until dinner was announced, was resumed. At the close of the evening we returned to the boats, the band playing all the while and the moonbeams dancing on the water."

SELECTED REFERENCES

Curley, Michael J., *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas,* Washington, 1940.
Hill, Louise B., *Spanish Land Grants in Florida,* Tallahassee, 1940.
L'Engle, Susan, *Notes of My Family,* New York, 1888.
Lockey, Joseph B., *East Florida,* Berkeley, 1949.
Murdock, Richard K., *Georgia-Florida Frontier,* Berkeley, 1951; London, 1819.
Patrick, Rembert W., *Florida Fiasco,* Athens, 1954.
Whitaker, Arthur P., *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas,* DeLand, 1931.
Florida Historical Quarterly:
Capron, Louis, *The Spanish Dance,* October, 1959.
Corbitt, Duvon C., *The Last Spanish Census of 1820,* July, 1948.
Lockey, Joseph B., *St. Augustine Census of 1786,* July, 1939.
May, Philip S., *Zephaniah Kingsley,* January, 1945.
McAlister, Lyle N., *The Marine Forces of Wiliam Augustus Bowles,* July, 1953.
Murdoch, Richard K., *A Voyage to the Miami Region in 1793,* July, 1952.
Rutherford, Robert E., *Settlers from Connecticut in Spanish Florida, 1804-1816,* April and July, 1952.
Seibert, Wilbur H., *The Early Sugar Industry in Florida,* April, 1957.

CHAPTER VII

THE EAST FLORIDA REBELLION AMERICAN TERRITORY

By Dr. J. E. Dovell

FROM THE TIME that the Continental Congress of 1775 invited the British colonies in North America to join the revolution against England the future destiny of Florida was decided. While the British Floridas remained loyal and repulsed American attacks during the revolution, the Spanish Floridas were not so successful and both eventually passed to the United States. From 1783 to 1821, the Spanish governors moved from one conflict to another in the international strife of those years. The problems which involved Spanish Florida stemmed largely from impotency and weakness when faced with British strength and American ambition.

The eventual acquisition of the Florida peninsula by the United States was a part of the plan that later in the century was to be called manifest destiny. Americans on the southern frontier, ever land-hungry, wanted the Florida lands for settlement and cultivation. Indian occupation of the wilderness and Anglo-Spanish devices to use the red man as guardians of a buffer territory was a constant source or irritation to Americans along the southern border. Closely allied to the Indian problem was the Spanish inability to police these areas and prevent raids by bands of white and red men. Even more exsperating was the protection given to fugitive slaves by the Indians in Spanish territory.

American acquisition of Florida became a double-barreled proposition which involved both offense and defense. American safety from foreign invasion would never be secure until the Spanish territory was removed from Spanish control and all threats of British utilization of the peninsula were eliminated. American expansion, literally or figuratively, in the Caribbean area required that Florida be brought under the dominion of the United States.

For ten years, following the successful conclusion of the American Revolution, various emissaries of the United States were dispatched to Spain in efforts to reach a settlement on the problems of the borderlands that affected both nations. Late in 1795, General Thomas Pinckney, the American Minister to Spain, secured the Treaty of San Lorenzo which temporarily settled the diplomatic problems of the two nations. Under the terms of the treaty the Florida boundary was set at the thirty-first parallel; Spain agreed to restrain the Indians on the frontier; the United States secured free navigation of the Mississippi; and provisions for a joint claims commission were created. The treaty marked the first territorial expansion of the United States and brought a semblance of peace to the southern frontier.

Meanwhile, in Europe, the position of Spain in international affairs grew weaker with the rise of the French power under Napoleon Bonaparte. In a secret treaty of 1800 Spain ceded Louisiana to France; this development gave a serious complexion to border relations in the southwest, for the United States had tolerated the Spaniards as neighbors, but with Louisiana and West Florida in the hands of Napoleon the future could be a real problem. As a consequence the United States negotiated with the French emperor for the purchase of New Orleans and West Florida and was surprised with the offer of the entire Louisiana territory. The purchase of Louisiana left the question of West Florida unsettled for the boundaries were generally undetermined. The United States thought that both West

Florida and Texas were a part of the purchase, but this was denied by both Spain and France.

None the less, the acquisition of the Louisiana territory gave the United States an excuse for claiming West Florida between the Mississippi River and the Perdido River. Within a few years the Americans who had settled in this section began an agitation which resulted in the establishment of the Republic of West Florida in 1810. These rebels immediately sought annexation to the United States and the territory from the Mississippi to the Pearl rivers was shortly added to the union. Three years after this West Florida rebellion, the United States occupied the remaining territory between the Pearl and Perdido rivers.

With the success of the West Florida rebellion and the subsequent addition of territory, the American Congress empowered President James Madison, in 1811, to occupy the rest of Florida if delivery could be negotiated with the Spanish or if necessary to prevent the seizure of Florida by another nation. Madison soon selected George Matthews a former governor of Georgia, and John McKee, an Indian agent, to conduct negotiations with the Spanish governor of West Florida, but the mission was not successful as the Spanish were determined to continue their hold on the provinces. Matthews returned to St. Marys, Georgia, where he continued his efforts to secure East Florida through other methods.

From 1809 to 1812 the United States was slowly drifting toward a second war with England, and Spanish occupation of Florida in the event of war would undoubtedly result in British seizure of the Florida ports and subsequent alliances with the southern Indians. With these things in mind, and backed by the apparent support of President Madison, General Matthews arrived on the Georgia-Florida border and worked on plans for the American occupation of East Florida. Fully aware of the successful West Florida rebellion, Matthews developed a scheme to foment an East Florida rebellion among the residents and with Georgia volunteers and American troops establish a republic which would seek annexation to the United States, duplicating the West Florida coup. Matthews and his supporters believed that the American government would reenforce the revolutionary movement from fear of British occupation of Florida and that military activities could be justified on Spanish inability to control the illegal slave trade and smuggling from the Spanish colony into the United States.

The rebels proceeded to organize a revolutionary force on the Georgia border which would seize Fernandina and St. Augustine from the Spanish, organize a revolutionary government and then offer East Florida to the United States. Within a few weeks the details of Matthews activities were outlined in a Spanish protest to the American Secretary of State. In answering the protest, American officials soft-pedalled the activities and reminded the Spanish that Congress had authorized the acceptance of the colony or the occupation of East Florida against foreign seizure pending negotiation of American claims.

The publication of this diplomatic correspondence encouraged Matthews to proceed with his plans for the rebellion. John Houstoun McIntosh, a planter on Ft. George Island and the St. Johns, a recognized subject of Spanish Florida, agreed to serve as "The Commissioner of the Patriots of East Florida." Among other rebel leaders were Archibald Clark and Lodowick Ashley, lumbermen on the St. Marys, James Seagrove and John Boog of St. Mary's, George Cook, William Kelly, Benjamin Sands, and Francis Cook of East Florida. Ashley was made military commander of the rebel forces; other recruits were secured on the promises of free land, satisfaction of debts, payment of pensions, and religious freedom in the new republic.

By March, 1812, Matthews had secured assistance, and promises of assistance, from local detachments of the American armed forces in South Georgia, and the Georgia militia, as well as a large number of recruits from both sides of the border. Matthews planned to move against St. Augustine, and if successful, to Pensacola.

On March 10, the conspirators received word from an agent in the Spanish capital that the arrival of British troops at St. Augustine was imminent and that a rapid movement on the part of the rebels was necessary or the fort would be manned beyond conquest. With only a few hundred men at his command Matthews requested assistance for the Florida invasion from the army commander in lower Georgia, but this officier refused to assist the revolution with troops from his command.

The faliure of the rebels to secure army volunteers forced a change in plans as to the proposed attack on St. Augustine, but did not delay the beginning of the insurrection. On March 13, the rebels assembled at Rose's Bluff on the Florida bank of the St. Marys River where McIntosh and other rebels issued a manifesto which listed their grievances and solicted other Florida citizens to join in the declaration of independence from Spain. They raised a white flag decorated with the figure of a soldier in blue, bayonet fixed to his musket, and the motto: "the voice of the people, the law of the land." In a formal declaration, they offered Rose's Bluff to General Matthews to hold for the United States.

On March 15, the so-called Patriots embarked on a plan to seize Fernandina. McIntosh, as the Commissioner of the Republic of East Florida, sent a letter to the Spanish commandant to either surrender the fort or join with the Patriot forces. On March 17, after several gunboats approached the Fernandina battery the Spanish garrison of nine soldiers surrendered the fort to the rebels. Fernandina, and the section between the St. Marys and St. Johns, was shortly delivered to the occupation forces of the United States who held the area until May, 1813, when Spanish rule was returned north of the St. Johns.

A few days later the triumphant rebels left Fernandina on a march to St. Augustine. On March 23 they were at Picolata on the St. Johns and on March 25 made camp on the San Sebastian river two miles from the Spanish capital. The march of the rebels was unopposed by the Spanish; the residents of the invaded areas either sought the security of the Spanish fort at St. Augustine or joined up with the invaders. It was later reported that only two planters on the St. Johns, Philip Fatio and Farquar Bethune, remained loyal to the Spanish officials.

On March 26, the Patriot Commissioner demanded the surrender of the fort and town of St. Augustine, but the Spanish governor stood his ground and refused to recognize the rebels. Unable to receive the Spanish provincal capital by peaceful means or to seize the town and fort by military means, the invaders made camp near Old Fort Moosa north of the town.

McIntosh, the Patriot Commissioner, then returned to Fernandina where, on March 31, the Spanish colony of East Florida, to the walls of St. Augustine, was delivered to the United States through the willing hands of General George Matthews. Immediately, Matthews requested that the invaded area be occupied by American troops and this was accomplished within a few days when a hundred soldier detachment reached Fort Moosa and accepted the site as territory of the United States. The old fort marked the deepest penetration into the Spanish territory made by the invaders during the East Florida rebellion.

In Washington, however, the events in East Florida proved so embarrassing that the President and the Secretary of State, on April 4, 1812, repudiated General Matthews for his activities in East Florida. Public indignation at the Florida fiasco and the farcial cession of territory, assisted by American forces against a peaceful nation, brought the sacrifice of the confidential agent to save the face of the administration. Matthews remained in the Patriot camps in East Florida until the middle of the summer when he left for Washington to vindicate his actions, but the old general was seized with a fatal illness shortly thereafter at Augusta, Georgia.

The repudiation of Matthews was merely a maneuver of the Washington officials to placate the protesting Spanish, for there was still hope that East Florida might be acquired by the United States. On April 10, Governor David B. Mitchell was

appointed a special agent in charge of American forces in East Florida. He was ordered to secure amnesty for the Patriots and to protect the rebels on evacuation of the province. Dilatory tactics on the part of the Spanish and the Americans delayed the evacuation of East Florida until the lat spring of 1813. With the restoration of Spanish rule the Patriots had suffered a temporary defeat. McIntosh and others returned to Georgia to await a more favorable turn of events, but some of the rebels remained in Spanish East Florida and were pardoned for their participation in the rebellion.

Border Disputes

War between England and the United States, beginning in June, 1812, served to increase American fears of British occupation of the Spanish Floridas as bases for invasion. Equally fearful were the threats of English incitement of a general Indian uprising in the southeast and along the Spanish border lands. American strategy for the defense of the southeast resulted in the mobilization of Andrew Jackson's Tennessee militia, additionaal forces under James Wilkinson at New Orleans, and Thomas Pinckney on the St. Marys and St. Johns.

Spain did not enter the War of 1812 and the Spanish governors generally sought to preserve their neutrality. British ships occasionally visited Fernandina when the port was under Spanish control and were provisioned from time to time. Much greater British activity took place along the unsettled Gulf Coast and in July, 1813, Pensacola was seized as an English base. This seizure motivated Andrew Jackson's first march into Florida and the withdrawal of the British. This forced the British to transfer their operations to the Apalachicola region where a fort was built and the Indians were encouraged to carry the fight to the Americans. The existence of the fort and the large group of armed Negroes and Indians quartered there, continuing after the end of the war, was further indication of Spanish inability to govern the Florida colonies.

In East Florida, the British agents were never welcomed by the Spanish governors who recognized the tenuous hold of Spain in North America. The Spanish worked to preserve the neutrality which would provide no excuses for American or British seizure of the east coast or any other part of the Floridas. Both governors, of East and West Florida, protested the activities of the British agents along the unguarded coast lines. In January, 1815, the British occupied Cumberland Island and sacked the town of St. Mary's, Georgia, but when their troops visited Fernandina they were asked to leave. The Spanish further protested the protection of Spanish and American slaves who had escaped and joined the English troops in the war against the United States.

On the conclusion of the Anglo-American Conflict in 1815 there were many rumors that Spain was considering the cession of the Floridas to England. While such rumors were proven false there was general recognition that Spain, sooner or later, would be forced to accede to American demands for the acquisition of the peninsula at the southeastern corner of the continent. Questions that remained to be settled concerned the terms and the time of the transfer; for six years James Monroe and John Quincy Adams, the American secretaries of state, wrestled with Spanish officials over diplomatic problems including the cession of the Floridas. The complexities of these negotiations encompassed Florida, Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico, and the Pacific Northwest. In regard to the southeast, the discussions involved free navigation of rivers, fugitives slaves, Indian hostility, spoliation claims, foreign agents on the border, and numerous territorial invasions and seizures.

The discussions between Spanish and American diplomats over the settlement of these problems were interrupted by a series of border incidents in the Floridas which prolonged the negotiations. The first of these incidents was a result of the British agitation of the Indians in the Apalachicola area on the Georgia-Florida

border line when, during the War of 1812, a fort had been built near the Gulf coast. After the War, former slaves and renegade Indians used the fort as a base from which they sortied to harass the area. American troops attacked this fort, in Spanish territory, and put an end to the nuisance by killing the inhabitants.

In the years from 1816 to 1821 the Florida Provinces received a small backwash from the revolutions in other Latin American colonies of Spain. Rebel agents and expeditions used ports of the United States to embark on their illegal enterprises. While most of the fighting was in Texas or Mexico there were several attempts to acquire Florida leases from the impotent Spaniards. In the late summer and fall of 1816 the rumors of an attack on Pensacola by General Xavier Mina with pirates from Galveston brought an evacuation of the West Florida Capital, but no invasion took place. The several feints at Pensacola were probably made to distract attention from Fernandina, for the attacks that came there in the following year.

The Amelia Island affairs were no doubt planned in the summer of 1816; their culmination came on June 29, 1817, when a group of adventurers under Gregor MacGregor landed at Fernandina in the name of the Republic of Venezuela. The English soldier of fortune presented articles of capitulation to the Spanish commandant which provided for the evacuation of the Spanish garrison and guaranteed the lives and property of the residents of the island. The garrison of 54 men quickly surrendered to a like number of MacGregor's Musketeers and the "Green Cross of Floridas", a St. George Cross in green on a white field, replaced the Spanish flag over Fort San Carlos.

The true intent of MacGregor is unknown although the immediate objective was the capture of the busy port of Fernandina where smuggling and other illicit trade had become quite profitable. He may have believed that the defeated Patriots would join his cause against Spain but there is little doubt that the development of Fernandina as a refuge for privateers and a port of entry for the merchandise of pirates was the main motivation for the invasion. From the outset of the regime lawlessness became the order of the day. The pirates conducted raids along the east coast from New Smyrna to the St. Johns and St. Marys rivers. The MacGregor proclamations to the Anglo-Americans in East Florida were generally ignored and the Spanish governor at St. Augustine planned to use his meager forces to drive out the usurpers on Amelia Island. When MacGregor's supporters withdrew their support the banditti at Fernandina quarreled among themselves and many of them gradually deserted the cause.

When, early in September, 1817, a force of Spanish troops and Florida militia moved toward Fernandina, MacGregor left the town to board a ship in the harbor. From the ship he observed a miserable attempt of the Spanish to defeat the few remaining banditti. The Spanish were successful in the attack until several shells from the captured fort fell into their ranks on September 13. In the ensuing uproar the attackers were ordered to retreat by their leader who was later relieved of command for this fiasco.

The events of the next several days are mostly unrevealed, although MacGregor remained in the area for some time before sailing away. On September 17, Luis Aury arrived at Amelia Island aboard the *Mexico Libre* and was accompanied by at least two other ships. Little is known of Aury other than that he was a French revolutionary who arrived on the Spanish Main and became a freebooter and soldier of fortune in the group of South American revolutionists of the period. Aury probably associated with MacGregor who had also cast his lot with the revolutionaries.

By 1816, Aury had become a notorious pirate with headquarters on Galveston Island off the coast of Texas. His arrival on the east coast of Florida could have been from the imminence of American occupation of Galveston or from the attraction of Fernandina as a free port under the weak control of the Spanish at St. Augustine. A contemporary reported that Aury "hearing of the settlement of Mac-

Gregor at Amelia, and aware of the superiority of the situation as a naval depot, entered with his prizes."

There is reason to believe that MacGregor's withdrawal from Fernandina was predicated, in part, upon Aury's promise to assume his position and debts. Whatever the arrangements between the two, Aury's official assumption of the Amelia republic took place on September 21 when the flag of the nonexistent Republic of Mexico replaced the green cross of Florida and Amelia Island became a part of the "Mexican republic."

Under the Aury regime of professional patriots and pirates lawlessness was still the order of the day. There was open solicitation of freebooting, buccaneering, and other types of international theft. Ships were seized on the high seas, regardless of their nationality, and brought to Fernandina to be sold as prizes of war. Cargoes of sugar, coffee, and all varieties of merchandise were offered to traders and smugglers for further disposal in the United States or elsewhere. The most valuable and desirable cargoes were those composed of Africans destined for the slave trade.

A description of this very profitable slave trade was made by an American who wrote that "it is conjectured that during the short time that Aury was in command at Amelia that more than a thousand Africans were illicitly introduced into the United States and chiefly by the people who lived on the other side of the St. Marys river. They bought their negroes of Aury's Patriots and carried them upon that side of St. Marys river 50 or 60 miles to avoid the vigilance of the revenue officers of the place and finally sold them at a very great advance in the back parts of the adjoining states."

The paper government at Amelia Island, which was but a camouflage for the piracy and smuggling, was not endorsed by the citizens of the adjacent areas and was far beyond the control of the existing Spanish government of East Florida. The United States government was harassed by the complaints of the lawlessness on the southern border and shortly decided to use the armed forces to suppress this international outlawry. In a message to Congress, on December 2, President James Monroe announced his decision to ocupy Amelia Island and stamp out the disorders. On December 23, an American naval squadron sailed into Amelia River and protected the landing of a group of soldiers. As the troops marched ashore Aury ordered the striking of the Mexican flag which was shortly replaced with the stars and stripes.

The Spanish ministers at Washington immediately protested the American occupation and the Spanish governor of East Florida sent an officer from St. Augustine to report on the nature of the latest occupation of Fernandina. In an interchange of diplomatic correspondence, Secretary of State Adams informed the Spanish minister that "if Spain could have protected her own territory the United States would not have had to do it for her, and that no conquest of Spanish territory was intended". American forces remained on Amelia Island for another year, and in the vicinity, until the final transfer of East Florida to the United States, although the Spanish continued to complain of their presence in the province.

The Amelia Island affairs in Spanish East Florida were the true beginning of the end of foreign control of the east coast. The pirates and buccaneers had hardly been subdued in East Florida, however, before foreign inspired Indian warfare along the West Florida borders brought Andrew Jackson into Spanish territory again in 1818. Jackson marched down the Apalachicola River to the Gulf and across the panhandle to the St. Marks River. He stormed the fort at St. Marks and pushed on to the Suwannee before returning overland to Pensacola.

The Spanish bitterly protested the invasion of West Florida by Jackson, but Secretary of State Adams was adamant in his stand that "Spain must immediately make her election either to place a force in Florida adequate to the protection of her territory or cede to the United States a province which is open to every enemy, civilized or savage, of the United States." Adams stand forced the issue, and Spain,

beset by domestic troubles, revolutions in the South American colonies, and a dearth of allies in Europe, was willing to reopen negotiations for the cession of Florida to the United States. A preliminary treaty was signed in 1819, but the formal treaty was not signed until 1821. With American acquisition of Florida the renegades on the border were henceforth to be controlled, the southeastern corner of the Continent was filled out, and an area of enormous value fell to the United States: Florida was at last American.

American Territorial Problems

The Florida treaty was proclaimed by President Monroe on February 22, 1821, and Congress implemented the document within a few days in the confirmation of Andrew Jackson as governor of the new territory. Although Jackson had little desire for the appointment he accepted the first civil governorship for several reasons: friendship for Monroe, a measure of approbation of his Florida invasions, and an opportunity to fill the subordinate offices in the territorial government with his friends. The new governor arrived in New Orleans on April 22, amidst great public acclaim, and then proceeded to Montpelier, Alabama, to await Spanish authorization for the formal transfer of sovereignty and the change of flags.

Monroe meanwhile was implementing the establishment of a temporary government in Florida with the appointment of ten officers who would serve under the governor of the territory. Although Jackson had submitted a list of recommendations, the President selected judges, district attorneys, secretaries, customs collectors, and a marshal of his own choice. Monroe's actions so angered Jackson that, in combination with later events, he resigned the governor's position within a few months.

To expedite the Florida transfer Monroe sent Colonel James C. Forbes to Havana with an order to the governor of Cuba for the delivery of the provinces to the United States. Forbes was to secure the execution of the order as well as the delivery of the archives relating to Florida. He arrived on April 22, but did not receive orders to the Spanish governors of Florida authorizing the transfer until a month later. Andrew Jackson believed that the Cuban governor delayed action on the orders so that Spanish merchants and slavers could make some business transactions before United States customs laws became effective. Finally, on June 10, Forbes reached Pensacola and in a few days Jackson left Montpelier for Florida, though he did not accept the territory for another month because of differences with the Spanish governor over protocol and the disposition of public property in several fortifications at Pensacola and St. Marks.

Jackson's orders for the transfer provided for the selection of an officer to meet with the governor of East Florida who should accept that part of the territory in the name of the United States. Colonel Robert Butler, then serving as Adjutant-General for the Southern District, was chosen to act as the United States Commissioner for the East Florida transfer. Butler arrived in St. Augustine on May 24, but as at Pensacola the governor of East Florida also engaged in dilatory tactics which delayed the official American occupation until July 6, 1821. The two officials agreed on an occupation procedure whereby "there will be a salute fired by the fort on Tuesday morning, on hoisting the Spanish flag . . . . . the flag of the United States will be hoisted along with the Spanish flag, when the fort will again fire a salute." The Spanish troops then marched out of the fort and were replaced with American troops. And with this ceremony completed, East Florida passed from Spain to the United States.

On the exchange of flags at Pensacola Jackson proclaimed "that the government heretofore exercised over the Florida Provinces under the authority of Spain has ceased, and that that of the United States of America is established over the same." The new governor then issued a series of ordinances which established the civil

government of the Territory of Florida. Jackson divided the territory into two counties: Escambia, from the Perdido River to the Suwanee River, and St. Johns, the rest of Florida east of the Suwannee River. A county court composed of five justices of the peace was created, and provisions made for the commissioning of at least ten justices of the peace in each county. Jackson directed that the administration of the two governments should be continued under the Spanish system of Mayors and Aldermen.

As judges of the United States Courts, Monroe appointed Eligius Fromentin of Louisiana for West Florida, and William Worthington for East Florida. The latter did not arrive at St. Augustine until August, and John R. Bell was selected by Commissioner Butler as initerim secretary. On August 22, Worthington called the mayor and council of St. Augustine into session to receive the ordinances promulgated by Governor Jackson, but only one member agreed to accept the oath of allegiance and the group was dissolved. New appointments were then made, with Colonel James G. Forbes serving as Mayor.

The transition from Spanish to American authority in 1821 bore many similarities to the transfers of soverignty made in 1763 and 1783. Official and unofficial disputes over property, both public and private, were carried on for many years. Forbes later commented that "there never was a period when law with its intricacies could be less salutary in this country, than at present; where inundation, consequent sickness and general distress seems to pervade most classes of the miserable people now residing in it."

The provisional government of 1821 was replaced by regularly constituted territorial government created by a congressional act of 1822. The act provided a framework of governor, secretary, legislative council, and judiciary appointed by the president and a non-voting delegate to Congress to be elected by the voters of the territory. The governor, through the power vested in the office by laws of Congress and by the legislative council, became the most influential individual in the government. William P. Duval, federal judge of East Florida, was appointed governor in 1822, succeeding Jackson, and served until 1834. John H. Eaton, Secretary of War under Jackson, served two years from 1834 to 1836 as territorial governor. Richard K. Call served 1836-39 and 1841-44; Robert R. Reid served the interim of 1840-1841. John Branch, the last territorial governor, had been governor of North Carolina and Secretary of Navy under Jackson.

The legislative power of the territory was vested in thirteen men, appointed annually by the President, and called the Legislative Council. In 1826, the members were made elective from districts formed by the governor. In 1838, the council was divided into a senate of eleven members and a house of representatives of twenty-six members. The first session of the council was held in Pensacola in 1822 and the second in St. Augustine in 1823. The need for a central location for a territorial capital was recognized and the legislative council authorized Governor Duval to choose two commissioners to select a permanent site between the Ocklocknee and Suwannee rivers. The commissioners met at St. Marks in 1823 and, after exploring the country between the two rivers, recommended the present site of Tallahassee as the most appropriate location.

The council provided for the welfare of the sparse population of a rural character on the Florida frontier, but the increasing size of the body reflected the growth of the territory. Provisions for local government were made at the legislative sessions and by 1845 there were twenty-eight counties and a number of incorporated towns which were chartered by the council. By 1829, most of the offices in the executive and legislative branches had been made elective and the vote extended to white male citizens who had resided in the territory for three months and reached the age of twenty-one.

The supreme judicial power in the territory was vested in superior courts whose judges, attorneys, and marshals were appointed by the President of the United

States. By 1845, there were five of these courts, each in a separate geographical area of the territory. The judges of the superior courts constituted a court of appeals which began holding sessions in Tallahassee in 1825. The legislative council created a county court, in each county, charged with the adjudication and administration of local litigation and punishment for minor crimes. Provisions were also made for the creation of justice of the peace districts with not more than seven justices in a county. The executive officers of the inferior courts, both appointed by the governor, were a sheriff and a constable in each county.

The major political office achieved through election in territorial Florida was that of delegate to congress. Because of the nature of the office in relation to the needs of the frontier character of the territory the contests for the position were usually made more on national issues than on local issues. Since Florida was an unsettled region with undeveloped resources, the voters usually took the national view which looked toward federal support for public works and for protection against the Indian tribes that remained in the wilderness. The several delegates from 1823 to 1845, constantly sought federal aid for the construction of roads, canals, railroads, and for federal troops to defend against threats of Indian attacks. Thus, Joseph M. White, who served as delegate for six terms, promoted relief from Indian problems, development of internal improvements, and the adoption of liberal land policies to attract settlers to the Florida territory.

The outstanding problem at the inception of the territorial period concerned the disposal of the public domain and the security of titles to lands which were privately claimed. Under the treaty with Spain the United States acquired ownership of all lands that had not been granted or conveyed to private ownership prior to January 24, 1818, when the first proposal by Spain for cession was made. The land problems were complicated not only by Spanish grants and claims of private ownership but before the territory could be made available for settlement a land treaty with the Indians was necessary and all the lands, public or private, surveyed. A land treaty, to be discussed later, was made with the Indians at a meeting near St. Augustine in 1823. The Indians agreed to move into an area in the peninsula south of Ocala; the federal government agreed to pay the cost of this movement, to make annual payments for twenty years, and to protect the Indians against encroachment or trespass by all other persons.

During the territorial period the federal government held the domain ceded by Spain as lands for settlement and cultivation by future residents. Beginning in 1822, federal laws were passed which gradually removed the monoply of the United States on the lands of Florida. The most immediate problem involved the Spanish land grants whose titles might have been ratified and confirmed on terms that had been fulfilled prior to the cession. Two boards of land commissioners were created, one for East Florida and one for West Florida, to settle the smaller grants. The larger grants, including one which involved three million acres, were finally decided after much litigation in the federal courts.

The work of the land commissioners was increased in 1824 by the passage of the Donation Act for renters, squatters, and purchasers of lands with clouded titles. This act required examination of claims founded on habitation and cultivation and successful claimants were granted as much as a section or 640 acres of land. The land commissioners labored under many difficulties not the least of which was the problem of securing papers for the claimants from the Spanish archives. The *Florida Herald* of St. Augustine reported that "for ten years the land grant problems of titles and decrees were scattered about as floating objects in the wide ocean of law."

The problems involved in the land grants handicapped the settlement of the territory. Further, the disposal of the land was also handicapped by the lack of proper surveys. Beginning in 1824, the Tallahassee base and meridian were sur-

veyed and from this point the surveys of the state continued into the Twentieth Century.

Land offices were opened at Tallahassee in 1825 and at St. Augustine in 1826. Public land sales were conducted on scheduled dates which were advertised in the territorial newspapers. From 1825 to 1845 some 800,000 acres were sold in middle Florida as compared to 70,000 acres in East Florida. The average price per acre through the period was $1.29. From 1830 to 1840, the settlement in the more northern counties of East Florida was increasing more rapidly than anywhere else in the territory. "Although East Florida was but sparsely settled there were a number of flourishing plantations, but these were laid waste by the Indians during the next seven years and immigration into that section almost entirely ceased."

Following the close of the Indian War in 1842, a temporary free homestead act was passed. This Armed Occupation Act offered a quarter section of land to men able to bear arms who would make settlements south of Gainesville and Palatka in the peninsula. The passage of the act was premised on the hope that such settlement would assist in the prevention of further Indian disturbances. Within a year 242 permits under the act had been issued at St. Augustine.

In East Florida the selection of lands under the occupation act provided a scattered settlement, near the coast, from St. Augustine to the Miami River and Biscyane Bay. Eighty-five claims were made in the vicinity of the St. Lucie River, but only fifty of these were taken up by permanent settlers. The areas around Ft. Pierce, Lake Worth, Miami River, and Biscayne Bay drew some twenty to thirty-five settlers each. The settlement of East Florida was retarded by the slowness of the surveys, the lack of roads, disputed titles of British and Spanish grants, and most of all by the Indian Wars. East Florida had a population of 8,740 in 1830 and 19,555 in 1840, an increase of 123.6 per cent as compared with 56.8 per cent for the whole territory. But the population of East Florida increased only 35 per cent between 1840 and 1850 as compared with 60 per cent for all of Florida.

SELECTED REFERENCES

Dau, Frederick W., *Florida Old and New,* (New York, 1934).
Dodd, Dorothy, *Florida Becomes a State,* (Tallahassee, 1945).
Doherty, H. J., *Whigs of Florida,* (Gainesville, 1959).
James, Marquis, *Life of Andrew Jackson,* (New York, 1940).
Martin, S. W., *Florida During Territorial Days,* (Athens, 1944).
Florida Historical Quarterly:
Davis, T. F., "First Session of the Legislative Council," January, 1946.
Dodd, Dorothy, "Letters from East Florida," July, 1936.
Knauss, James O., "William P. Duval," January, 1943.
Martin, S. W., "Richard K. Call," April, 1943.
Young, Rogers W., "The Transfer of East Florida," April, 1936.

CHAPTER VIII

INDIAN WAR ON THE EAST COAST

By Dr. J. E. Dovell

The Indian and the Land

THE FLORIDA WAR, 1835-1842, came as a result, in part, of the American movement to push the Indians from the eastern regions of the United States to the Western territories. In the Florida Territory the problem of Indian removal was probably more difficult than in other regions, for the red men sought the protection of the unknown wilderness and retreated southward into the peninsula. As the Florida Indians and their Negro allies moved into the then unknown swamps and glades they became more and more determined to remain in the south and resist removal to the western territories.

The acquisition of Florida by the United States opened the lands of the region to settlement and, as much of the good land was occupied by the red men, it was inevitable that attempts would be made to remove the natives, a practice which had prevailed in the nation since earliest colonial days. The removal issue was further complicated by several other factors, one of which was the expectation that the United States would recover the costs of the five million dollars in claims guaranteed under the treaty of 1819 through the sale of land in Florida. At the time that Jackson became governor the country between Pensacola and St. Augustine was occupied only by Indians. Jackson soon conceived the idea of moving them from the middle district, then opening that part of the territory for settlement by the whites in order to procure funds for the payment of the claims acknowledged in the treaty.

Another factor of consideration in the removal issue was the part that the Indian occupied lands played in the fights over the proposed geographical division of the territory into two parts. Peculiarly enough, the scarcity of settlers in the vast wilderness provoked a fear in the minds of those who opposed division. With isolated towns at Pensacola in the west and St. Augustine in the east, division through annexation to Alabama and Georgia was defended by those in favor of the plan. John Lee Williams, contemporary historian of territorial Florida, stated that the division and annexation were opposed by most of the residents and the federal government. "It was therefore proposed to remove the Indians from the middle district of the Territory, to locate therein a common seat of government and to cover the country, as soon as possible, with an efficient population."

The Florida Indians opposed the removal to the western lands for several reasons: the unknown character of the western areas, the possibilities of the renewal of hostilities with their Creek enemies also being moved, and the reluctance of their Negro allies to deal with white men. By 1835 there were three classes of black men in Florida: slaves owned by Americans, free Negroes, and the Negroes associated with the Seminole Indians. Kenneth W. Porter, leading authority on the Seminoles and their Negro allies, wrote that the Indian War which began in 1835 was "ostensibly caused by the insistance of the United States government on the removal of the Seminole to the Indian Territory, along with most of the other Indian tribes east of the Mississippi, but was in large measure also urged on by

the desire of slave traders and slave owners to gain possession of the Negroes living among the Seminoles; on the other hand, the unwillingness of the Indians to leave the country in which they had established themselves was reinforced by the fear of the Seminole Negroes lest, emerging from their fastnesses for transportation to the west, they should be seized and enslaved."

The importance of the Indian Negroes in the second Seminole war has been long recognized, but the extent to which the plantation slave and free Negro population participated in the war has, however, received little attention from the historian. In 1835, General Duncan L. Clinch stated that "if a sufficient military force is not sent the whole frontier may be laid waste by a combination of the Indians, Indian Negroes, and Negroes on the Plantations," while a year later General Thomas Sidney Jesup reported that: "This, you may be assured is a Negro, not an Indian war; and if it be not speedily put down, the south will feel the effects of it on their slave population before the end of the next season."

As a result of these factors the residents of Florida, supported by the southern states generally, demanded removal or extinction of the Seminoles while the red men and their allies asked no quarter in the succeeding fight to retain their lands. The Florida War climaxed many years of misrepresentation and misunderstanding between the white men and the Indians. The war cost the lives of 1,500 American service men; Congress appropriated $30,000,000 during the seven years, while the Indians defied the efforts of the armys best officers: Duncan Clinch, Finfield Scott, Edmund P. Gaines, Abram Eustis, Richard K. Call, Thomas Jesup, Alexander Macomb, Walter K. Armistead, and William J. Worth.

The effect of the war in Florida was catastrophic: plantation homes and buildings burned, crops destroyed, slaves and livestock plundered. Settlers who escaped the scalping knife sought safety in towns and forts, but losses were not limited to individuals. On the east coast, the towns which had grown up to meet the needs of expanding settlement saw their enterprises dwindle and Jacksonville and St. Augustine were especially hard hit. Land prices fell for lack of purchasers and those who remained had to be prepared for sudden flight. "Federal aid for the destitute was not lacking. Efforts were made to compensate for losses and encourage settlers to go into the zone of hostilities . . . There was some expression of lack of sympathy in Washington, since some were inclined to suspect the territory of enjoying the material benefits of the presence of troops and government subsidies. David Levy, delegate from Florida, hotly refuted these insinuations and charged that anyone opposing Indian removal was in league with that arch-bogey, the abolitionist."

The body of Indians in Florida with whom the officials of the federal and territorial government were forced to negotiate was a composite of several groups of aborigines from the lower southeastern region of the United States. The Seminoles, as a tribe, were of very modern origin whose nucleus was found in the Oconees of Georgia who entered Florida around 1750 and settled in the Alachua country which had been depopulated by the extinction of the original native residents. The Oconees were later joined by migrants of other tribes. After the Creek War, 1813-14, the Indian population of Florida was tripled with refugees from Georgia and Alabama. By 1823 an attempt at a census reported approximately five thousand Seminoles in the territory.

The Seminole emigration was never opposed by the Spanish officials who had allowed the migrants to settle in the Alachua country and to fall loosely under Spanish colonial laws. In the years between 1742 and 1763 Spanish influence outside St. Augustine was negligible and the Indians acclimated themselves as the possessors of the provinces. On the transfer of the Florida's to England in 1763 and the institution of the British Indian policy of "honesty and justice" the Seminoles were recognized and treated as allies. Under such a program the Seminoles

prospered to the extent that William Bartam noted "this handful of people possess a vast territory; all East Florida and the greatest part of West Florida".

The return of Spanish authority in 1783 found the Florida colonies populated with Indians whose numbers and attitudes had considerably changed in twenty years. In 1784 the enlarged group of pro-British Seminoles concluded a treaty with the Spanish which established the red men with reserved lands and some privileges. Spanish authority, however, was feeble in controlling the Indians or in counteracting the lawless influences of British agents or renegade Americans who easily took advantage of the situation. In both British and Spanish Florida the Indian nomads roamed throughout the region. Until 1821 the Indian trade remained the profitable commerce of the provinces and policies of kindness and discretions were profitable in maintaining business relations. American ocupation reversed this trend, for the pioneer sought land and was never agreeable to negotiating with a red man as an equal.

Emigrants to Florida in 1821 found Seminole settlements extending from the Apalachicola River to St. Augustine. The Indians lived not only as hunters, but cultivated tracts of land as large as twenty acres each, raising enough to supply their wants and needs.

Shortly after Jackson accepted the province of West Florida the Indian problem was brought to his attention when a deputation of red men appeared at Pensacola. Jackson advocated the creation of an Indian reservation for the consolidation of the aborigines with their brothers in Georgia. After Jackson's departure territorial leaders disagreed as to the disposition of the Indian claims. John C. Calhoun, secretary of war under Monroe, advocated Seminole removal to lands west of the Mississippi, others advocated reservations in southern Florida.

Following the establishment of the territorial government Governor Duval was made superintendent of Indian Affairs and Colonel Gad Humphries was appointed Indian agent. In 1823, James Gadsden and Bernardo Segui were named as commissioners to the Florida Indians and authorized to negotiate a treaty providing for their removal. A conference was called for this purpose on September 5th at Moultrie Creek near St. Augustine. Duval was a member of the commission; his kind treatment secured the Indian's confidence and resulted in a relatively successful handling of the conflict between the two races from 1822 to 1834.

The commissioners and a number of tribal chiefs gathered at Fort Moultrie in the early days of September, 1823, for a conference which led to a treaty of ten articles signed on the eighteenth. Although a number of influential chiefs were absent the commissioners hoped that the recalcitrants would be influenced by the action of those in attendance. Under the terms of the agreement the Indians were to relinquish claims to all lands in the territory in return for a reservation of five million acres located in the peninsula. Roughly, the reservation covered the lands in the area south of the present Marion county to north of Charlotte county above Punta Gorda. The reservation lines on the west ran to within fifteen miles of the Gulf coast and on the east to within twenty miles of the Atlantic coast. In return for the above reservation the United States agreed to "take the Florida Indians under their caer and patronage, and afford them protection against all persons whatsoever." Further, the United States agreed to appropriate $2,000 for transportation expenses incident to removal; $6,000 for agricultural implements and livestock; a $5,000 annuity for twenty years; $4,500 for property losses; food rations for twelve months; $1,000 a year for the establishment of a school and $1,000 a year for the support of a "gun and blacksmith", the latter two expenses to be appropriated annually for twenty years.

With the creation of the Indian reservation the difficult task remained in moving the Seminoles into the area. Governor Duval personally visited a number of Indian settlements to expedite the program of removal, a process completed by the spring of 1825. The projected solution of an asylum for the Indians in the wilderness of

central Florida to quiet the Indian problem was doomed at the outset. Neither white men nor red men respected the boundaries and plunder and depredation remained inflamamatory issues. Governor Duval sympathized with the Seminoles and secured an extension of the northern boundary in 1825. Drought brought starvation in 1825 and the Indian agent issued 1,000 rations to take care of 1,600 persons in the month of May.

As a result of sporadic Indian forays against white settlers, arising from their disgruntled restlessness, Duval made a two month tour of central Florida in the winter of 1826. The governor reported that: "The best of the Indian lands are worth but little; nine-teen twentieths of their whole country within the present boundary is by far the poorest and most miserable region I ever beheld." In subsequent letters to the secretary of war, Duval predicted that: "Many white men will crowd near the Indian boundary, who are worse than the Indians, and constantly steal their horses and cattle." And, in discussing efforts to persuade the red men to restore runway slaves, he wrote: "The justice to which the Indians are entitled they cannot obtain; while they surrender to our citizens the slaves claimed by them, their own negroes that have been taken from them, are held by white people who refuse to deliver them up. I have felt ashamed, while urging the Indians to surrender the property they hold, that I had not the power to obtain for them their own rights, and property held by our citizens." Duval recognized that the end of the struggle would probably await Indian removal beyond the Mississippi. He also recognized the difficulties that would accompany such a transfer and urged the project be approached with extreme caution.

During these years settlers moved into the Alachua country, the St. Johns valley, and south along the east coast. Frequent contacts between the pioneers and the Indians brought Indian complaints that the whites were violating the terms of the Moultrie treaty. Such complaints for protection secured no relief and the Indians resorted to raiding parties. Reaction of the whites came in retaliation in kind, or more successfully in the long run, in flooding Washington with petitions for Indian removal from Florida. Premonitions of trouble were seen in the murder of several whites on the Aucilla river in December 1826. These murders inspired the creation of a territorial militia by the legislative council in 1827.

The presence of renegade whites in central Florida who furnished large supplies of intoxicants to the Indians and later robbed the drunken red men further agitated the situation. The practice of slave catching became so obnoxious that several chiefs implored the agent to secure protection from the raids. The promised annuities from Washington fell behind, and caused the Indians to regard the 1823 treaty with contempt. Further, the very cupidity of the Indian agents brought loss of face to all white men. Out of all these factors there arose a general demand in 1830, when the federal government provided for the transfer of Indians still east of the Mississippi, that the Seminoles be transported with dispatch.

The Seminoles, however, were not interested in the proposition, for they recognized the red men had much to lose and little to gain; further, the Florida wilderness was large enough for both races if the white man would but respect the obligations of preceeding agreements. A later observer noted: "Surrounded by crafty and designing whites, the Indians became exasperated and began looking forward to the time when they would avenge themselves. Prolonged restraint made them restless. The Federal Government recognized ominous signs and believed the only way to prevent a bloody Indian war was complete removal. Colonel James Gadsden was commissioned, early in 1832, to negotiate with the Seminoles for the cession of their lands in Florida for territory west of the Mississippi. He was given discretional authority, thereby practicaly assuring successful results. The Seminole opposition to councils, however, had grown tremendously and they were reluctant to have any dealings whatsoever with the white man. Gadsden finally overcame their suspicions and succeeded in assembling the chiefs at Payne's

Landing, in the spring of 1832, seventeen miles from Fort King along the Ocklawaha River."

The resulting treaty of Payne's Landing was signed by seven chiefs and eight sub-chiefs (whereas thirty-two chiefs had signed the treaty of Moultrie in 1823) and provided that the removal should be accomplished in three years. The removal date was afterwards extended to 1836, but seven years prior to the expiration of the Moultrie treaty by any interpretation and a vital point in subsequent transactions. The Payne's Landing treaty stipulated that a delegation of chiefs should be sent to the western lands to examine the country, and that if they were satisfied with it, the treaty should be binding on the nation.

In accordance with the treaty seven chiefs, an interpreter and the Indian agent, Major John Phagan, left Florida for the west where they examined the country. The ambiguous words of the treaty stated that "should they be satisfied with the character of that country", the compact of the previous May signed on the Ocklawaha river would be binding. Through measures of bribery, duplicity, and the liberal dispensation of whisky the inspecting chiefs signed a supplementary treaty at Fort Gibson, Arkansas, in March 1833. The Fort Gibson agreement infuriated the remaining chiefs of the Seminole nation who repudiated the document asserting that the nation, and not the delegation, should make the final decision. Further, the seven chiefs were roundly rebuked on their return and to avoid punishment at the hands of the tribesmen, denied the agreement and joined the opposition to removal. The U. S. authorities, however, seized upon the treaties of 1832 and 1833 as legitimate weapons in the removal problem and both were ratified and proclaimed in 1834.

When, in 1839, Colonel James Gadsden was publicly charged with securing the 1832 treaty at the disadvantage of the Seminoles and thus provoking the costly war the American commissioner defended the Ocklawaha document with a statement that had the seven chiefs been permitted to return and make their report in Council before the same Commissioners, the Seminoles would have ratified and fulfilled all the stipulations of Payne's Landing. Unfortunately the fatal mistake was made of meeting the deputation in the West with other commissioners. There the Treaty was ratified by the chiefs instead of the nation at home. This, as ought to have been expected, created distrust among the warriors. The discontented seized the occasion to convert it to their advantage. John Hicks, the then master spirit of the Seminoles, and the openly avowed friend of emigration, suddenly died; Charley Emathala, the next friendly chief most to be relied on, fell under the assassin's tomahawk; the spirit of hostility was awakened, and the agent soon became a victim of his own mistaken confidence.

"Deeply convinced that the great fault lay in the ratification of the Treaty by the deputation . . . and not by the nation, and by other commissioners in the West instead of the one who had negotiated the original, I early communicated my views to the agents as well as to the President of the United States."

The delay in the ratification of the Payne's Landing and Fort Gibson treaties worked to the advantage of the Indian opposition to removal. In late 1833, the Indian agent Phagan was dismissed and General Wiley Thompson installed at Fort King as agent. On October 23, 1834, Thompson summoned a council of chiefs to plan the details for the emigration to the West—peaceably if possible, by force if necessary. Here the red men repudiated the 1832 and 1834 agreements on the basis that the Moultrie treaty of 1823 had not expired and the meeting closed with the Seminoles in a humor to resist force with force in removal plans.

Through the remainder of 1835 the Indians played for delay although Thompson had declared January 1, 1836, as the final date for peaceful emigration. With the approval of the Jackson administration, the Indian agent planned the use of military force to move the Seminoles. During the summer and fall numerous incidents alarmed the territory. At Hickory Sink, near Gainesvile, the Spring Grove Guards

skirmished with the Indians in June. In August an army courier on the trail to Fort King from Tampa Bay was murdered near the Hillsborough River, and by November Thompson warned the territory of the impending Indian attack. The warning was none too soon, for in late November all the settled portions of the peninsula were in danger. Plantations near Micanopy in the Alachua country were laid waste, while in the following month those in the St. Johns valley and along the east coast became victims of the Indian torch. In December the brigades of the Florida militia were alerted for duty and several battalions ordered into immediate service for protection to the territory and to begin enforcement of the Indian removal plans.

The Florida War: 1835-1842

On December 18, the first pitched battle of the war was fought between a party of "fifty or sixty Indians" and a detachment of militia at Kanapha prairie southwest of Micanopy in which the Florida volunteers lost eight men. A second skirmish at the same location on the twentieth routed the Indians, but not without losses in men.

Within a few days of the January date set for the emigration of the Seminoles the war began in earnest with three bloody encounters, all regarded as Indian victories. On the afternoon of December 28, the Indian agent, Thompson, and an army officer were killed while strolling near Fort King. Several hours earlier on the same date Major Francis Dade, in command of two companies of soldiers, was ambushed on the road from Fort Brooke to Fort King near the present Bushnell in Sumter County. This resulted in the massacre of one hundred and eight men with but three survivors and was one of the worst disasters in the annals of Indian warfare.

The third encounter was on the last day of December, when General Duncan Clinch and two hundred regulars engaged "a stubborn 250 warriors under Osceola and Alligator along the south bank of the Withlacoochee." The battle ended in a draw as the Indians retreated, although the confusion in the federal and volunteer troops, caused by the attack of the enemy when but half the Americans had forded the river, resulted in a tactical victory for the Seminoles under the leadership of Osceola.

The Jacksonville *Courier* reported in January 1836 that: "The whole of East Florida is in danger. The Indians have possession of the Southern portion of it as far north as Bulow, forty miles south of St. Augustine—Picolata on the St. James—Whitesville on Black Creek—Alligator and Suwannee—an extensive and exposed frontier. It is the general opinion that unless adequate aid is immediately extended to us, the whole of Florida, east of the Suwanee River, will be inevitably ruined. . . .

"The residents on the banks of the St. Johns from this place to Picolata, have removed their families to this city and to Mandarin. Many of the plantations are entirely abandoned.

"It is possible that the danger to which we are exposed, has been exaggerated, but our deliberate opinion is, that the reverse is the fact—that the danger has been extenuated, and that even our own citizens have thought too lightly of the numbers and prowess of the Seminoles. It seems that they have determined with this last remnant of their nation to fight with the white man, a last desperate battle in a hopeless defense of their towns, their homes, their country, and the monumental mounds where sleep the mouldering bones of their sires and slaughtered warriors. Each red man seems resolved to sacrifice his life as dearly as possible."

Within a few months all the settlements and plantations on the east coast from St. Augustine southward to the keys had been destroyed. Eastern Florida was deserted with the former inhabitants congregated in towns, forts and stockades. The three Indian episodes of December resulted in two major generals departing for the Florida theater: Edmund P. Gaines, commander of the western department of the

army; and Winfield Scott, commander of the eastern department. While on a tour of inspection of the southern portion of his command Gaines received word of the events and rumors of an Indian investment of Clinch at Fort King. Without awaiting orders Gaines arrived at Tampa on February 10 with 1100 troops. On January 21, Scott was ordered to Florida by the Secretary of War and reached Picolata on February 22. Meanwhile Gaines had marched to the Withlacoochee and remained in the area until March 9 when the command was returned to Clinch. In the interim Gaines' forces had numerous skirmishes with the Seminoles and the general claimed that the savages had been "met, beaten, and forced to sue for peace."

Scott, a bitter enemy of Gaines, arrived with a lack of supplies, troops, and transportation and was forced to wait sixteen days before moving from the St. Johns river. Scott later declared that Gaines had preempted men, supplies and transport which seriously handicapped "a plan of campaign to converge on the enemy with three 'wings' of the army . . . and thus crush the savage." But the plan failed when the Indians refused battle and Scott's logistic support was unable to supply the troops. As the end of the enlistment terms of the militia left Scott with a skeleton force, and "sick, discouraged, smarting under the failure of his campaign" Scott relinquished his command to General Abram Eustis and left Florida on May 30.

During the summer of 1836, Richard K. Call carried on a futile campaign in central Florida. Other than scouting the central part of the peninsula with minor operations in the Withlacoochee swamps the efforts were of little value. Call retired to Volusia on the St. Johns in October where he was joined by General Thomas Sidney Jesup who assumed command of some 4,000 troops in the Florida theater in December. With this change of command, President Jackson sought to answer the administration critics when he wrote in a letter to James Gadsden: "It is true that the whole Florida war from the first to the present has been a succession of blunders and misfortune, as the movement has been ahead of the supplies. . . . I had tried all the generals and General Jessup is now there and in command, he I hope will finish this unfortunate business. . . . . As you remark there cannot be need of more men, that there are as many in Florida as might eat Osceola and his few."

With the advent of cooler weather and adequate men and supplies, Jesup carried the fight to the Seminoles. For four months the campaign was waged in the wilderness of swamp and forest along the Ocklawaha and Withlacoochee rivers. The American forces generally enjoyed success such that on March 6, 1837, at Fort Dade, a short distance northeast of the present city of Tampa, General Jesup entered into a convention with the Seminoles for the immediate removal of the whole nation west of the Mississippi. Throughout the late spring the white inhabitants of Florida protested strenuously against such an agreement, and took every opportunity to thwart its fulfillment. Finally, all of the Indians who had assembled at Tampa Bay under the convention became so restless under the machinations of certain white and Indian elements, that they fled into the Everglades early in June.

The flight of the Indians from Tampa Bay was attributed to several causes by Dr. Samuel Forry, army surgeon, who wrote from Fort King in July 1837 that: "A company . . . was formed to speculate in the negro property of the Indians. Individuals came into the Territory with their pockets full of powers of attorney. The negroes became aware of this, grew alarmed, and fled from General Jesup's camp." Forry also noted that the Indians became "The prey of those infernal vampyres that congregate on our frontier, who, in violation of all that is honourable in man and all that is sacred in female character have taken advantage of their unprotected condition. A young squaw, flying from one of these demoniac ravishers, was shot down dead. . . .

"Another cause operated in inducing the Seminoles to leave the immigrating camp. It grew sickly; a few cases of measles appeared, and as the Indians draw no distinction between this disease and small pox, many fled terrified. Indians hostile

to immigration were also constantly engaged in giving currency to rumors that as soon as the tribes were securely in General Jesups' power at sea, they would all become food for fishes."

At the flight of the Indians from Tampa in June renewed hostilities were expected, but during the summer months both parties tacitly agreed in an armistice. Jesup had offered to resign the command; however, the offer was not accepted. The army troops were in a sickly condition and the Indians used the summer months to rest and to recoup supplies. John Phelps, an officer in the field, wrote that the Indians visited Fort King frequently "and at first appeared so friendly that hopes were entertained that they would be ready to go in the fall." Jesup told the Indian chiefs that he would "extend their time for emigration to the first of October," but the general also issued orders to the sub-commanders to scout the country for hostile red men in the interim.

During the months of the undeclared summer truce, Indian attacks and depredations plagued the territory with recurring frequency. In the late summer and early fall troops and supplies for the armed forces were arriving in increasing numbers and amounts under the auspices of the quartermaster corps. Among the arrivals on the Florida front were several hundred friendly Indians from the Creek and other eastern tribes.

General Joseph M. Hernandez, assigned by Jesup to command the forces east of the St. Johns river, made an inspection tour in August through his brigade that was stationed in the numerous forts of East Florida. On September fourth, four Negro slaves who had been captured by the Indians in 1836 surrendered to American forces near St. Augustine. The Negroes "Complained of having encountered hardships and very scant fare among the Indians . . . and that they were subjected to severe beatings on every occurrence of ill temper in their tawny and savage masters. They exhibited the greatest delight at rejoining the whites; and communicated important information relative to the plans and situations of the Indians. . . . They also stated that they left the vicinity of Mosquito, engaged in preparing coonte, a number of Indians, who had already burnt the buildings at Fort Mellon and Volusia since we left them, notwithstanding their promises to be contrary."

The news that Indians were on the east coast in violation of the treaty of 1823, which prohibited the red men from traveling within twenty miles of the ocean, caused General Hernandez to lead a detachment of almost two hundred men to scout the area from St. Augustine to New Smyrna and westward to the St. Johns River. At the ruins of Dunlawton Mill, on the Tomoka River near the present Ormond, the troops captured King Philip and a large party of Indians. Philip was the active commander of the Indians east of the St. Johns who had destroyed the settlements on the east coast. Hernandez returned to town with his prisoners. Handbills minutely detailing the affair were immediately posted up, balls and fetes were given, the General got drunk, the captured property was disposed of at a high rate, the officers concerned were astonished at their own chivalry, and there was such rejoicing as was perhaps never surpassed.

With the capture and incarceration of the Indian chief Philip, events in East Florida moved rapidly in September and October. Negotiations for the old chief's release and plans for subsequent emigration included the dispatch of Indian runners to members of the tribes remaining at large. Wild Cat (Coacoochee), Philip's son, and several warriors surrendered to American troops at Bulowville on September 26th.

General Hernandez allowed Wild Cat, who brought overtures of peace from Osceola and other Indian chiefs, to return and lay the groundwork for further parleys. On October 16, Wild Cat reached St. Augustine with a number of Indian companions and the information that Osceola and a party would arrive shortly for a talk. Heartened by the capture and further surrender of the leading East Florida Indians, General Jesup and staff reached St. Augustine two days later. The arrival

of the area commander formed the occasion for General Hernandez to give a grand ball in honor of his daughter's marriage. A number of Indian chiefs attended the party, described by Surgeon Samuel Forry in some detail.

"Waltzes and Spanish dances were the order of the day. After midnight we had quite a splendid supper. About sixty ladies were in attendance, and some of them were passably handsome. I have never, however, participated in such amusements, but last night I most anxiously wished that I could waltz, for no other reason than merely to feel and be felt by the ladies. Coacoochee was the lion of the night, attracing special attention of the ladies. His remarks were always to the point, prompted by the impulses of nature. A lady and gentleman being introduced to him, he enquired if they were married. Being answered that the pair had been lately yoked, he added that she was very pretty, and that her husband no doubt enjoyed her very much but that after bearing several children, she would be scarce worth having....

"Last evening King Philip's brother got so drunk that it was necessary to carry him off. When he saw the display of liquors, he was really transported to the third elysium. He gulped down draught after draught, and finally drew from his pocket a black bottle, thumped it upon the table, and cried out to have it filled. Coacoochee also drank immensely; but by being led between two men, he contrived to maintain the perpendicular; and thus he continued to receive the applause of the ladies. Coacoochee has the countenance of a white man—a perfect Apollo in his figure—dresses very gaudily, and has more than the vanity of a woman."

Disgusted with the lack of success in the removal plans, General Jesup watched the agreed date of October first pass with only a handful of red men under his control. The general had spent the previous summer riding through "the country, sometimes forty and fifty miles a day, as tho' it were his profession." Thus, when Osceola and a body of warriors assembled near St. Augustine under a flag of truce on October 21st, Jesup ordered the seizure and imprisonment of the entire group. Osceola, Wild Cat, and some eighty others were confined in the fort. The ruthless expedient of capture under a white flag brought condemnation from many sources as a dishonorable act on the part of Jesup. Dr. Jacob Rhett Motte defended the action, when as a participant in the struggle he wrote:

"Tis true they had a white flag flying; but they were never told it would afford them indemnity from capture on this occasion. On the contrary, they had been repeatedly told that the only terms with which they could be received were those of actual surrender and that no flag would be received on any other terms. Indeed, there was too much sympathy extended upon these treacherous, murderous savages. Even had they been enticed in under the immunity of the white flag, General Jesup would have been perfectly justified in making prisoners of them, for he was dealing with the very individuals who had repeatedly and treacherously trifled with the flag of truce; had forfeited their plighted faith and flagrantly deceived him, in forcibly carrying off hostages left by them in his hands; and when we recollect that this interview was sought by them with the worst of motives, public opinion ought not only to justify but commend him for the transaction."

There were now over a hundred prisoners in the fort at St. Augustine and the citizens regarded the imprisonment of the several chiefs in the local bastion with misgivings. Dr. Forry wrote: "A few nights ago, the Indians had a dance in the fort; the whoops and yells alarmed the city—the mayor ran to General Jesup and hoped that he would send for more troops, for Osceola would take the city before daylight. The Indians are perfectly secure, and do not dream of escape." On November 29, however, Wild Cat and nineteen other Indian prisoners, including two women affected their escape from the fort in order to rally the Indian forces.

Another stratagem to remove the Seminoles in November occurred when John Ross and five principal Cherokee chiefs were persuaded to visit the Florida theater and negotiate with their racial cousins "to be good boys, and not give their great father at Washington so much trouble." The Cherokee delegation made but little

progress and Jesup decided to seize as many of the red men as possible and to carry the war to the Indians. In early January the prisoners at St. Augustine were shipped to Fort Moultrie, at Charleston, South Carolina, where Osceola died within a few weeks.

The winter campaign, as planned by Jesup, was based on dividing the army in Florida into detachments which would enter the peninsula by different routes and drive the Indians southward into the seas. Hernandez was to proceed through the area from St. Augustine, Eustis to move south west of the St. Johns river, Zachary Taylor to operate east of Tampa Bay, and P. F. Smith east from Charlotte Harbor. In addition, other detachments were sent to middle Florida, the Gulf Coast, to Black Creek, and the Ocklawaha, until the territory was thoroughly scoured. The conflict was marked by few true battles; rather it was a war of raids, ambushes, guerilla warfare, and few pitched battles. One of the most important of these was fought on the northern shore of Lake Okeechobee on Christmas Day 1837.

Colonel Zachary Taylor had moved out from Fort Brooke on Tampa Bay at the end of November with eight hundred regular troops, one hundred eighty Missouri volunteers, and seventy Delaware Indians, some Shawnee Indians, and some Florida Volunteers. By December third most of Taylor's command had reached the Kissimmee River where a bridge was built across the stream and a small fortification, designated Fort Gardiner, was completed. For the ensuing two weeks scouting parties toured the Kissimmee valley and northerly shores of Lake Okeechobee. On the nineteenth a general move was ordered against the Indians who were believed to be congregating northeast of the big lake. On Christmas morning the troops crossed Taylor's Creek, near the present Okeechobee and reached the vicinity of the Indian encampment. The Indians, in expectation of an attack, had selected one of the most difficult places to approach in Florida; having a swamp nearly a mile wide in front, which was unpassable for horses, and almost for foot. They had also cleared away the palmetto from before the hammock in which they were stationed within rifle range of the skirts; and as the army charged, received them with deadly fire.

According to Dr. Motte the severe fighting continued for more than an hour after the troops reached the hammock where the enemy was finally routed, but at a disastrous price.

"We left the hammock about sunset and by the time the battle was over I was very much fatigued. In fact the men were so much jaded, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could bring out the bodies of the dead. The total killed was four officers and twenty-one non-commissioned officers. Total wounded one hundred and eleven. . . . . A sad Christmas has this been, for us and our friends."

Although Taylor and his men succeeded in routing the Seminoles thereby inflicting a proportionate share of casualties the remaining red men fled to the deeper recesses and more isolated spots of south Florida.

In the years from Dade's massacre in 1835 to the cessation of hostilities in 1842, the Indians were gradually, painfully, and expensively hunted down; the majority were sent to the western lands; the remnants escaped into the area south of Okeechobee and the Caloosahatchee river. Jesup wrote the Secretary of War in February of 1838 of the foolishness of seeking to transfer Indians from one wilderness to another, from lands not required for agricultural purposes, "when they were not in the way of the white inhabitants, and when the greater portion of the country was an unexplored wilderness, of the interior of which we are as ignorant as of the interior of China."

The War in South Florida

Criticism of the army's conduct of the long drawnout Florida war spread from the local to the national arena. To 1838 it was estimated that the loss of men was as high as three thousand, and the cost as high as $30,000,000, all to subdue two

thousand Indian warriors who had held out against an army four or five times their number. But those who criticized were not aware of the circumstances, as Jesup pointed out:

"If our operations have fallen short of public expectation, it should be remembered that we were attempting that which no other armies of our country had ever been required to do. I, and my predecessors in command, were not only required to fight, beat and drive the enemy before us, but to go into an unexplored wilderness and catch them. Neither Wayne, Harrison, nor Jackson, was required to do this; and unless the objects to be accomplished be the same, there can be no just comparison as to the results."

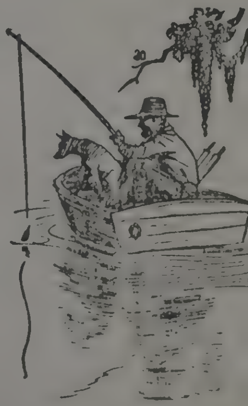
Jesup spoke from experience, for in early 1838 the general personally led an expedition from the head of navigation on the St. Johns to Jupiter Inlet, engaging the Indians in the Loxahatchee swamp at the eastern edge of the Everglades. Dr. Motte, who served the command as a surgeon, remembered:

"After all, Florida is certainly the poorest country that ever two people quarreled for. The climate in the first place is objectionable; for even in Winter, while persons further north were freezing, we were melting with heat. In the next place, the larger portion . . . is a poor, sandy country in the north; and in the southern portions nearly all wet prairies and swamp; healthy in winter but sickly in summer. . . . . It is in fact a most hideous region to live in; a perfect paradise for Indians, alligators, serpents, frogs, and every other kind of loathsome reptile. . . . Then why not . . . let the Indians have kept it? We all know that there is a feeling implanted in the human breast which defied the hand of time to eradicate, the 'amor patriae'. The Hottentot will tell you that his country is the most desirable in the world; the Seminole said his country was 'good,' and in that little word expressed more than could be said in the most elaborate speech."

Jesup ordered an encampment at Jupiter Inlet for the rehabilitation of the troops after the march from the St. Johns and the battle of L'oxahatchee whose rigors had left the soldiers almost naked of clothing and a third were without shoes. Detachments from the Jupiter camp patrolled the coastal areas and by May Jesup reported 1,955 Indians captured, 33 escapees, and 35 killed from September 1837 to May 1838.

On April 24, 1838, Colonel William S. Harney with a detachment from Jesup's command had a sharp skirmish with a group of Indians twenty miles below Biscayne Bay, but the enemy fled to the Everglades before any could be taken. By this time the Seminoles had been virtually driven to the glades and swamps of southern Florida, and the last four years of the conflict were fought largely in these remote regions.

In April 1839, Alexander Macomb, commanding general of the army was ordered to Florida in an effort to bring an end to the expensive and seemingly futile strife. Current opinion held that Macomb's high command and rank would impress the foe. The Indian prisoners on hand were released to find the remaining tribesmen and offer new terms of peace. After a series of conferences the Seminoles agreed to retire to the region below Peace Creek, and on May 18, Macomb issued an order that the war had terminated. Actually, Macomb "succeeded in securing the accession of some of the Seminoles to a cessation of hostilities, the temporary retirement of the Seminoles to a restircted district in south Florida . . . and a willingness to accede to emigration later. The inhabitants were incensed that the treaty did not call for the immediate emigration of the Indians."



One of the stipulations to the agreement was the establishment of a military post and a civilian trading house at Charlotte Harbor on the Caloosahatchee river. In securing the agreement Macomb had been assisted by Colonel W. S. Harney who swore to the Indians, "that if the promise were not kept by the government he would give the Indians his ammunition, guns and a three days' start; this treaty of peace was signed on Harney's pledge."

Within a few weeks Harney was sent with a detail of thirty men to the Caloosahatchee to activate the post and serve as a guard to the white "sutler" and his assistant. James B. Dallam, a soldier who had mustered out, wrote from Tampa Bay on June 18, 1839:

"I leave here tomorrow for the southern part of the peninsula having been appointed sole trader with the Indians under the treaty lately had by General Macomb with them at Fort King . . . Should the treaty have been entered into by them in good faith I have no doubt of doing something handsome this summer . . . . it is therefore natural to suppose that they have all the money in their possession that was known to be among them and they must also have a great quantity of hides and skins collected since they have been quiet and my being exclusive trader at the post located for that purpose will bring all those who are inclined . . . . to my store as from the appearance of those I saw at Fort King during the treaty they must be wretchedly off for clothing. The General wishes me to take every article suitable for them except powder and lead."

The usual vigilance was relaxed with the cessation of fighting, and before dawn on July 23 the Charlotte Harbor post was attacked. Although Harney and several others escaped the murderous band, eighteen members of the group were killed and six captured. Strangely enough, this outrage was not entirely the product of Seminole cunning. The attack was committed by a band of so-called Spanish Indians under the leadership of Chikika, an intelligent chief of a group of about a hundred warriors, and Billy Bowlegs, a Seminole chief with a large following. John Lee Williams, who had traveled in the Charlotte Harbor region in 1828, described the so-called Spanish Indians as never appearing at the Indian agency "to draw annuities, but lived by cultivating their fields, hunting, trading at the Spanish ranches, bartering skins, mocking birds, and pet squirrels for guns, ammunition and clothing, and sometimes assisting in the fisheries. This race of Indians would have remained peacable to this day had not an order been issued ordering them all to remove."

These Indians took no part in the Seminole War until the Seminoles, driven from central Florida, moved south. The Spanish Indians had made no treaties regarding removal and had remained unnoticed in their haunts on the lower Gulf coast, carrying on their commerce with Havana. The Seminoles made friends with these Indians and induced these aboringes to join the fight.

The struggle with the Indians dragged on through 1839 although operations were considerably limited by the hot weather of the summer and the attacks of yellow fever over the territory in the autumn. With the renewal of the so-called war, General Taylor resumed the old policy of shuttling the troops between the various forts with continuous patrols in sections of reported troubles. Sporadic raids throughout the peninsula and in Middle Florida kept up the general alarm. Governor Call, reappointed in February 1839, became very critical of the manner in which the War Department haphazardly conducted the war. "In fact, he had gone so far as to send a delegation to Washington for the purpose of instructing the federal authorities on the proper way to prosecute the war." As a result of Call's actions Joel R. Poinsett, the War Secretary, was responsible for Call's removal as governor of the territory in December.

The Indian difficulties received a lion's share of the attention of the new governor, Robert Raymond Reid, in his first message to the Legislative Council in January 1840. Reid sought to rouse the Florida citizenry with a fervent statement when he said: "We must fight fire with fire, the white man must . . . adopt the mode of warfare pursued by the red man . . . If we show as little mercy to him as he has shown to us . . . we will not fail." The governor scorned the sympathy for "Lo, the poor Indian," and pointed to the fact that those who had witnessed the depredations of the red man would rather proclaim "Lo, the poor Whiteman."

Through the winter and into the spring of 1840 Indian raids continued even

though, when General Walker K. Armistead relieved Taylor in April, there were five thousand soldiers in Florida. The man hunts continued with the capture of two hundred and twenty Indians in March and a similiar number in May. Two spectacular raids, the first in May and the second in August, alarmed the territory from Jacksonville to Key West.

On August 7, 1840, the Indians under Chikika again made their presence known when they attacked Indian Key, a small island with a trading post, in the chain south of Cape Florida. The Indians went ashore and proceeded to pillage and burn the small white settlement. Dr. Henry Perrine, a noted botanist, was among the settlers who was murdered. A former United States consul at Campeche, Yucatan, Dr. Perrine had been granted a township in the Biscayne Bay area in 1838, where it was his intention to experiment with the introduction of tropical crops. The scientist was residing of Indian Key with his family, who miraculously escaped by hiding from the Indians. Perrine had been waiting the cessation of hostilities in order to occupy his grant.

The advent of cooler weather in the fall was acompanied by a resumption of operations against the fugitive enemy. The Indians were scattered in small bands from the Apalachicola river to Cape Sable and the army settled on a policy of following the Indian to the hiding places. During Armistead's command of a year in Florida some four hundred and fifty Indians were taken through capture or surrender. Though the troops far outnumbered the Indians their elusive tactics enabled them to plunder and destroy and yet evade the scouting punitive expeditions of the army detachments.

In the lower peninsula Harney and others led their detachments from posts and depots on both coasts through the swamps and glades, but the approach of troops drove the enemy still deeper into the interior. One of the noteworthy expeditions was led by Harney in December on a crossing from the east coast through the lower glades to Shark river on the Gulf. A detailed account, published in the St. Augustine News of January 8, 1841, offered the editor a chance to comment on: "A passage across the peninsula! . . . the grasswater connecting with the Gulf and the Atlantic. The numerous islands which dot the grasswater hitherto affording a secure retreat to the murderous savages are now positively known, as they have been long conjected, susceptible of examination . . . These abodes are no longer inaccessible to the white man."

Harney and ninety men entered the Everglades at the headwaters of the Miami river and set a southwest course. Traveling in canoes and camping on islands they captured eight Indians on the fourth day out, among them two warriors summarily hung by Harney. On other islands the detachment captured several Indian parties, disposing of eighteen more warriors; nine killed in action and nine hung in revenge for the Caloosahatchee Massacre of the previous year.

A second trip made by Harney and a detachment in January 1841 was important because of its further disclosures of the nature of the Seminoles and their habitat. Leaving Fort Dallas on New Year's Day with four large canoes and fifty men, the party went up little Miami river to the edge of the glades. "We then moved forward swiftly and noiselessly, at one time following the course of serpentine channels opening out occasionally into beautiful lagoons, at another forcing our way through barriers of saw-grass."

After paddling several hours the party moved up on Chitto-Tustenugee island, some twenty acres in extent with soil two feet deep and very rich. The center of the island was cleared, with the circumference protected by a wide fringe of live oak, wild fig, and mangrove trees. The Indians had located two towns, two dancing grounds, and a council lodge there in former times. All were now overrun with pumpkin, squash, and melon vines, occasional lima beans, and Cuban tobacco. On a nearby island the soldiers found patches of green corn and sugar cane in addition to the usual vegetable vines.

After spending several days in scouring the islands along the eastern edge of the glades north from the Miami headwaters, the party reached a small island on which they flushed a group of four warriors, five squaws and two children. Three of the warriors were shot on the spot, and three squaws and a child taken, while another child was drowned by its mother to prevent its cries leading to her detection. Harney and his command reached the headwaters of New river at sunset on January 10 and were at Fort Lauderdale by midnight.

By 1841 the Seminole War was being actively fought on Lake Okeechobee and in the Everglades. In a report to the Secretary of the Navy Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin, commanding the Florida Naval expedition, recited the part played by his command of ninety seamen from the barges *Ostego* and *Wave* and the schooner *Flirt*. The naval unit had cooperated with Colonel Harney in the latter's January trip. Leaving Harney near the headwaters of New river, the McLaughlin command skirted the eastern edge of the Everglades on a southwest course, searching all the islands for Indians and arriving at the Gulf of Mexico through Harney river on January 19.

On May 31, 1841, Armistead was relieved by Colonel William J. Worth. John T. Sprague estimated there were but two hundred Indian warriors remaining in the territory, yet the war was to drag on another fifteen months. The seizure of Wildcat and fifteen warriors in the middle of June was a debatable action, but Worth was seeking to bring an end to the struggle. Worth ordered the chief placed in irons aboard a transport for forced migration. Although Wild Cat remained under guard, several of his warriors were sent to the tribesmen still at large, until by November three hundred Indians joined the young chief for the journey to the western territory.

A joint expedition of the army, navy, and marines moved out in October 1841 from Fort Dallas, crossed the lower glades to the pine woods near the west coast, and thence to Punta Rassa. Leaving Fort Myers on November 2, the expedition moved up the Caloosahatchee and into Lake Okeechobee and from there to the Loxahatchee and the east coast. The armed force saw a half dozen Indians on the whole trip, but was not able to effect a single capture.

Lieutenant McLaughlin was able to report in April 1842 that "every portion of the Ever Glades and water courses of the interior, from Lake Tohopekaliga south, have been visited . . . and examined and large fields and settlements broken up and destroyed." One of the detachments had, with the exception of twenty days, been employed without intermission in their canoes since the previous October. The ships *Flirt* and *Wave* put in the Hillsborough river in May 1842 and gave chase to two Indians to the head of snake creek, where Indian fields of sugar cane, corn, and bananas were in cultivation. The command was divided into two scouting parties: one entered the country between the Miami and the New rivers, and the other went into the glades. The second scout, composed of marines, was compelled to return to the post before completing their mission for want of water.

President Tyler in a message to Congress on May 10, 1842, announced that he had authorized the commanding general in Florida to declare the hostilities at an end when it was deemed expedient. Tyler estimated there were two hundred forty Indians left in Florida, of whom only eighty were capable of bearing arms. "Making a virtue of necessity, General Worth agreed that several hundred Seminole Indians might remain for the present in Florida upon conditions to which the Indians paid little attention." On August 14, 1842, Worth announced the hostilities had ceased and ordered the Indians left in the territory to remain within the section south and west of Lake Istokpoga and a line from the mouth of the Kissimmee river to the Gulf of Mexico.

Through the remainder of 1842 and into 1843 groups of Indians either surrendered or were captured and embarked for New Orleans for further transfer to the westen lands. The last battle of the second Seminole War was fought in the

Great Wahoo Swamp on April 16, 1843. The loss was slight on both sides as the federal troops routed the Indians who then sued for peace. On July 14, a band of one hundred twenty were shipped to Fort Gibson by way of New Orleans.

After seven years the war closed: four thousand Indians and Negroes had been removed to the west; fifteen hundred members of the armed forces had died in the service; and the casualties and damages to friend and foe and the losses to the future of the territory were incalculable. Indian troubles, provoked or otherwise, were now negligible. The small remnant of red men, estimated by General Worth at 300, took to the swamp and glade for habitation.

SELECTED REFERENCES

Foreman, Grant, *Indian Removal,* (Norman, 1932).
Hanna, A. J., and K. A., *Florida's Golden Sands,* Indianapolis, 1950; *Lake Okeechobee,*
Foreman, Grant, *The Five Civilized Tribes,* Norman, 1934.
Indianpolis, 1948.
Holman, Hamilton, *Zachary Taylor,* Indianapolis, 1941.
Silver, James W., *Edmund P. Gaines,* Baton Rouge, 1949.
Sprague, John T., *The Florida War,* New York, 1848.
Sunderman, James F., *Journey into Wilderness,* Gainesville, 1953.
Florida Historical Quarterly:
Boyd, Mark F., *The Seminole War: Its Background and Onset,* July, 1951.
Davis, T. F., *The Seminole Council, 1834,* April, 1929.
Forry, S. H., *"Letters,"* January, April, July, 1928; *Jacksonville and the Seminole War: 1835-1836,* July, 1928.
Mahon, John K., editor, *"Letters from the Second Seminole War,* April, 1958.
Osceola Number, January, April, 1955.
Porter, Kenneth W., *The Negro Abraham,* July, 1946; *The Founder of the Seminole Nation; Secoffee or Cowkeeper,* April, 1949.
Roberts, Albert H., *The Dade Massacre,* January, 1927.

CHAPTER IX

THE MOVEMENT FOR STATEHOOD

By Dr. J. E. Dovell

Territorial Politics

FOR MANY YEARS following the American acquisition of Florida the politics of the territory were largely sectional in nature and revolved around local problems. As a part of the American frontier the interests of the residents of the Florida territory were quite similar to the interests of the residents in the other territories of the United States west of the Mississippi River. While the southern territory had common interest with the southern slave states, the territorial politics of Florida leaned more toward policies of securing economic benefits from the federal government. As a frontier territory with meager tax collections the residents and their delegate in Congress sought federal aid for internal improvements and Indian protection as well as liberal federal land policies in order to secure a larger population of immigrants. Members of the Florida Democratic party in 1840 supported internal improvements at federal expense on the basis that the southern territory was a creature of the United States. Congressman Charles Downing once wrote that he was a supporter of Henry Clay until he realized that the promotion of the Indian war came from the Democrats of the Van Buren administration and was opposed by the Whigs.

The political factions of the territory, with the geographical sections playing a major part, were largely a product of personal leadership. Thus, in 1841, the *Florida Sentinel* stated that "more than half the political controversies in the Territory have been of a personal and selfish character, involving no cardinal principle, and of mischievous tendency; a mere struggle between the ins and the outs."

Sectional politics within the Florida territory developed from the differences of opinion over geographical division, the agitation for statehood, and the controversies involving public support of private banks. On the questions of territorial division and statehood there were factions agitating statehood for the entire area, separate statehood for East Florida and West Florida, and no statehood at all. The divisionists and the opponents to statehood found their strongest supporters in East Florida. The Indian War and the resultant economic problems underlined the need for continued federal aid for protection and for federal aid in the form of public works in East Florida. The strongest sentiment for statehood came from the residents of Middle Florida, the section of the territory between the Suwannee and Apachicola rivers. In West Florida the differences of opinion over division of the territory or over statehood were not as great as in East Florida, but there were no strong sentiments for union as in Middle Florida.

The political question of territorial division and separate or single statehood formed one of the leading issues from the change of flags in 1821 until the admission of the state into the union in 1845. As late as June 1844 a printed "bill for the admission of Florida and the future division of the state" was introduced in Congress. The Adams-Onis treaty had stated that the inhabitants of the ceded Territories shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the Federal constitution. The ambiguous nature

of the promise was such that fulfillment could develop with the merging of the territories into existing states, a new state, or even two new states. Throughout the territorial period strong support developed for each of the alternatives. The matter of statehood early assumed definite aspects of sectionalism locally, and later nationally when the question of admission became involved in the struggle between North and South for political control of the nation.

In his first speech to the Legislative Council in Pensacola in July, 1822, Governor Duval voiced the hope that Florida would be admitted into the union in a few years. Divisionist sentiment appeared later the same year when residents of the eastern section petitioned Congress for a separate civil government "until the population of both sections united, may be adequate to the formation of a state." But in 1827 when annexation of the territory in the panhandle to Alabama was again agitated, the Legislative Council (which was composed of five members elected from the West, two from the Middle, and six from the East) resolved against division. Such action, said the resolution, would run counter to popular will and would destroy the hopes of becomng a state. Those who hoped for statehood, however, were forced to fight for two decades to overcome the obstacles posed by annexation schemes, divisionist sentiment, war with the Indians, financial troubles, slow growth of population, and congressional reluctance to admit new slave states.

The territorial problems of division or statehood were the frequent subject of legislative consideration and public comment. Duval expressed the hope that when the results of the federal census of 1830 were published Florida would have the requisite population for statehood. But public expression was not so enthusiastic: in Pensacola a citizen opposed statehood because of the expense, while a reported toast of 1830 ran: "Florida—as impatient to break into the union, as South Carolina is to break out; perhaps it would be better for both to stay where they are, until better acquainted."

Although the population of the territory had almost tripled in five years, the total of 35,000 was well below the ratio of representation for congressmen, set at 47,700 in 1832.

Florida Population—1825-1860

Year	Approximate Total
1825	13,554
1830	34,730
1838	48,831
1840	54,477
1845	70,000

A passing comment by acting Governor James D. Wescott, Jr., in a mesage to the Council in 1832 was made to the effect that ten years would be required for growth sufficient for admission. Westcott stated that: "In any event, statehood would be undesirable until the territory should have become free of debt and better able to meet the expenses of government which, under the territorial system, were borne by the United States. But in discussing the disputed Georgia-Florida boundary, he suggested that Georgia, if permitted to retain state lands therein, might be willing to cede to Florida several of her border counties. Such cession he thought, might give Florida sufficient population."

Westcott's suggestion was passed to the Council's Committee on the State of the Territory which reported a memorial calling on both Georgia and Alabama to cede Florida all lands below latitude 31° 15′. The memorial argured that any annexation of Florida lands to adjacent states would not further increase the representation of the southern states while such a cession to Florida would increase the southern congressional bloc by two senators and a representative. While the suggestion failed

of passage in Tallahassee, the line of reasoning presented was repeated again and again in the southern fight against the abolition of slavery.

Territorial supporters for statehood chafed under the unrepresentative character of national government supplied to them on a local basis. Particularly irritating were the presidental appointments of executive and judicial officials subject to the whim of the president in his desire to reward political favorites out of a job or to satisfy convalescents with a tour of duty in the mild weather of the southern territory. The congressional veto over territorial legislation brought forth the familiar cry of taxation without representation while federal ownership of the public domain confounded the ever present desire to exploit the one vauable resource of land.

The strongest opposition to statehood, however, was found in the practical area of the economics of taxation. Legislative acts of the Council to tax and borrow money were regularly vetoed by Congress, except for a poll tax in 1823. Yet the local government assumed claims against counties for criminal prosecutions, an obligation partially covered in 1828 when the Council was allowed to levy taxes on land, slaves, licenses, and merchandise transactions in the gross. To settle earlier claims the Territory was authorized to issue interest bearing notes which could be used in settlement of assessed taxes.

Judging from the facts that over a third of the counties failed to make tax reports and that in others the taxes were not collected or paid to the Territory, the reluctance of the residents to assume the burden of government is evident. From 1829 to 1831 the majority of the treasury notes were unredeemed and in 1832 the issuance of the scrip was stopped. Thus, in 1834, the Council defeated bills to establish an adequate tax system, provide for an efficient system of tax collection, and to submit the question of state government to popular vote. Such action was approved by the *Pensacola Gazette* which noted that the major objection to statehood was poverty and that although the territorial form of government might "be a homely garb, it serves well to *keep us warm.*"

The abolitionist agitation over the continuance of slavery in the District of Columbia in 1835 had an effect on the Council action of 1836 calling for a referendum on statehood at the next election. The bill died for lack of action on the part of Governor John H. Eaton who had replaced Duval in 1834. Eaton was in the territory a little over a year and departed early in 1836 to serve as minister to Spain. Through the summer of 1835 public meetings, at a number of places, were held to protest the abolition activity and to petition their representatives for measures to defeat the northern fanatics. The close connection between congressional control over the federal district at Washington and the southern territory motivated many to support statehood and local control of slavery in Florida.

Eaton's appointment as Spanish minister brought the governorship of Florida to Richard Keith Call. The commission came from the hands of Andrew Jackson on whose staff Call had traveled to Florida in the First Seminole War and again in 1821. Call had practiced law in Pensacola from 1821 to 1823 when he was elected territorial delegate to Congress where he served until 1825. Upon his return to Florida, Call moved to Tallahassee where he resided until his death in 1862. A conservative lawyer-planter of Middle Florida, Call identified his interests with those of similar interests and by 1840 became a leader in the Whig political faction of the territory.

At the 1837 session of the Council, Governor Call advocated legislation be enacted to prepare the territory for admission as a state. From experience the governor argued that "after passing through a period of fifteen years of Territorial Government, I am persuaded that the intelligence, the wealth and number, of our inhabitants, is now sufficient to enable us to assume a State Government, under which officers may be held mediately, or immediately, responsible to the people. The only argument which can be offered in behalf of a continuation . . . is, that the expenses are defrayed by the United States. But this I regard as a trifling con-

sideration, when compared with the sacrifice of independence, and the rights and privileges incident to a state government."

The Council took the first major step toward statehood on February 12, 1837, in the pasage of an act stipulating a popular vote on statehood at the ensuing May election for the delegate to Congress. The act also provided that the sheriffs of the respective counties should conduct a census of the several counties for the information of the council. The act passed by a vote of 23 to 3, the negative votes being cast by councilmen from Washington County in the West and from Nassau and St. Johns counties in the East.

The referendum on statehood provided a subject for considerable space in the territorial newspapers. Both the *Pensacola Gazette* and the St. Augustine *Florida Herald* opposed the question as being premature; that the advantages of political power and control of school lands were offset by the asumption of a state tax burden. The St. Augustine paper felt that East Florida was then a "wild waste and depopulated region" from the ravages of war and that there was everything to lose and nothing to gain.

The returns of the popular vote revealed the sectionalism that pervaded Florida politics. The affirmative vote for statehood throughout the territory was 2,214 as opposed to 1,274 negative votes, or a majority of about a thousand votes for a state government. An analysis of the vote proves the desire of Middle Florida, along with the towns of Apalachicola and St. Joseph in West Florida, for statehood as these localities built up large majorities in favor of statehood. The vote in Middle Florida was 1,152 for and 266 against; in West Florida 732 for and 324 against; in South Florida 75 for and 70 against. East Florida voted 614 against and 255 for the proposal.

Sectionalism in Florida, from earliest Spanish times, was based on the geographic factors of distance combined with peculiarities under which the navigable rivers of West Florida emptied into the Gulf and those of East Florida into the Atlantic. Pensacola and St. Augustine, four hundred miles apart on the map, were actually connected overland by the shortest commercial route through southern Alabama and Georgia. The sea route between the principal places of settlement forced the coasting of the hazardous passages around a peninsula that reached four hundred miles southward. Thus, among the first acts of the Legislative Council a solution was sought in the location of the capital and construction of an east-west road which was to pass through Tallahassee.

Official recognition of Middle Florida, between the Suwanee and the Apalachicola rivers, in the selection of a seat of government in 1824 by the territorial council followed in the same year with the establishment of a federal judicial district in addition to those existing in East and West Florida. The growth of Middle Florida from a virtually unpopulated wilderness in 1821 to the leading political, economic, and social section of the territorial period was attributed to the absence of restrictions on the disposal of the public domain and the fertility of the lands in the section. The treaty of Moultrie Creek in 1823 in combination with the litigation of the Spanish land grants in East Florida largely blocked settlement there. The section of the Florida panhandle west of the Apalachicola, largely in the coastal plain, possessed soils generally best adaptable to forestry, cattle grazing, and subsistence farming. Further, the towns of Pensacola and Apalachicola, situated on rivers which rose in Alabama and Georgia, maintained commercial relations with those two states. Both St. Augustine and Pensacola were conditioned in having served as capitals of the respective provinces for centuries under the Spanish and the British.

Middle Florida became the scene of settlement with the first sale of public lands. Here the lands were adaptable to the profitable culture of cotton and attracted hundreds of planters and farmers, with slaves, from the southern states on the eastern seaboard. By 1838 a cotton plantation blackbelt extended through the section from Jackson county into Madison county. In these five border countries in

1838 there was over half the population and over half the taxable land of the territory. Here was the section which fought for statehood, for Indian removal, and for internal improvements; the section with most to gain by unity and the most to lose by sectional division. After 1825 the historic jealousy between east and west was transferred to a mutual distrust of the middle section; distrust evidenced in the elections for delegates, agitation for the removal of the capital from Tallahassee, and refusal to equitably apportion representation on the basis of population.

When the council assembled in January 1838 Governor Call advised the legislators on the results of the election by which a majority of the voters had approved a movement for a state government but pointed out that the sheriffs had failed generally to take a census because of the meager compensation involved. Call urged the council to suspend further action on statehood until an accurate count should be taken to determine whether the territory contained a population equal to the congressional ratio of representation. The governor warned that unless Florida should prove the requisite number of residents the demand for admission would fall on deaf ears in Washington as a result of the struggle for power between the Northern and Southern States.

But Call's advice likewise fell on deaf ears, for the select committee to whom the extract from the message was referred decided that the results of the May election were mandate from the people. The committee reported that admission would enable the people to choose their officials, control school lands, claim a federal grant of public lands, and the right to share in the distribution of surplus revenue then being given to the states by the federal government. Two weeks later, on January 30, the council passed an act calling an election in October for members of a convention "to form and adopt a bill of rights and Constitution . . . and all needful measures preparatory to the admission of Florida into the national Confederacy."

A number of debates in the council over the call of a convention ended in compromise. As members from East Florida generally opposed the convention call the apportionment of twenty delegates to the section could not be justified on the sparse population, and the same was true of the sixteen delegates for West Florida, with an allotment of but twenty delegates for the more populous Middle Florida. A newspaper reported on the debates over a meeting place that "Some have moved for it to meet at Pensacola, some at St. Joseph, some at Tallahassee, some at Mineral Springs; and one . . . to meet at the battle ground of the 31st December on the banks of the Withlacoochee". Leon County made concessions as they "were determined to go for the Convention bill, even if the Convention met in a Cypress Swamp". The choice of St. Joseph, on the Gulf west of Apalachicola, was a result of the coalition of the East and West against the Middle and the efforts of Peter W. Gautier, Jr., a member of the Council, editor of the *St. Joseph Telegraph,* and a promoter of the "city". The bill for the convention passed by a vote of 18 to 9. Voting in the negative were the members from Escambia County in West Florida, Hamilton County in Middle Florida, and Nassau, St. Johns, Mosquito and Monroe in East Florida, while the two members from Duval split on the question.

During the debates on the convention the recurring question of territorial division again became an inflammatory issue. The matter was brought to the attention of the council by Governor Call who transmitted resolutions of the Alabama legislature seeking the annexation of West Florida. Call observed that such measures would serve to postpone statehood, a sentiment with which the council agreed. *The Pensacola Gazett* reported that sentiment in West Florida was generally in favor of the annexation, but the *Apalachicola Gazett* rebutted the suggestion with a statement that the Pensacola paper was no judge of opinion on the subject. Reaction in East Florida, voiced by the *Florida Herald,* was to the effect that: "Perhaps it would suit all parties better to divide the Territory at the Suwannee and let that part west of that river 'set up for herself', if she will." Public meetings in St. Augustine and a memorial to Congress agitated the division proposition, but the campaign

for the election of delegates to the convention continued through the spring and summer. The subsequent election of delegates, the drafting of the constitution, and the ratification of the document by the electors indicate that the "divisionists" who were in a minority fought a delaying but unsuccessful battle.

The election campaign of 1838 was reported by the Tallahassee *Floridian* as "the most exciting which has ever taken place". The election excited popular interest in the races for delegates to the convention and for members of the legislature, which by congressional act had been made bicameral with both a Senate and a lower house. The controversy over statehood was an important consideration through the summer. In East Florida, the Whigs, under the title of "People's Party" worked for division whereas the opposing Democrats favored the issue. In Middle Florida sentiment apparently was favorable to statehood and opposed to division. No political factions there opposed statehood. James D. Westcott, Jr., was typical of the Middle Florida Democrats who favored a state. In the East, David Levy and Robert R. Reid best represented pro-statehood Democrats. Charles Downing was of the East Florida anti-statehood Whigs, while George T. Ward spoke for the Middle Florida statehood Whigs. Richard K. Call favored statehood, although he was closely associated with Downing and did not express emphatic views upon the controversy.

By the time of the October elections the statehood dispute was overshadowed by the controversy of the territorial involvement in the regulation of banks and the financial status of the government as a result of the panic of 1837. Popular concern over banking was quickened in the territorial guarantee of the bonds of the Union Bank of Florida, the Bank of Pensacola, and the Southern Life Insurance and Trust Company of St. Augustine. While Governor Duval followed the Democratic party line during his tenure, the legislative councils were dominated by potential Whigs from the planter class. This group was able to sponsor the establishment of a banking and credit system under the protection and with the assistance of the territorial government. Many of the planter-legislators bought bank stock and held office in the institutions and thus received the blame for the suspension of specie payments and the financial hardships of 1837. The failure of the Council to take remedial action in 1838 brought the bank question into a prominent place. Opposition to the control by the planter interests of Middle Florida was strong in the other sections.

The Constitutional Convention

The delegates to the constitutional Convention assembled on December 3, 1838, at St. Joseph and remained in session until their adjournment on January 11, 1839. The composition of the personnel of the Convention was diverse. Nativities of the members were found in thirteen of the twenty-six states of the United States and four foreign nations, with but three natives of Florida. Little is known of many of the delegates other than names and counties represented. Lawyers and planters predominated; there were two ministers of the gospel, two newspaper editors, three doctors, an innkeeper, a sea captain, and a merchant in the group. Over a third were veterans of legislative service, eighteen in the Legislative Council of which number four were former presiding officers, while two, William P. Duval and Robert Raymond Reid, had served in Congress.

The residents of St. Joseph rubbed shoulders with men who dominated the history of Florida until 1870. Duval served as governor for twelve years before and Reid for several years after the convention. Others included: William Marvin of Key West, provisional governor at the close of the Civil War; Thomas Brown, governor from 1849 to 1853; the first three Senators from Florida, James D. Westcott, Jr., David Levy Yulee, and Jackson Morton. Morton was also a delegate to the Montgomery convention that drafted the constitution of the Confederate States

in 1861 and elected Jefferson Davis president of the Confederacy. Five of the delegates: John McGehee, George T. Ward, Samuel B. Stephens, Jackson Morton, and Benjamin D. Wright were members of the Florida Secession Convention of 1861. E. Carrington Cabell was later a congressman from Florida and five delegates later sat on the state supreme court: Walker Anderson, B. D. Wright, Thomas Baltzell, Leslie A. Thompson, and Albert G. Semmes. B. D. Wright, of the Pensacola *Gazette* and C. E. Bartlett, of the Apalachicola *Gazette* were delegates, and Joshua Knowles, of the Tallahassee *Floridia Watchman,* though not a delegate, was chosen secretary of the convention.

In the nomination of candidates for president Middle Florida obviously stood aside when Duval of Tallahassee and Reid of St. Augustine were nominated. In the voting Reid received twenty-seven votes and Duval twenty-six. Duval received one East Florida vote and Reid received one West Florida vote and it is obvious that several delegates from Middle Florida voted for Reid as a conciliatory measure.

The first days of the convention were spent in debate and numerous tests of sectional or personal strength amongst the delegates on matters pertaining to methods of procedure with frequent references to taxation, revenue and banking. On the suggestion of Westcott a committee of seven was appointed to consider the subjects pertinent to a constitution and reported the advice, which was adopted, that eighteen committees be appointed by the president so that all delegates might serve. In the words of Dorothy Dodd, "Reid seems to have made the appointments with proper consideration for fitness. Duval, for example, was made Chairman of the Committee on the Executive Department. The Committee on the Legislative Department, with Thomas Brown as chairman, included such legislative veterans as Abram Bellamy, four times president of the Legislative Council, Jose Simeon Sanchez, and William Wyatt, and the Committee on the Judicial Department, headed by R. C. Allen, who was soon to be named a superior court judge, included some of the ablest lawyers in the territory. Leslie A. Thompson, auditor of public accounts of the territory, was chairman of the Committee on Revenue and Taxation and Leigh Read, a general in the Florida militia, drew the chairmanship of the Committee on Militia. Westcott, an anti-bank man, was given the chairmanship of the Committee on Banking and other Incorporations, but the committee, as finally constituted, was evenly divided between the bank and the anti-bank factions."

The convention adjourned on the seventh for the week end and upon reassembling on the tenth several committees reported through the expediency of submitting the subject of their work almost verbatim for the state constitution of Alabama. Within fifteen days the Declaration of Rights and articles on the major departments were passed, while articles on other subjects were on third reading or being engrossed.

The framework of government planned by the delegates was similar to the form of the territorial organization then in effect: an executive department with a governor and cabinet; a bicameral legislature; a court system of a supreme court, circuit courts, county probate judges, and justices of the peace. Popular control of the government was to be found only in the election of the governor and the members of the legislature; executive officers, judges, solicitors and even court clerks were to be either elected by the legislature, or in the case of lesser offices, appointed by the judges. Even the method of selection of county commissioners and justices of the peace were left to the legislature's discretion.

The inflammable bank question finally reached the floor of the convention on December 28, where the discussion raged back and forth until the article on banks was passed on January 9. The anti-bank men were in the majority in the convention as witnessed by the victory of their candidate Reid over Duval. David Levy believed the action of the convention would settle the future of the banks and the territorial bonds issued in their behalf. The banking committee was composed of

Westcott, Levy, and Richard H. Long who were anti-bank men and Samuel C. Bellamy, Anderson and Brown who were bank men. The article reported by these men was severely restrictive of corporations, a result that came from the switch vote of Walker Anderson who became a leading Democrat following the convention.

The anti-bank men won the battle through the efforts of the delegates from East Florida with the support of a number of Middle Florida delegates led by Westcott and Anderson. The price of the cooperation of the middle section was revealed in the subsequent articles which established a system of House and Senate apportionment of representatives that was to remain favorable to the panhandle for many decades. Each county was to receive one representative and the more populous counties additional representatives on a ratio to be determined by the General Assembly though no new county should be entitled to separate representation unless its population equalled the existing ratio and that the population of a county could not be reduced below the ratio by division. The size of the House was limited to sixty members while the number of senators was limited to not less than one-fourth nor more than one-half the representatives to be elected from districts as nearly equal as possible according to the ratio of representation, but no county could be divided in forming a district and every county in a district must be adjacent to some other county in it.

On January 11th, the new constitution had been enrolled and was brought to the floor for final passage. Only Richard Fitzpatrick of Dade, dissatisfied with the bank article, voted against the document, although but forty-one delegates were present to sign the constitution. The delegates provided for a popular referendum on the product of their labors at the time of the May election for the congressional representative from the territory. In addition, should the voters ratify the constitution further provision was made for the election of state officers in October. Enthusiasm for statehood ran high in the closing days and the convention adopted a resolution against *sine die* adjournment, and decided to meet again if Congress did not grant statehood.

The Political Fight Over Admission

The final result of the St. Joseph convention was the admission of Florida to statehood in 1845 with the Constitution of 1838. In the interim, however, there was a close division of opinion both within the territory and the national congress as to the desirability of statehood for the southern territory and the acceptance of Florida into the union of states.

Certainly the most immediate result of the convention was a clarification of the political factions which sought recognition and affiliation with the dominant groups in the national capital. According to the *St. Joseph Times,* the victory of the anti-bank delegates in the convention was quickly turned to the organization of a political party on the very evening of adjournment, when, "at a meeting of a number of Democratic Republican Citizens of Florida, consisting of several members of the Constitutional Convention, and other citizens, held at the Hotel of Captain H. F. Simmons . . . Walker Anderson, Esq., of Escambia, was called to the Chair, and Colonel Abram Bellamy, of Jefferson, Edwin T. Jenckes, Esq., of St. Johns, and Major Gabriel J. Floyd, of Calhoun, were chosen vice presidents, and Dr. E. R. Gibson, of St. Joseph and Buckingham Smith, Esq., of St. Augustine, Secretaries.

"Mr. James D. Westcott, Jr., of Leon, addressed the meeting and offered the following Resolutions, which were also spoken to by General Leigh Read, of Leon, Judge McCants, and Captain J. N. Partridge of Jefferson, David Levy, Esq., of St. Johns, Dr. Gibson, of Calhoun, and others, and after free discussion and interchange of opinions were unanimously adopted . . ."

The resolutions repeated the old arguments about the need for continued vigilance to preserve the "purity and conservation" of republican government

against "the polluting hand of abolition and incendiarism". More practically, the Jeffersonian Republican Democrats sought to allay suspension by declaring their party to be organized upon principle and regulated by regard for the public welfare. The Democrats pledged their allegiance to the party of Van Buren and the program of that administration, and proceeded to organize a central committee in Leon County and local committees in each county. The trend of events in later years gave evidence of the strength of the new coalition of the Westcott-East Florida factions in the battles between the Whig and Democratic parties in Florida. But a commentator with Whig leanings believed the object of the Democrats in their action in the convention and subsequent organizations "was more to define those lines of policy that made Florida a Democratic state, much more likely than to make laws for its government—at any, rate, many are said to have shown their hand at this time in the game for the future".

From the debates and discussions of the Convention, especially in regard to banks and bonds, according to Herbert J. Doherty, "came distinct gains for the Democrats and decided set-backs for the Whigs. The poorer whites who farmed on a small scale began to grow bitter in their judgment of the wealthy planters. Now, in true democratic tradition, they began to ask why they should toil and suffer to the end that the wealthy planters "might ride in their 'coaches and four' and wear 'purple and fine linen' ".

"Nationally, out of the panic of 1837 had come distinct gains for the Whigs at Democratic expense. In Florida the Democrats had used the panic and its consequent distress to discredit the Whigs and break their long dominance. While losing ground on the national scene, in Florida the Democrats built a well organized party which was to take the territory into the Union as a Democratic state".

A more official result of the St. Joseph convention was a "Memorial to Congress of the People of the Territory of Florida" by a committee composed of Robert R. Reid, Thomas Baltzell, Leigh Read, William Marvin, David Levy, James Westcott, and Walker Anderson. The memorialists, appointed as a committee by the convention, notified Congress of their work. Copies of the constitution accompanied the memorial which requested statehood with the oft repeated reasons. These documents arrived in Washington just prior to the adjournment of Congress and that body did not act on the memorial, especially in view of the fact that the referendum on ratification would not be held until May.

The reception given the St. Joseph constitution was lukewarm at best. Opposition was centered in East Florida which had voted against statehood in 1837. Charles Downing, territorial delegate and a leading Whig, reversed his stand of 1838 when he had opposed territorial division. In East Florida Downing, who was seeking reelection, publicly stated dislike for the constitution while courting the favor of divisionists. But in Middle Florida Downing stood as the "hearty advocate" of statehood. Thomas Baltzell, an incipient Democrat, stood for: "The Constitution: Florida, a State and entire". Downing won the election by virtue of large majorities in East and West Florida where the constitution had become a political football in regard to the question of immediate statehood.

Opposition to statehood could not be identified with strict party lines, but arose from a combination of reasons that were in large measure economic: higher taxes, disruptions of the Indian War, and bank regulation. The vote on ratification was close as was the case of the statehood vote of 1837. The majority sentiment for the constitution in Middle Florida carried the issue over the negative votes cast in the other two sections, with a questionable margin of about one hundred.

The question of statehood, however, became so confused with the political fight over territorial banking problems that the issue was submerged under the pressing problems arising from the economic distress of these years. Part of the distress came from the suspension of specie payments in so many banking institutions over the nation, one of the results of President Jackson's order that payment for public

lands be in specie. The anti-bank Democrats concentrated their efforts on attacking banks and won a majority of the seats in the lower house of the Council in 1839. This victory was followed with further success when President Van Buren removed the Whig governor Call who was in the group that led the territory into the issuance of the "faith bonds" for the banks. The appointment of Robert Raymond Reid, federal judge of East Florida and president of the St. Joseph Convention, was another Democratic success. Division within the Whig party over the bank problem brought the defeat of Downing and the election of David Levy in the spring of 1841. Levy's election was followed by further Democratic advances in the fall of 1841 when the new party gained control of the lower house of the Legislative Council where the representatives repudiated the "faith bonds" and allowed the banks to die.

When news of the approval of the St. Joseph constitution had spread through the territory in the summer and fall of 1839 there were many persons who confidently expected admission to statehood as a matter of course. These persons, however, reckoned without the support of the divisionists and annexationists who petitioned and memorialized Congress continually until 1845. Both those for and those against the project worked assiduously, circulating petitions and calling public meetings at frequent intervals. Support in Congress for the divisionists came from the southern slave-holding element who visualized two states for their cause should the Florida territory be divided and thus eventually provide four senators. Abolitionists fought back with motions to outlaw slavery in the territory and there were even insinuations that deliberate settlement and exploitation of East Florida were being attempted toward such an end.

The major obstacle to the statehood movement within the territory was the economic distress which continued. Dorothy Dodd noted that "the 1839 revenue act had been ignored in both East and West Florida, and the councils of 1840 and 1841 had suspended the collection of taxes on lands and slaves for those years, leaving taxes on auction sales as the principal source of revenue. Although at the end of the 1841 fiscal year there were some $13,000 of auditor's warrants outstanding, with only $265.84 in the treasury, the council adopted a resolution indefinitely suspending the assessment of taxes. This refusal to impose taxes was due to the ill effects of the continued Indian War and of the currency depreciation and credit restriction that followed the banking debacle." On top of that the cotton crop had failed in 1840 and 1841.

Peculiarly enough the bank controversy and hard times of the period upon which the Democrats had captialized their victories in 1841 were likewise used as campaign fodder in 1843. The voters reacted to the Whig platform of reform and relief by electing a Whig majority to both houses of the council, but the Whigs and Democrats alike opposed statehood in 1843 on the basis of increased taxes that would be incurred. The defeat of the Democratic candidates for the council did not affect David Levy, who was reelected a delegate.

Though a resident of St. Augustine, the most vocal area of the divisionists, Levy had strong opinions of his own and the fortitude to fight for his convictions. "Levy was fairly swamped with memorials, petitions, and resolutions from those favoring division, and looking to the admission of two states. But he issued a pamphlet which perhaps did more than any other one thing towards securing a majority for statehood among the citizens of Florida. Upon admission as a state Florida would receive 500,000 acres of land for internal improvements, and the sixteenth section of school lands alone would yield an education fund of two and a half million. From these facts Levy argued that half a million acres of internal improvement lands would build a railroad from ocean to gulf and the profit would support the state government".

Levy's address, published in the St. Augustine *Florida Herald* and further circulated as a pamphlet, no doubt was effective in returning a legislative council

[illegible] even insinuations that democrat[illegible] only attempted toward such an end.

The [illegible] economic [illegible]

favorable to statehood in the October 1844 elections. The Florida delegate held that action was in order for the maintenance of Southern power in Congress and that unless the citizens of the territory agreed on statehood at once Northern power would gain control of Congress and dictate the future of the nation particularly with reference to slavery. Levy pointed out that 'the free territory of Iowa comes forward for admission. Florida had been looked to as the counter-poise for her. If they enter the Union together, the equilibrium is preserved. If not, the North comes at once into supremacy in the Senate".

The Democratic newspapers were in agreement with the Levy circular. The Whig newspapers, as illustrated by the St. Augustine *News,* a strong supporter of division, damned the address as "an effort calculated to deceive the citizens of Florida, especially as to their financial ability to support a state government. The *News,* contended that statehood was simply a project of Middle Florida to gain control of all Florida and enrich itself at the expense of East Florida". The stand taken by the *News,* was supported in a memorial to Congress, published by citizens of East Florida on January 18, 1845, which petitioned for the division of the territory at the Suwannee River.

The State of Florida

The issue of statehood for the Territory of Florida was out of the hands of the citizens, if indeed they had ever influenced the question. The ambiguous wording of the Adams-Onis Treaty had encouraged the residents to approve statehood and the St. Joseph convention. The agitation of the slavery problem and the balance of power between North and South had brought the Missouri Compromise in 1820 at the very time the cession of Florida was in the process of negotiation. With that compromise the practice of admitting Northern and Southern states in pairs, begun with Maine and Missouri in 1820-21 and followed by Arkansas and Michigan in 1836-37, established the political expediency which governed the creation of new states in existing territories in the ate-bellum period.

While the agitation of those favoring statehood, division, and annexation in the Florida territory from 1821 to 1845 received some recognition in Congress, the question of admission for the southernmost territory actually hinged on the sectional politics over slavery extension and regulation. Thus, the formal organization of the Territory of Iowa in 1833 was seized upon with joy by the supporters of statehood in Florida, for there had been no Northern territory seeking admission. But two years later a congressman from Arkansas paired the Florida issue with the statement that "when Iowa came in East Florida must come in; and when Wisconsin came in, another slave State must come in, if they expected to get his vote for admission".

The joy of those seeking statehood received a severe set-back when the report reached Florida in 1841 that Iowa had voted down the call for a constitutional convention. Further recognition of the sectional contest caused the Pensacola *Gazette* to comment: "Florida and Iowa are Siamese twins—one cannot go without the other".

The hopes of Floridans promoting statehood were raised in March 1842 when Iowa called a second election, but the project was again rejected in that territory in the balloting in August. Two years later a constitutional convention was called in Iowa, and Congress moved without formal application from the western territory to admit the states of Iowa and Florida. Early in January, 1845, a bill was reported to the lower house of Congress for the admission of the two territories where the matter rested a month before consideration.

At the same time the legislative council was meeting in Tallahassee, Governor John Branch, a Democrat appointed to succeed the Whig R. K. Call in July 1844, urged the councilmen to demand statehood and "to gird on the armor of State

sovereignty—to shake off the old boy, and put on the new man". The council, under the control of the Democrats elected on a platform of statehood in October 1844, acted on Branch's advice and despatched resolutions to the Congress. The resolutions requested statehood, but with the provision for a future division "which will secure to us the right of ultimately forming two States out of the present Territory, as was contemplated and secured to us by the treaty with Spain".

The House of Representatives took up consideration of the bill to admit Florida and Iowa on February 11. The debates followed the usual lines of political sectionalism on slavery and slavery regulation before the bill passed the House on the 13th. The bill was reported in the Senate on February 24th, but was not debated until the first of March where the arguments followed the sectional lines. The Senate passed the bill on the same day, however, and sent the statute on to the chief executive. President Tyler signed the act on March 3, 1815, the date usually accepted for Florida's entry into the union as the twenty-seventh state.

When the news of the admission to statehood reached Tallahassee "all the bells in the town rung their merry chimes, and the old nine-pounder bellowed forth 36 guns, for the Senators who voted for Florida, and ten more for David Levy, the favorite son of Florida." This report, according to the Tallahassee *Floridian,* received on the morning of March 8 was the signal for much rejoicing in Tallahassee and vicinity. Governor Branch gave a reception at Live Oak in honor of the event. Of the reception one of the governor's daughters wrote: "Oh, I wish you could have seen Live Oak last night! All the world and his wife were bidden to help us celebrate, and everything possible was done to add to the occasion. Bonfires blazed on the edge of the grove, and lanterns were hung in the shrubbery. The house was brilliantly lighted, and from top to bottom was thrown open to the public. Across the front entrance, in large letters of living green on a white banner, was "State of Florida', and inside the house all was jollity and congratulation, feasting and music."

Pending the receipt of official notice of Florida's admission from Washington, the legislative council had passed an act on March 11th aligning the election laws with the provisions of the St. Joseph constitution. On March 18th, Branch received an official copy of the admission act. In compliance with the instructions of the 1838 constitution and subsequent territorial laws, Branch cooperated with the authorized committee of the constitutional convention to activate the state government. An election of state officers was proclaimed for May 26th, 1845: a governor to serve four years and seventeen senators and 41 House Members from the 20 counties in existence when the constitution was adopted. Under the proclamation, the first General Assembly would hold office until October, 1846. The first General Assembly was called to meet on June 23, less than thirty days after the election day.

Although little more than two months elapsed between the call for the selection of state officers and the election day, the politically minded citizens were active from the time that the news of the admission act had passed the lower house of Congress on February 13th. The success of the Democrats in winning a majority in the council, combined with the appointment of a Democrat in the person of Branch as governor and Levy's success as delegate operated to the end that the Democratic organization gained the upper hand in the new state. That the Democrats were aware of the opportunities present has been recognized by Herbert J. Doherty, who observed that: "In this era the plain people were made acutely aware that they had been overlooked in the distribution of benefits. The people were made to see that the territorial government, which had been favoring the few, was in theory their own property. Recognition of this fact provided a rallying point for an anti-monopolist movement . . . . . The driving force of the new Democracy was a class feeling—the homespun versus the broadcloth, and in this fact lies the reason why Jacksonian Democracy was so offensive to gentlemen of

the old school of politics. Commented one paper which spoke for the old school, 'It is an awful struggle between virtue and corruption, and none can contemplate the consequences without the most fearful apprehensions . . . . . .'.

"Although never as united as the Democrats, the conservatives felt that it was necessary to present a united front and the national party known as Whig was more acceptable, had more congenial elements in it, and opposed most of the same things which the Florida conservative interests opposed. By 1845, the most important political factions in Florida had been successfully absorbed by one or the other of the two parties and Florida entered the Union with a vigorous two party system."

The proclamation of Governor Branch designating May 26th as the date for the election of a governor, congressman, and members of the first General Assembly of the new state found the Democratic party in control of the existing territorial government and thus well organized for the campaign. The Democratic leaders, anxious to continue the party supremacy, issued the call for convention to assemble at Madison on April 14th to nominate their candidates for state office. Approximately one hundred delegates attended the Madison convention, probably the first party convention in Florida, which selected William D. Moseley, a Jefferson county planter, as candidate for governor, and David Levy as candidate for congressman.

The biographer of John Branch states that the governor, "being the foremost Democrat in Florida was urged by his friends as a candidate" but that Branch declined. Moseley was, however, a close personal and political friend of Branch and the latter was no doubt influential in the choice. The choice of Levy for congressman was but the normal result of his popularity as delegate plus popular recognition of his successful fight for Florida's statehood.

The platform adopted by the Democrats at Madison followed the national party line with a strong stand on state rights. In regard to local platform planks the Democrats continued opposition to payment of the "faith bonds". The real issue in the campaign was the control of the state government.

Lacking the organization of the Democrats, the Whigs worked locally through county meetings. The Whigs had suggested a non-partisan selection for the first governor of the state, but the Democrats were not interested. A week after the Democratic meeting at Madison, Whigs of Leon, Wakulla, and Gadsden counties met at Tallahassee and endorsed Richard K. Call for governor and Benjamin A. Putnam for congressman. Call was easily the best known Whig in Florida while the endorsement of Putnam of St. Johns county, selected at a number of meetings in East Florida, was a deliberate attempt to strengthen the party in a strong Democratic section.

Although the campaign was of short duration the personal vituperation was unparalleled in bitterness. The Whigs promised efficient government and the Democrats promised economy. The election revolved around the personalities of the candidates, principally Call and Levy as Moseley and Putnam were relative newcomers in politics. Available figures on the election show Moseley with 3,292 over Call with 2,679; and Levy defeating Putnam 3,614 to 2,395. The Whig ticket won only in West Florida where Call and Putnam carried Escambia, Santa Rosa, Walton and Jackson counties, although Call also carried Leon and Gadsden counties.

The Democrats carried eleven seats in the state senate and twenty nine in the lower house while the Whigs could carry but six in the senate and eleven in the house.

In acordance with the Proclamation by the Committee of the St. Joseph Convention, issued in March, the first General Assembly of the state convened at noon on Monday, June twenty-third. The two houses selected their officials and adjourned until the following day when they again adjourned in respect to the

memory of Andrew Jackson, news of whose death had just reached Tallahassee. The *Floridia Sentinel* reported the convening of the legislature an occasion "of unusual interest, and the newly finished and elegant capitol was thronged with spectators. This structure now presents an imposing appearance, and its spotless white within and without, is no unfit emblem of the yet unwritten book of our political history, whose pages, perhaps, may be defaced by as many blots, as its representative is defiled by tobacco stains. We hope that both will be kept as clean as possible."

The Assembly reconvened on the twenty-fourth when the returns of the May 26 election were canvassed and Moseley was officially notified of his elevation to the governorship. At noon a "civic procession" of state officials, Leon and Gadsden county militia, The Grand Lodge of Florida, distinguished guests, school boys and girls, and citizens generally moved from the courthouse to the eastern portico of the capitol where the inauguration of Governor Moseley took place. "The ceremonies began with the band's playing 'Hail Columbia'. The Reverend Jesse Coe then offered a prayer . . . the speaker of the House of Representatives, then delivered to William D. Moseley the credentials of his election . . . whereupon the chief marshal of the day proclaimed the election of Governor Moseley. The new executive was then presented with the constitution of the State of Florida by the Committee of the Constitutional Convention." The executive then delivered his inaugural address which was followed by the raising of the United States flag, with a new star for Florida, and a new state flag. "The latter, designed and presented by the committee on arrangements, displayed as their union 'the glorious stripes and stars' and consisted of five horizontal stripes—blue, orange, red, white and green. On the second stripe was inscribed the motto 'Let us alone'. As the emblems were unfurled the Leon Auxiliary fired a twenty-eight gun salute and the band played Yankee Doodle."

Moseley's address was modest and unassuming in tone, though he dwelt at some length on the superior position of the sovereign states in relation to a federal government of limited powers. The new governor emphasized the responsibility of the officials of the new state to develop the resources and provide sound currency, reliable public credit, a system of common school and the promotion of science and knowledge.

With the reception of Governor Moseley's first message on July 1, the assembly began the task of organizing a state government. Moseley noted the necessity for a state census on which the legislature might equitably reapportion representation for the six counties created since the adoption of the constitution in 1839. The governor also noted the need for a revenue law to finance the government and laws for the regulation of corporations as authorized in the constitution.

The troublesome problem of corporate regulation was postponed to the November session. "But the members were no closer to agreement in December than they had been in July. The first General Assembly passed into history without exercising the power for which the first Florida Locofos had so bitterly contended at St. Joseph." In the matters of taxation and finance a bill to raise $41,500 for estimated expenses was considered. The assembly passed a law to raise that amount through taxes on land, slaves, merchandise inventories, and auction sales. The bill, as might be expected, placed roughly one-half of the tax burden on Middle Florida.

Legislation implementing the constitution and organizing the executive and judicial departments as well as providing for local county government occupied the assembly for many days. The Democrats in the assembly remembered their campaign promises and passed salary bills that were called "niggardly and penurious" by the St. Augustine News. Annual salaries were set at $1,500 for the governor; controller and treasurer $800 each, secretary of state, $600, attorney general and governor's secretary $500 each, circuit judges (who also served as supreme court judges) $2,000 each, assemblymen $3.00 a day and ten cent mileage. Salaried officers, including judges, received a total of $13,500 per year.

On July 26th the assembly adjourned, to meet again in November. While the new legislature had shelved the problem of the corporations and had passed an inadequate revenue bill, at least the provisions of the constitution for the statutory legislation necessary to operate the government had been enacted. Thus, Florida after twenty-five years as a territory became a full-hedged state in the Union.

SELECTED READINGS

Cash, William T., *The History of the Democratic Party in Florida,* (Tallahassee, 1936.
Dodd, Dorothy, *Florida Becomes a State,* Tallahassee, 1945.
Doherty, Herbert J., Jr., *The Whigs of Florida,* Gainesville, 1959.
Rerick, Rowland W., *Memoirs of Florida,* Atlanta, 1902.
Florida Historical Quarterly:
Dodd, Dorothy, *The Flags of the State of Florida,* January, 1945.
Doherty, Herbert J., Jr., *Political Factions in Territorial Florida,* October, 1949.
Doty, Franklin A., *Florida, Iowa and the National 'Balance of Power," 1845,* July, 1956.
Hoskins, Frank W., *The St. Joseph Convention,* July, 1937.

CHAPTER X

LIFE AND LABOR: 1821-1845

By Dr. J. E. Dovell

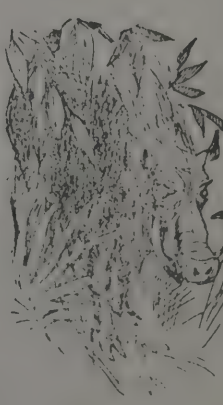
Plantations along the East Coast

THE PLANTATION SYSTEM, based upon the labor of Negro slaves, provided the principal economy of territorial Florida. The dominant economic, political, and social leadership was dependent on the plantation system regardless of whether the leaders were actually planters or were engaged in other economic activities. The adaptability of cotton, sugar, and other staple crops to the Florida soils and climate together with the establishment of slave labor encouraged many settlers to choose Florida for their homes rather than Mississippi, Louisiana or other western territories.

During the territorial period Middle Florida emerged as the most prosperous section for several reasons: the availability of fertile lands, the absence of land grant litigation, and the relatively small number of hostile Indians resident there. The situation in East Florida was complicated by the facts that most of the desirable lands were either settled or in process of land grant litigation or occupied by the Indian inhabitants. As most of the available lands in West Florida were in pine barrens, unsuitable for plantations, Middle Florida was settled more rapidly than either of the other sections.

The growth of territorial Florida, by sections, is revealed in a comparison of the population statistics. In 1830, the population of Middle Florida was near 16,000; West Florida, 10,000; and East Florida, 9,000. By 1840, Middle Florida including the town of Apalachicola contained 34,000 persons, but West Florida had dropped to less than 5,500. In the same decade East Florida had grown slowly to 15,000 despite the devastation of the Indian War. At the time of statehood, in 1845, the total population of Florida was about 70,000. Almost half of this population was found in the area of Middle Florida between the Suwannee and Apalachicola rivers. Although over half of the population was white several of the Middle Florida counties contained more Negro slaves than white residents. In East Florida, Nassau County contained a slave population of a few more Negro than white; in the other counties the whites predominated.

As previously noted, in the second Spanish period and the first ten years of the American territorial period, the northeastern sector of Florida on the east coast between the St. Marys River and New Smyrna had shown much promise in the plantation economy. But the ravages of the Patriot and Indian Wars precluded new settlement and brought destruction to many of the established plantations. In the years between the two wars, 1815-1836, a number of plantations achieved some prosperity on the banks of the Matanzas, Tomoka, and Halifax rivers along the east coast. A number of these plantations continued from their earlier development in the British and Spanish periods. Thus, at the present site of Daytona Beach, Samuel Williams developed the estate known as Orange Grove. Joseph M. Hernandez, prominent citizen of St. Augustine and Minorcan descendant, directed several plantations on the Matanzas, while Achille Murat and Marquis de Fougeres operated Parthenope on the Matanzas and Rosetta on the Tomoka respectively. Bulowville, owned by Charles W. Bulow, near Ormond was one of sixteen plantations on the east coast, each worked by more than a hundred slaves.



In December, 1835, the Seminole Indians began their war against the white settlers with an attack on the New Smyrna plantation of Benjamin J. Heriot. The Indians set fire to the plantation buildings and made off with Heriot's seventy-five slaves. Shortly thereafter the Indians attacked Dunlawton, the sugar plantation of George and James Anderson, north of New Smyrna, Bulowville and most of the others below St. Augustine. By the end of February all of the settlements south of St. Augustine had been put to the torch and few buildings of any value were left untouched. A dozen years later George R. Fairbanks, a leading citizen of St. Augustine, commented on the ravages of the Indian War and pointed out that the conflict had broken the back of a flourishing industry which had not, even at that date, fully recovered.

In December, 1843, Henry Benjamin Whipple, a future Bishop of Minnesota, visited the Duval County plantation of H. R. Sadler. Whipple noted in his diary that he "was much pleased with its order and general appearance. It is beautifully situated on the river St. Johns about five miles from Jacksonville. He has quite a small village. Besides the plantation house and the overseers' house, there are about 30 Negro-houses and the cotton houses. His crop is mainly cotton. He puts up this year about 100,000 pounds of the sea island cotton besides raising sugar cane, corn and other grains." Five years later the *Florida Herald* of St. Augustine reported that the Sadler plantation had produced 200 hogsheads of sugar from the annual cane cutting.

In the territorial period the East Florida plantations never really competed with the larger plantations in the black belt counties of Middle Florida. The East Florida planters were at some advantage, however, as they specialized in the higher priced, longer fibered sea island cotton. In a report of a visit to the DuBuske plantation on the St. Marys River, Bishop Whipple wrote that there were thirty Negro slaves mostly engaged in raising cotton. "We found his house like most southern plantation houses in the woods, merely a frame boarded up and floors laid, with lath partitions without plastering, but his table amply repaid the loss of a good northern house and I for one did it justice. We took a walk through his plantation, visited his cotton houses and so forth. The cotton crop when ready for picking is a beautiful sight. You can see the blossom, the bud and staple ready for picking. In a good season the plant will grow more than three or three and a half feet high although some of his was seven feet and upwards. The cotton is first picked from the boll in the field, then sorted at the cotton house, then ginned and lastly packed for the market. Mr. DuBuske will have a poor crop, only about 100 pounds to the acre."

In territorial days the so-called planter aristocracy (persons owning establishments of a thousand acres or more) was limited to a minute number of the population and most of these were in Middle Florida. There were some plantations or farms of 500 to 1,000 acres in extent, but more of 100 to 500 acres. Outside the black belt the predominant farm holding was less than 100 acres and the small farmers were much more numerous than the planters. The smaller planters were generally farmers with a few slaves whose labor collectively was applied to the production of cotton and corn. Away from the plantations many yeoman farmers lived in small cabins and planted cotton, corn, and sweet potatoes in the clearings around their homes. In addition, most of these farmers planted enough sugar cane and tended enough livestock to supply the home demand.

While the plantation slavery regime supplied the paramount influence in the cultural institutions of the east coast the vast majority of the whites did not own any slaves. The only reason that most of the whites did not own any slaves was because they could not afford to purchase them. Membership in the exclusive circle of the planter aristocracy was, of course, based on land and slaves; participation in the economic, political and social leadership in the county and the territory required the acquisition of land and slaves. Edwin L. Williams summarized the prevailing philosophy when he wrote that "the idealization of the plantation way of

life and the hope of someday attaining planter status, plus the ability for leadership and the economic power of the planters, largely account for the general acceptance of planter leadership and policies by the non-slaveholding whites who so far outnumbered them in the population. As the conflict between North and South became more and more acute and the people of Florida felt impelled to rally to the defense of the institution of slavery, the position of the plantation leadership was strengthened."

The institution of slavery, upon which the plantation system was maintained, was introduced into Florida by the Spanish explorers and colonizers. Both Negro and Indian slavery were prevalent in the first Spanish period, but the British were the first to exploit the Negro in the labor supply of the agrarian economy. The plantation system, with the Negro slave labor force, continued during the second Spanish period and spread in East Florida, despite the troubles of the Patriot and Indian wars, during the American territorial period. The expansion of the institution of slavery sped the doom of the Seminole Indians, for the plantation regime could not permit the existence of a people who offered refuge to escaped slaves to exist in the same area.

When the federal census was taken in 1830 there were roughly 19,000 whites and 15,500 Negro slaves in Florida. In 1840, the number of whites had risen to 28,400 and the number of slaves to 25,700; in 1845, there were 35,500 whites and 34,000 slaves. The principal sources for the importation of slaves were: immigrants who moved their slave chattels from their old homes to the new homes in Florida, the domestic slave traders of the United States, and the slave smugglers who promoted and imported illicit foreign slaves.

The number of slaves who came to Florida, with their owners, from other states will never be known, but there is reason to believe that the majority of the territorial slave population was derived from this group. There are not even estimates available as to the number of slaves that were smuggled into the territory from foreign sources. The foreign slave trade could not be controlled by the Spanish after the United States closed the importation of slaves in 1808. The contemporary records contain many references to smuggling and "blackbirding" along the east coast from Fernandina to Key West. Although evidence of the illegal and clandestine traffic of introducing foreign slaves into Florida is fragmentary, there is ample information to prove that the business was dangerous but very profitable.

After 1821 the federal government maintained a naval squadron in the West Indian areas, based for many years at Key West, for the protection of maritime commerce against pirates and for the suppression of the illegal slave trade. However, the many isolated sections of the east coast, in combination with the proximity of the Bahamas and Cuba, attracted the illegal slave traders. There were two main methods used for the introduction of slaves: man a vessel with Negroes and wreck the ship along the shore from whence the crew could be sold or secretly land the Africans along the coast and deliver them into the hands of eager purchasers. The records indicate that both methods were used frequently and successfully.

The third source of slaves for the Florida east coast was the domestic slave trade. Frederic Bancroft, student of the domestic slave trade, noted that Florida as a new territory produced too few slaves to supply the demand and that many slaves were imported from the older states along the eastern seaboard from whence surplus slaves were shipped for profitable sales. Bancroft found that the slave traders of Georgia generally supplied the East Florida market. There are few references to the domestic slave trade, perhaps on account of the disreputable character of the business. Henry Whipple wrote that the masters were averse to the slave trade and that "they heartily despise a dealer in human flesh."

The large majority of the citizens of Florida did not own any slaves, but they supported slavery because they felt that the institution was the best means by which society could control the Negro. Also, slave labor was established as the labor force

in the production of cotton and other commodities. There were not many slave owners who were willing to abandon their most valuable investments without promise of indemnification. Bishop Whipple appraised the institution and described the dilemma faced by the slaveholders when he wrote that "the energies of the south are crippled by the incubus of slavery. Indeed, as John Randolph says, were it not that their staples are not liable to competition with free labor, they could not sustain themselves, for if it did, planters would be obliged to run away from their slaves if the slave did not run away from the master. I regret deeply that blind fanaticism should so warp the judgement of any portion of our citizens that they will detract and abuse men naturally so noble hearted as the intelligent and educated planters at the south. They feel the evils of slavery, but to free the slave would be ruin to the master and destruction to the slave. I am more and more convinced that most of the exaggerated stories of the abolitionists exist only in imagination. And from personal observation I know that the efforts of abolitionists at the north have only served to injure the slave and to destroy that kind and fraternal feeling which should exist between northern and southern states. The people of the south are not blind to the evils of slavery, they can see its bad effects as well as the most sharp sighted abolitionist, yet they can not nor will they consent to have caustic remedies applied by unskilled hands which would only serve to increase rather than diminish the evil. No!, if slavery is ever abolished it must be gradual and done at the desire and in the manner which the slave-holder desires."

Other Agriculture

Following the end of the Indian War, in 1842, many of the residents who had left their holdings along the east coast returned, and from other areas there were hundreds of immigrants who came to settle and pioneer on some of the lands vacated by the Seminoles. Many immigrants were attracted by the liberal provisions of the Armed Occupation Act under which a quarter section might be secured for a homestead almost anywhere south of New Smyrna. Thus, one prospective settler wrote that "Florida is emphatically the poor and lazy man's home, I have no doubt but that after the war Florida property will be in great demand and sell much higher than western. I shall speculate a little myself."

Along the east coast settlements under the Armed Occupation Act were made from Matanzas Inlet to Biscayne Bay and several in the Florida Keys. On the Indian and St. Lucie rivers and on Lake Worth, pioneers resettled the lands vacated during the Indian War. The cessation of hostilities in 1842 allowed the resumption of the public surveys of land in the peninsula and the sale of lands reflected a trend toward East Florida. Of 20,000 acres of land taken up by private entry, some 12,000 acres were in East Florida and 8,000 acres in Middle and West Florida. Expediting the settlement of East Florida was the placing on the market of a million acres of land in the St. Johns and Kissimmee river valleys and along the east coast south of New Smyrna.

Early interest in the lands of the lower east coast was shown in 1808 with a Spanish grant of land on the Miami River to John Eagan, which in turn was secured at the American cession to his son James. In 1831 the Eagan lands were conveyed to Richard Fitzpatrick who began the clearing of land for a plantation. Fitzpatrick planted cotton and sugar cane which was cultivated with slave labor until 1837 when the place was abandoned because of the Indian War. Following the war the Fitzpatrick holdings were sold to William F. English who later executed deeds to lots in the "Town of Miami," probably on the south side of the Miami River.

An article in the St. Augustine *News* of December 30, 1843, probably refers to the English properties: "From Indian River to Cape Florida, there is but one site suitable for a town, combining the exquisite advantages of proximity to the ocean, and a communication with the interior of the country. The banks of the Miami River

present this eligible spot, affording a safe and convenient harbor of easy access, and from whence vessels may always depart without delay. The natural capacities of the country are favorable to the spirit of enterprise; and in the falls of the river as a motive power for machinery, and the extraordinary fertility of the soil, every inducement is presented to active industry. . . . A town is laid off on its southern banks, opening in front upon Key Biscayne Bay, and saw and coonti mills are in progress of rapid completion. The settlers, already numerous, are every day increasing, and there is no doubt that at no very distant day, the inhabitants in the new city in Dade County will be more numerous than in St. Augustine."

By 1840 the sugar planting and refining industry along the east coast was recovering from the effects of the Indian War. William Cullen Bryant, a tourist in St. Augustine in 1843, described the buildings and operations of a sugar installation: "In one of them was the mill where the cane was crushed with iron rollers, in another stood the huge cauldrons, one after another, in which the juice was boiled down to the proper consistence; in another were barrels of sugar, of syrup—a favorite article of consumption in this city—of molasses, and a kind of spirits resembling Jamaica rum, distilled from the refuse of the molasses. The proprietor was absent, but three negroes, one of who was a distiller, were occupied about the buildings and showed them to us. Near by in the open air lay a pile of sugar cane, of the ribbon variety, striped with red and white, which had been plucked up by the roots, and reserved for planting."

Later, in the same year, Henry Whipple wrote that he had visited the plantation of Colonel Hanson "and here I saw the first sugar cane I had ever seen. It resembles our corn and looks well when in full growth as at present. The crop is planted in January and is a long time in coming to maturity. . . . The cane is ground through heavy rollers, thus pressing all the juice from the stalk. The juice of the cane is a little sweeter than the rich sap of the Maple at the north. The process of boiling is very similar to that of making maple sugar. The cane exhausts the land very rapidly and therefore lands for sugar planting should be of the richest character. 1200 lbs. of sugar is a fair crop to the acre." Many of the planters and farmers could not afford the lands and machinery necessary to exploit the sugar profits. But most of them planted plots of sugar cane which were cut and ground in the fall and winter. The cane juice was then boiled down to raw sugar and syrup for table use.

The production of corn has been alluded to and its cultivation was largely for subsistence purposes. Likewise, the production of rice on the plantations along the east coast was also largely for home consumption. By the end of the territorial period the production of rice on the east coast plantations approached a mililon pounds annually, almost half of which was harvested from the rice fields of Nassau County that lay along the local rivers and coastal marshes.

The agricultural productions of the Florida east coast which most intrigued the visitor were the citrus plantings. Few travellers failed to mention the orange or its cousins, the lemons and limes. The Spanish and the British were both interested in the commercial production of citrus fruits and the results of their efforts were evident throughout East Florida at the time of the transfer to the United States. Wild orange trees were found throughout the woods and on the shores of lakes and rivers. A traveller on the St. Johns River in 1827 believed that "it was likely that the orange tree is native to the soil, for as you ascend the river you will meet whole woods of it, bearing fruit that is more or less pungent."

The planting of orange trees, begun in the first Spanish period on a small scale around St. Augustine and the Spanish missions, was expanded by the British and the immigrants to Florida in the second Spanish period. Jesse Fish, Sr., owner of El Vergel plantation on Anastasia Island, packed and shipped oranges from his grove to London at such a profit that numerous other settlers copied his example.

By 1827 the St. Augustine *Herald* could report that more than a million oranges were being shipped from the port of St. Augustine each year.

The historian T. Frederick Davis wrote that settlers in Florida "recognized the possibilities of orange culture and lands suitable for groves began to rise in value. Large investments were made in nurseries, which could not supply the demand for young trees. Many new groves, some of them extensive, were started in northeast Florida, chiefly in the established orange district around St. Augustine and along the St. Johns River, these localities being most accessible for water transportation. The new groves began to come into bearing in the early 1830's.

"The orange had now become the staple of commerce in East Florida. Several million were shipped from the St. Augustine section during each of the two seasons prior to 1835. Some of the groves were valued between $5,000 and $10,000, these in 1834 having brought their owners a profit between $1,000 and $3,000. That season the harbor of St. Augustine was enlivened with a fleet of fruit vessels and trade was brisk for the purchase of oranges for the northern markets. This crop produced about $72,000 for St. Augustine alone"; while the figures for the St. Johns River district were not given.

The Florida citrus industry, however, received a temporary set-back in February of 1835 when a severe cold wave covered most of the state. St. Augustine suffered below freezing temperatures for fifty-six hours with a low of ten degrees above zero on February 8th. "The destruction of the orange groves was appalling to the inhabitants. In St. Augustine the inheritance of generations was swept away in a single day. The calamity fell heavily upon the poorer classes, to whom the orange was an item of barter for ordinary necessities.

"The roots of the old trees put out shoots, which grew vigorously. Some owners attempted resuscitation at once; but it was two or three years before general interest in orange-growing was revived. In the period 1838-40 there was decided activity in replacements both in the locality of St. Augustine and along the St. Johns River."

The set-back was temporary, for by 1837 citrus plantings continued and some trees in the latitude of New Smyrna and below Lake George on the St. Johns were in full bloom in the spring of that year. In the early 1840's a disease carried by insects, later known as purple scale, attacked the citrus trees in St. Johns county and on the lower St. Johns river. Many remedies were sought to stop the spread of the disease but without success. Towards the end of the period new citrus plantings were made further south on the St. Johns and Indian rivers. By 1875 the purple scale had disappeared, conquered by the natural agencies of "parasitical fungi and predaceous insects."

In his travels in 1838 the French Count Castelnau received the information that at St. Augustine "the orange trees previously formed the principal resource of a considerable portion of the inhabitants. A full grown tree provides about five hundred oranges. They can plant about a hundred trees per acre, and as oranges are worth from thirty to forty francs a thousand, a crop worth from fifteen to eighteen hundred francs per acre is obtained. It is estimated that before 1835 two million oranges were sent each year to the north. Besides, these oranges like those of Cuba, although very superior to those of the Mediterranean regions, cannot be kept, and generally spoil after ten to fifteen days." But George Clarke, a native of St. Augustine, refuted the French traveller's opinion in a letter of 1830 to the editor of the *Southern Agriculturist,* and laid "the blame on the careless manner of their picking and packing. Describing a trip he made to New York in a large schooner to market his oranges, during which a storm protracted the voyage to 29 days, Clarke wrote that "upon arrival other oranges were but pulp while his own, which had been 'tenderly' picked and packed, were unharmed and were sold for $5 per hundred by the barrel.' "

When the forty-nine year old poet, William Cullen Bryant, visited St. Augustine in April, 1843, he described the gardens between the houses fenced "with high walls

of stone. Peeping over these walls you see branches of the pomegranate and of the orange-tree, now fragrant with flowers, and, rising yet higher, the leaving boughs of the fig, with its broad luxuriant leaves." Bryant repeated the words of an acquaintance who had visited the oldest city in 1830 and said that "'the orange groves were the ornament and wealth of St. Augustine, and their produce maintained the inhabitants in comfort. Orange trees, of the size and height of the pear tree, often rising higher than the roofs of the houses, embowered the town in perpetual verdure. They stood so close in the groves that they excluded the sun and the atmosphere was at all times aromatic with their leaves and fruit, and in the spring the fragrance of the flowers was almost oppressive.'"

But, continued Bryant, "These groves have now lost their beauty. A few years since, a severe frost killed the trees to the ground, and when they sprouted again from the roots, a new enemy made its appearance—an insect of the coccus family, with a kind of shell on its back, which enables it to withstand all the common applications for destroying insects, and the ravages of which are shown by the leaves becoming black and sere, and the twigs perishing. In October last, a gale drove in the spray from the ocean, stripping the trees, except in sheltered situations, of their leaves, and destroying the upper branches. The trunks are now putting out new sprouts and new leaves, but there is no hope of fruit for this year at least." As a result of the 1835 freeze and subsequent cold waves new plantings of citrus tapered off in north Florida while in the more southerly portions of the peninsula new groves were increasing; thus in 1845 the St. Augustine *News* reported the planting of several citrus groves in Hillsborough county.

Territorial Economy

In the British period and the second Spanish dominion banking facilities and widely circulating mediums of exchange were virtually unknown. The sparse settlement, outside Pensacola, Fernandina and St. Augustine, existed on a frontier subsistence economy under which the farmer, or planter, sold his produce at one of the trading houses in the towns and bought his supplies through the same house or other factors and commission merchants in the same locality. Even after the establishment of the American Territory the agrarian producer conducted most of his transactions on an annual credit basis with the trading house or merchant providing the credit and carrying the balances on the ledger books. With internal manufacture and commerce almost non-existent and transportation by foot or horseback there was very little need for banking facilities or the currency so vital to industrial society.

The trading establishment of Panton, Leslie & Company, and the successor, John Forbes and Company, offered what approached banking facilities to the residents of Florida and served as the financial agent of the Spanish government in the second Spanish period. Even after the change of flags in 1821 Forbes and Company offered private banking facilities for several years. The legislative council failed to take any action on banking in 1822. In the session of 1823 "one proposed bank charter was vetoed, and in 1824 two more were vetoed by Governor Duval, who stated the banks were unsuited to the 'genius and spirit of our free institutions.' Another Act forbade anyone to bring into the Territory, with intent to circulate, any bills or notes in the likeness of bank notes issued by a private individual or unincorporated company. In the face of this opposition, the John Forbes and Company enterprise ceased banking activity."

Again in 1825 banking became an issue in the legislative council when charters for institutions at St. Augustine and Pensacola passed that body and Duval again vetoed the acts. The council overrode the veto but a technical decision on the size of the majority rendered both charters invalid.

The insistent demands for territorial banks with powers to issue paper money

and extend credit to planters in the expanding economy of the territory was continually opposed by Duval. The governor "believed that these banks were unsound in principle" and vetoed bill after bill until succeeded by John H. Eaton in 1834. As late as 1833, after admitting the need for currency and banking, Duval stated that his repugnance to these charters sprang from a conviction that they were radically defective and that their operation would not benefit the community generally.

Territorial banking in Florida began in earnest in the 1830's with the chartering of numerous banks by the Legislative Council. Several of these banks were financed with public credit through the issuance of territorial or faith bonds which, in turn, were used by those so favored to finance their operations. Only one of these institutions was located in East Florida: the Southern Life Insurance and Trust Company of St. Augustine, chartered in 1835 with an authorized capital of $2.000,000. The bank was owned largely by northerners and was empowered to sell insurance, make loans, import, export, issue currency, develop timber lands, discount money, and other powers to the extent that the St. Augustine *Herald* remarked that the bank had every power except that of killing Indians.

The original $2,000,000 capitalization of the Southern Life was increasable to $4,000,000, and by December, 1836, over $500,000 in specie had been paid in. The large capital was projected for use on long term loans for clearing and cultivating land. The anticipated increment in land values was planned as security on the loans of the Southern Life Insurance and Trust Company. Branches of the firm were opened in Jacksonville and three other Florida communities. From its extensive trading in cotton, Southern Life was called "the cotton bank" and many planters objected on the basis that this was unfair competition with the local cotton merchants. By January, 1840, its note circulation was $50,000, but from this rather sound beginning the bank deteriorated into gross favoritism for a few at the expense of the many. By 1843 the Southern Life had ceased operations when an assignment was made of the remaining assets and the bank remained closed. Banking activities thereafter in East Florida were carried on by agents or correspondents of Charleston and Savannah banks; thus, in 1845, agencies engaged in banking activities were solely private banks or representatives of outside banks in the state.

Throughout the territorial period there was a slow growth of an industrial economy other than the primary economy of agriculture. The manufacturing that accompanied the agricultural economy was easily divided into the extractive industries for export and the subsidiary industries required by the predominant agrarian society. Many towns and communities in the period supported grist mills for the grinding of grain, saw mills to supply building timbers, foundries and blacksmith shops, wagon and cart shops, cotton presses and cotton gins. There were a few tanneries for the processing of hides and also a number of brick yards and lime kilns.

Records of merchants and merchandising in the territorial period show that every settlement of any size supported stores, the number and variety depending on the size of the population in the surrounding community. At Key West, in 1838 there were "some eighty dwelling houses, principally small, eight or ten groceries, three provision and grocery stores, with a few dry goods, three large ware houses and as many merchants, a physician, five lawyers, an Episcopal clergyman, and about three or four hundred inhabitants, including all colors." A few years later, Key West contained 650 houses, 26 stores, 10 warehouses, 4 look-out cupolas, 11 wharves, and 4 churches.

At St. Augustine, the shops and stores were operated, according to Charles Lanman, by "the more intelligent and refined portion of the community, among whom are several Minorcan families." Bishop Whipple, in 1843, did not hold the same view when he wrote: "The businessmen of St. Augustine appear to me to be generally divested of that straightforward upright character that should characterize a merchant."

Almost every town or settlement supported two or three taverns or hotels where alcoholic beverages ranging from native spirits to imported rums and whiskeys were available at the bars, and practically every county was served by one or more dealers in bottled liquors. Charles Joseph Latrobe, English author of "*The Rambler in North America,*" recounted his experiences of a week in Tallahassee in 1833. One night the Temperance Society held a meeting in the large parlor of Brown's hotel, while the Negro slaves enjoyed the proceedings at the windows. "Little was accomplished, and after the meeting many gathered at the bar to partake of such drinks as mint julep, mint sling, bitters, hail stone, snow-storm, apple toddy punch, Tom and Jerry or egg-nogg."

Through the first three centuries of Florida's history the ocean, bays and rivers were the major highways for the movement of people and goods from one place to another. These media for transport were still the most important through the territorial period. Ocean-going vessels provided the space for the cargoes and stores that were imported or exported by the producers and shippers. In many cases the larger rivers afforded deep water navigation for ocean vessels as well. Ships which could cross the bar of the St. Johns could easily sail up the river to Palatka. Where possible, the plantations of the territorial period were located on navigable water, navigable by river boats at least. With the introduction of light draft, steam powered river boats in the 1820's, traffic on the inland waterways increased rapidly as the back country was opened and settled.

Both Jacksonville and Key West enjoyed shipping connections with the commerce of the world; Fernandina was a port of call on the St. Johns river-Charleston-Savannah lines. Key West, however, was noted for the maritime business of salvaging the ships wrecked on the numerous and treacherous Florida reefs. The profitable wrecking business supported a large proportion of the population of Key West and called for the maintenance of a regular fleet of vessels to give aid and succor to stranded ships and to salvage the cargoes of the unfortunate ships. For example, from January 1845 to January 1846, a total of twenty-six ships were stranded on the Florida Reef and brought to Key West. The salvage on these vessels came to $69,591.99 and the total expenses (salvage, legal fees, etc.) amounted to $105,709.51. In the next year the Key Westers made an even better haul when fifty-five ships were stranded on the Florida Reef and brought to Key West. Salvage paid on these vessels amounted to $108,992 and the total expenses amounted to $213,423.

During the territorial period travel and transport north and south was almost always by a water route, and east and west by the same medium when convenient. Travel overland by horseback, following old Indian trails was necessary along most of the way from Pensacola to St. Augustine. Roads, as known at present, did not exist. Even the famous "Kings Road" of the British period from New Smyrna to King's Ferry on the St. Marys had gone back to the wilderness by 1821. In the early years of the territorial period, the federal government had appropriated money for a Pensacola-St. Augustine road and as a result a passageway for wagons through the forest had been cut and crude bridges built over smaller rivers with ferries at the larger rivers. The "Kings Road" was reopened in East Florida in 1828-1829 but most of the travelling continued to be made by water routes.

West of St. Augustine, the settlement of Picolata achieved a reputation as the St. Johns river landing for passengers and freight destined for the east coast. Bishop Whipple had some rather caustic words for the board and lodgings of the place, already referred to. William Cullen Bryant, in 1843, noted that the place was "lately a military station, but now a place with only two houses." Ten years later, Lanman remarked that Picolata, "like many other Florida towns, figures largely on the maps, but consists only of one house and a long rickety wharf."

The last town in south Florida, and the second largest in the state in 1860, lay more than fifty miles off the mainland southwest of Cape Sable. If St. Augustine could claim the title of "ancient city," Key West could claim "southernmost town

in the United States," as well as one of interesting insularity. Throughout the ante-bellum period Key West, on the northern edge of the Bahama Channel, was at the cross-roads of shipping from the Atlantic Ocean into the Gulf of Mexico. The island town's main sources of revenue were ever derived from maritime commerce, though the major source was from the peculiar business of salvaging wrecked ships and cargoes.

The American flag was raised over Key West in March 1822 by naval forces sent to occupy the strategic island ninety miles from Havana. Settlement on the island was slow; by 1836 there were only four hundred residents. In the intervening years, however, several interesting events occurred. In 1823-24 the West Indian naval squadron, under Commodore David Porter patrolled the waters of Florida and Cuba to put an end to piracy. Porter overstepped his authority in the summer of 1824 and "invaded" a Cuban town in search of pirate loot. A court martial suspended Porter, whereupon, in 1826, he accepted the command of the Mexican navy as General of Marine. From January until August 1827 the Mexican squadron under Porter used Key West as an advance base from which to prey on Spanish and Cuban naval and maritime traffic.

But the business of salvaging and repairing wrecked ships provided the employment and fortunes of the citizens of the island town. So profitable was the business that the federal government created a district court, with jurisdiction over south Florida, in 1828 to sit at Key West and adjudicate the salvage claims. In the same year Key West was incorporated and, in 1829, surveyed and platted. In addition to the actual work of salvage there were the ancillary businesses of warehousing, merchandising, and fishing. Also, the armed forces of the navy and marine corps were represented at the naval installations on the island or in the naval forces in the harbor. By 1843, the *Florida Sentinel* could report that "thirty vessels are owned and employ some four hundred men.. Trade between the Bahamas and Key West is considerable . . . Daily communication goes to Havana. . . The government is erecting barracks for troops and some two hundred and ninety hands are employed. . . . Some one hundred thousand pounds of green turtle are brought from the bay and reefs, one-half of which is exported and the other half consumed." By 1851, Key West had a population of two thousand with over six hundred houses, eleven wharves, four churches, four private schools and a public school, a marine hospital and a naval coaling station and depot for the ships using the harbor.

Society in the ante-bellum period of Florida closely paralleled that of the older southern states from whence the large majority of the residents had migrated. Certainly in the earlier years of the territory the cultural institutions of the remaining Spanish in Pensacola, Fernandina, and St. Augustine gave a Latin atmosphere to the social life of these towns, but in the remainder of the territory the predominant influence was that of the frontier. The Anglo-Americans who settled in Florida merely transplanted the cultural institutions of the community from which they came to their new home. The culture of the Old South prospered in the new environment and by 1845 Florida was southern culturally as well as politically.

Even before the Spanish relinquishment of Florida, American influences were dominant below the St. Marys. George J. F. Clark, born in St. Augustine during the British period and resident of East Florida through the second Spanish period, in 1823 distinguished the settlers as "a people who many years ago ranged themselves along the banks of the St. Johns River, who were always sickly, while many others of different habits and ideas, living within the same extent of the country were quite healthy; we of the city distinguished them by the appellation of Crackers and Christians. The latter lived like civilized beings and kept medicine about them. But the former, who came into Florida from the fag ends of Georgia and the Carolinas during the revolutionary war of the U. S., planted but little corn and made up the deficiency with whortle berries, black berries, plums and starva-

tion." Florida society was thus divided into planter and non-planter at an early date, and the regime was not considerably altered after 1821.

The plantation slavery regime dominated society in Florida in all of the cultural institutions. The top of the ladder was occupied by the planter and it was to the top rung that society in general looked and to which the ambitious on the lower rungs aspired. Below the planters stood, in order, professional men, business men, small planters, farmers, artisans and overseers, all other white, slaves and lastly the "pariahs" or free Negroes. There was much movement up and down the social ladder, particularly of able young whites going into business and perhaps even into planting.

The New Yorker, Henry Benjamin Whipple was an astute observer and to the confidence of his diary tried to analyze southern society. " 'Take no thought of the morrow' appears to be the motto of very many of the southern population although not in a scriptural sense. Instead of being sure they are right and then going ahead very many 'go ahead' and then find to their sorrow they are wrong. The energies of the south under the present state of society are not called forth to great and noble purposes. They either lie dormant in idleness and luxury or receive a wrong direction and are expended in visionary projects or in reckless expenditures for useless luxuries and foolish dissipation. Without doubt the south has had and still has an immense amount of talent which lies and will continue to lie dormant entirely unproductive. This state of things is ruinous to any country no matter how much chivalry and generosity it may contain. A southern man is educated in nine cases out of ten to be a gentleman, an unproductive gentleman, a term which sometimes means a helpless being who is dependent on others for even the smallest offices of labor. There are exceptions, many of them, but even the large number of these does not alter the universality of the rule. Better far for our country if these were the mass and the others the exceptions."

In comparing the southerner with the northerner Whipple found the southerner "more chivalrous, that is to say, he has more of that old English common feeling in the days of the feudal system and crusades. He is liberal in his feelings, high minded, a warm and generous friend but a malignant and bitter enemy. He forms his attachments easier and does not retain them as long as men of less ardent disposition. He is generous to a fault with his property, is fond of gaiey and pleasure and generally dislikes the routine of business. His habits are those of genteel idleness or of a man of leisure. Nothing is a too expensive gratification of appetite or feeling, which his purse will permit him to buy. There are some gentlemen however, that I have met who differ in very many particulars from the above description and whose habits of life are those of a prudent and careful business man. But these I may say are the exceptions. It is unfortunate that in a country where menial labor is performed entirely by slaves, that there industry is generally looked upon if not dishonorable, at least doubtful gentility. It is a matter of deep regret that talent and genius is often buried forever, by this blind following the impulses of a life of pleasure. These false principles instilled into the minds of children if not by precept, by every day practice often serve as a lure to lead them to destruction. The luxurious habits of southerners is ruinous in the extreme and it has resulted in the embarrassment and ruin of many planters. Prudence and the most rigid habits of economy can alone retrieve the almost ruined fortunes of the south. The evil is a great one and it is this luxurious mode of living, with reckless expenditure, that has and ever will prevent the prosperity of the southern states."

Travellers and visitors to the east coast divide the contemporary population into either planter or cracker. Few, if any, references are made to the yeoman farmer, artisan, mechanic, or shopkeeper. In his discourse on the inhabitants of Florida, Castelnau concluded his survey of the whites with "the little farmers sometimes themselves cultivate a cornfield, but most often have it done by two or three slaves, their only property." Richard P. Daniel, at the age of eighteen moved with his

family from Columbia, South Carolina, to northern Duval county twenty miles northwest of Jacksonville. "The plain people," he wrote, "in this sparsely settled region lived simply and roughly, but never wanted or went into debt; all had cattle and hogs (some sheep). In the woods cane, corn, and sweet potatoes gave sugar, syrup, cornbread and hominy, a small patch of long-staple cotton ginned on a simple roller handpin and picked by hand, too, gave enough cash to buy their coffee, simple clothing and other outside needs, cattle always represented a cash asset, too. Everybody ground their corn for meal or grits at home—either with a small pair of stones set upon a block and worked by hand or with a small steel mill also turned by hand."

When visiting St. Augustine in 1843, William Cullen Bryant repeated a "common saying" that " 'Florida is the best poor man's country in the world.' and, truly, I believe that those who live on the shores of this sound find it so. Its green waters teem with life, and produce abundance of the finest fish. . . ." Bryant observed that clams and oysters were found in the sands of the beaches and along the shores of Matanzas in uncountable numbers.

The homes of the ante-bellum period reflected the influence of the frontier as much as any other aspect of society. After the settler selected land, by purchase or by "squat," enough trees were felled to build the famous log cabin for a residence. In Miami climate, the houses of the thirties were even simpler as the cabin of the first settler was built of logs and thatched with palmetto leaves, with a large stone fire place and chimney although the prevailing custom for years was a palmetto thatch over a frame with the cooking of food outside over a "chip fire."

Pioneer homes of Duval county in 1847 were set in a clearing of ten or twelve acres. "The living house was a log pen with rough piazzas front and rear. The floor was of great wide boards cut from logs with a whip saw, clapboards were the shingles and formed the weather boarding. The chimney was built of mud and sticks with a huge fireplace that one coúld sit inside of when there was only a small fire."

In the territorial period homes, by and large, were log houses. Planters built single-penned, double-penned, and hip-roofed houses as they could afford them. The double-penned consisted of two log pens, or rooms, on each side of a hallway or dog run. A dirt and stick fireplace and chimney was at the end of each pen. Porches or piazzas usually ran the length of the house on front and back. Some of the houses had a half-story or second story but usually extra room was secured by walling in rooms on the rear porch. The hipped-roof house utilized a roof at right angles to the single pen which covered rooms of a lean-to nature. Log kitchens were usually separate from a pen and joined to it by a walkway which was often covered for protection in foul weather.

The furnishings of the homes varied with the income and social position of the householders. Settlers migrating to the territory usually found room in their wagons for furniture and other treasured objects of the old homes. In the homes of town dwellers and planters might be found oak, and even mahogany pieces such as pianos and sideboards. In the rural homes the furnishings were usually hand made on the homestead. On the lower east coast Mary Barr Monroe wrote that "beach combing" for articles from wrecked ships was a fascinating occupation and "at one time there was not a house here that did not boast of at least one piece of ship furniture."

The business of fashioning a home from a house and furnishings lay in the province of the women. On the large plantations the lady of the house, though aided by numerous servants, was generally responsible for not only the welfare of her own immediate dependents but for the slaves as well. In the towns and in the country the women of the household did much of their own work, if not all. The lot of the wife of the pioneer on the frontier was a hard one.

Accounts of education in Florida from 1821 to 1845 generally commence with a statement that there was considerable interest in the problem of the provisions for

the education of children and end with a statement that efforts were made to establish schools, "most of which came to naught." When Florida became a state in 1845, the record of public education was mostly one of unaccomplished plans. Numerous schools or academies of an ephemeral nature had been started by private sponsors and there were a few public schools that had been financed by the local governments. Most of the books and articles written on public education prior to 1845 have depended on the statutory law of the federal and state governments to show "the interest" in public education and on newspaper advertisements of private schools to show "the accomplishments" of private education. Thus, a survey of education in St. Augustine from 1821 to 1845 found that at some time during those years "there were more than twenty-three private schools, nine academies, and three seminaries taught by more than thirty-nine teachers in St. Augustine from 1821 to 1845," and gives as the authority for this statement the newspapers of that town during the period.

Federal law in 1822 granted the sixteenth section of every township of public land in the several territories for the use of public schools, and a year later two townships were granted for a seminary of learning. Later federal law stipulated that one township was to be located east of the Suwannee river and the other to the west of that river. As late as 1832 Governor R. K. Call, in a message to the legislature, noted that five sections of school land had been rented, yet the school fund was almost four hundred dollars in arrears. Various reasons have been advanced as to the legislative council's failure to act, among them Indian wars which prohibited the surveys, and sparse settlement in which no schools were needed. Not until 1843 was a plan advanced to further the establishment of public schools, but nothing came of the plan.

The interest in Florida that did exist in education was evinced by citizens who were already educated to some degree and desired educational facilities for their children. Such people were usually planters who could afford to employ a tutor or governess to instruct their children and those of their neighbors. Thus, Jacob Rhett Motte noted in his journal that the Seminole Indians in January 1836 burned Mr. Cooly's house on the New River (Fort Lauderdale) and "at one fell swoop" basely massacred "wife, three children, and tutor, the latter named Flinton." Later Jesse T. Bernard, Virginian and student at William and Mary, was employed at Bradfordville to teach the children of several plantations in that vicinity, and Clement Clay wrote about the kindness and attention of Mrs. Marlow, the teacher of Colonel Byrd M. Pearson's four children, near the lower Withlacoochee river.

Education in Florida was similar to education in the older southern states. "A heritage from colonial times, it followed a fairly consistent pattern: on the plantations of the well-to-do, resident tutors were employed, and in the towns children attended private elementary schools and academies; young ladies were sent to female seminaries, and young gentlemen 'went off to college.' The small farmer either pressed into service some member of the family as teacher or shared with his neighbors the expense of a hired schoolmaster. Poor whites and squatters, as a matter of course, go along without formal schooling."

There appear to have been semi-public schools in Key West; a free school for fatherless children, seventeen in attendance, and tuition for others of a dollar a month, forty-seven in attendance. There were also four private schools with average attendance of thirty each.

Newspapers published in several of the towns along the east coast during the territorial period formed one of the chief sources of communication and information for the residents. During these years a total of six papers were published from time to time in Key West, five in Jacksonville, and four in St. Augustine. Approximately two-thirds of the 1,500 issues of the St. Augustine papers have been preserved; but only 168 issues, or two-fifths of the total number, of the Key West papers are now available. The observation has been made that as a frontier territory

Florida supported a larger number of papers than usually the case in such a sparsely settled area.

Territorial newspapers never comprised more than four pages though the size of the pages increased from year to year as did the printing skill of the publishers. The greatest improvement was in content, for the papers of the earlier years contained reprinted material with but little current news and few editorials. As communications improved and afforded better mail service the papers of the later years could print more national and international news. In addition, with the growth of population more local news was available, and, in turn, with the development of the two-party political system, editors were able to circulate information on parties and candidates and to deliver strong editorials on the political issues in that day's news.

Although few Floridians wrote books and articles and but few books came off the press in Florida there were book stores, reading rooms or libraries in most Florida towns. A reading room, with a circulating library, was opened in St. Augustine in the 1820's. There were also private libraries in the homes of those who enjoyed books and could afford to purchase them. The ante-bellum Floridian was supplied with the news of the day by the papers, and some books were available at the stores in the towns.

SELECTED REFERENCES

BRYANT, WILLIAM C., *Letters of a Traveller,* New York, 1850.
DOVELL, J. E., *History of Banking in Florida,* Miami, 1955.
HANNA, A. J. and K. A., *Florida's Golden Sands,* Indianapolis, 1950.
HANNA, A. J., *A Prince in their Midst,* Norman, 1946.
KNAUSS, JAMES O., *Territorial Florida Journalism,* DeLand, 1926.
SHIPPEE, LESTER B., editor, *Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary,* Minneapolis, 1937.
SUNDERMAN, JAMES F., editor, *Journey into Wilderness,* Gainesville, 1953.
WILLIAMS, EDWIN L., *Florida in the Union* (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Univ. of North Carolina, 1951).
Florida Historical Quarterly:
CASTELNAU, COMTE DE, Essay on Middle Florida, January, 1948; Clay Letters, April, 1951.
DAVIS, T. FREDERICK, Early Orange Culture in Florida, April, 1937.
DODD, DOROTHY, Florida in 1845, July, 1945; Emerson in Florida, October, 1939; Miami in 1843, January, 1925.
WHITMAN, ALICE, Transportation in Territorial Florida, July, 1938.
WILLIAMS, EDWIN L., Negro slavery in Florida, October, 1949.

See also *Tequesta,* the Journal of the Historical Association of South Florida, Miami, Numbers 1-18, 1941-58.

CHAPTER XI

FLORIDA LEAVES THE UNION

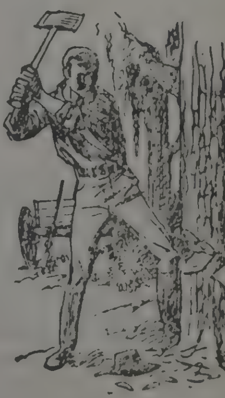
By Dr. E. C. Nance

HISTORIANS SOMETIMES FALL into the habit of pinpointing certain incidents as the cause of conflicts between nations. We, for example, mark the beginning of World War I with the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, who was shot and killed on June 29, 1914, by a young Serbian student, Gavro Princip, in the small city of Sarajevo, capital of Slavic Bosnia, newly acquired but sullen province of Austria-Hungary. For Americans the surprise bombing of Pearl Harbor on the Island of Oahu, on December 7, 1941, by the Japanese Airforce, caused us to enter World War II against Japan and Germany. These dates only mark beginnings and not causes. And so behind the firing on Fort Sumter by the Confederates, on April 12, 1861, there were more serious unsolved problems which included political and social convictions, and two entirely different ways of life. Only a miracle of statesmanship could have prevented that conflict because the pot of political and social dissension between the North and South sections of the United States had been boiling rather turbulently for more than a decade before the war began. Many good and brilliant people of the North and South had dedicated themselves to preventing the armed conflict.

Abraham Lincoln's election to the presidency of the United States, in 1860, ignited many hot fires of passion in Florida. The press, pulpit and the politicians of the Whig and Democratic parties, with few exceptions, united their forces in a movement to separate Florida from the Union. People came together in public meetings in various parts of the state and passed resolutions advocating secession. As early as November 8th of 1860, one of the first, if not the very first, meetings of such nature was held in Fernandina, on the East Coast At this meeting a declaration to the effect that Lincoln's election "was the first step toward the dissolution of the Union," was approved. The majority of the democratic newspapers of the State emphasized that Lincoln's election threatened to force Florida into "the admission of the equality, socially and politically, of the slave."

Florida was a proud and young state, only 15 years in the Union, politically self-conscious and jealous of her rights. Everyone in the State was aware of the abolition movement in the North and of Lincoln's antipathy to slavery. At the time much of her economy was dependent on the labor of her 61,745 slaves and nearly a thousand free negroes. Almost half of Florida's total population of approximately 140,000, in 1860, consisted of negro slaves.

Both Indian and negro slavery had existed in Florida since the early part of the sixteenth century, at least as early as 1528. Though slavery existed in the first and second Spanish Dominions, the British were the first to exploit the negro in the plantation system of East Coast Florida. They had prospered from the labors of the negro and Indian slaves on these great plantations. Soon after Florida became an American territory there were increased migrations of white settlers and negro slaves from other southern states, and the plantations and the institution of slavery spread farther south in Florida. Farmers and plantation owners paid from $300 to $400 a head for their slaves and they were worth their weight in gold in profits they earned for their masters.



Slavery was not a new thing under the sun. Slavery had existed in many of the so-called "civilized" nations of the world, dating back through biblical times, and

was well established among the Romans and Greeks at a later date. But even in ancient days there were those who opposed and those who favored slavery.

It is a well-known fact that slavery was rooted in the economic developement of our country since colonial days. Slavery had been indirectly recognized in the Constitution. For two decades Congress did not interfere with the importation and sale of slaves. Slavery had existed in some of the northern states, including New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, though it was legally abolished in these states before 1800. There was considerable sentiment against slavery in the Southern states. Such well-known planters as George Washington had misgivings about slavery. Washington and others doubted its economic importance and feared its influence in our national life. Many Southerners supported the American Colonization Society whose purpose was to colonize free negroes in Liberia.

With the invention of Whitney's cotton gin (1793), cotton became an important part of the economy of the south and increased the demand for more negro slaves to plant and harvest it. Once again college presidents, ministers, political leaders and, of course, the planters renewed their pro-slavery activities, emphasizing "historical and scriptural justification of slavery"—as well as its economic advantages. However, the abolitionists were accused by southern leaders with "conspiring to stir up servile insurrection in the south."

While slavery is often emphasized as the chief cause of the War Between The States, the serious student of history cannot accept this as factual. It would be closer to the facts to say that the institution of slavery was *one* of several causes that motivated the Southern States to secede and, eventually, resort to armed hostilities against the North. There follows a list of other factors in a larger pattern of Southern grievances against the North:

1. Thomas Jefferson resigned from Washington's Cabinet in 1793 and began the organization of the Republican Party. Many of the members of the Federalist Party joined the new party which allegedly was devoted to the interest of the common man: the small traders, mechanics, farmers and the laborer. The Federalists, it was claimed, was the party of "the rich, the well born and the able." Jefferson emphasized that government should be entrusted to the judgment and needs of the masses of people who should be trained in the democratic way of life by participation in the operations of their government.

We pass over many years of political strife, and evolution and frequent changes in Jefferson's original party. The Republican Party as we know it today was formed in 1854 and held its first convention in 1856. It then represented the Anti-Nebraska Democrats, the Free-soil party and opposed the extension of slavery in the States and possessions of the United States. While the very great majority of its membership was in the North when the Republicans made their appeal to the country at large their candidate, John C. Fremont, missed election to the presidency of the United States by only sixty electoral votes. From this date, Abraham Lincoln had become the leader of the party and opposition to the extension of the institution of slavery became a vital issue, and within four years Lincoln was elected president.

While Lincoln's election was allegedly the spark that set the fire in the South, Lincoln himself had said in his inaugural address:

"I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so . . . one section of our country believes that slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not be extended. This is the only substantial dispute."

Mr. Lincoln referred to an Amendment that had passed Congress to the effect "That the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service." He declared that if this

amendment had become constitutional law, he would have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

In his address, Mr. Lincoln called upon the people to think "calmly and well upon this whole subject," emphasizing that "Nothing valuable could be lost by taking time." He appealed to the people to settle their problems and differences of opinion within the laws and rules of the Constitution instead of by revolution or rebellion which could, said Mr. Lincoln, "dismember or overthrow the Constitution."

2. Although Lincoln's inaugural message was apparently and purposely conciliatory on the question of slavery, his cabinet appointments included W. H. Seward of New York State who had been active in the Antislavery Whig party: Salmon Chase of Ohio and Gibson Wells of Connecticut who had been an Anti-Nebraska Democrat. The South suspected the Northern Abolitionists might soon control, or have great influence over the Republican party.

3. The Victory of the Republican party greatly curtailed the influence of the South in national affairs, particularly in the matter of Federal offices and appointments.

4. Further displeasure with the Republicans resulted from their promotion of certain legislation which the South had long since disapproved, such as a homestead act, a proposed railroad to connect the Northwest with the Pacific Coast, and a protective tariff.

5. Other grievances of the South against the North included the underground railroads of the North by which their slaves were freed; passage of certain personal liberty acts; a disregard for some of the constitutional rights of Southern States, and the encouragement and support of the Abolitionists by the Northern press, pulpit and politicians.

While Florida was determined to secede from the Union a difference of opinion existed among the political leaders, the democratic press and the people, as to how and when secession should be effected—and what further action should be taken against the Federal government.

Robert Keith Call, strong Whig and Union nationalist, urged the press of middle Florida to oppose "northern oppression by armed revolution within the existing government rather than by secession from the Union." Shelby Walker, an associate Justice of the Supreme Court and Judge William Marvin, Federal Judge of Key West, also argued against secession and attempted to build up some Union sentiment.

Governor Madison Perry, Governor-elect John Milton, and Congressman-elect R. B. Hilton urged immediate separation from the Union, Most Southerners believed that Federal control of slavery meant the ultimate abolition of slavery in the southern states.

Governor Perry was perhaps the most out-spoken for immediate secession. In fact, he devoted his entire inaugural message to an appeal to the legislators for immediate secession when the general assembly convened in regular session on November 26th, 1860. He called upon the legislature to enact legislation which might take proper action toward protecting the rights of the people of Florida.

President Buchanan had requested that January 4th, 1860, be observed in fasting and humiliation "on account of the political dangers and disasters now impending and to be produced not only by Northern abolitionists but by the spirit of resistance and disunion of the southern states."

This day and its services of prayer, etc., were meant to be a rebuke and censure of the seceding states but the Florida delegation and state officials used the day to consider what actions were necessary to seize Federal military installations in the state. The Chattahoochee arsenal and Fort Marion at St. Augustine were seized by state troops before the passage of the secession ordinance. Pensacola was well garrisoned by federal troops and was not considered. Key West had sufficient Union

sentiment to hold that town throughout the War Between the States. On the 5th of January, Senator Yulee wrote a business associate of his, and a delegate to the convention, that the state troops should occupy all of the forts and arsenals in Florida. He also urged the formation of a southern army for the defense of the south.

Judge John McGehee was elected president of the secession convention and made a strong appeal for secession.

(The political and military activities of the period of Florida's history when the State was preparing for secession from the Union has been thoroughly covered by many historians, but perhaps more in detail by Dr. J. E. Dovell, of the University of Florida, than by any one else. See his monumental work "Florida—Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary," published in 1952 by the Lewis Historical Publishing Company.)

McGehee's election to the secession convention on January 5th, 1861, was by an overwhelming majority. Between his election and January 9th, there was much oratory on the subject of secession. Jackson Morton and George T. Ward, both former members of the Whig party, appealed to the convention to wait until Georgia and Alabama seceded before taking specific action. These same two gentlemen also though it best to submit the question to a popular referendum of the electors of the State. In these two proposals they were defeated; but in order to present a united front against the North, the majority voted 62 to 27, on January 10th, for secession.

The ceremony for signing the ordinance was held the next day and McGehee announced that Florida was "a free, sovereign and independent state." Florida ended all connections with the United States. The news of this action was greeted throughout the State with celebrations on the part of many and perhaps with some misgivings on the part of some other people. "They had embarked on a course which led to the destruction of the social and economic institutions and the way of life which they were determined to preserve," but at that time they could not foresee the ultimate results of their actions.

The news of Florida's secession was telegraphed to Washington. Yulee and Mallory did not participate in the proceedings of the Senate—and did not make formal withdrawal until January 21st. Both Yulee and Mallory indicated in their farewell speeches that the secession of Florida was based on a deep sense of injustice and insecurity which prevailed among the people of Florida, and that Florida had no intentions of war against the Federal government, or the people of the North; and, said Mallory, "We know that you cannot conquer us."

Since the Florida secession convention could not agree on delegates to the convention of other seceded states, which was later held at Montgomery, Alabama, on February 4th, Governor Perry appointed Jackson Morton, Patton Anderson and James B. Owen to represent Florida. Mallory, Yulee and Hawkins, members of the congressional delegation, were assigned as a commission to talk to Federal officials about the transfer of the United States Military and Naval installations in the State to the "Nation of Florida."

A "Provisional Government" for the Confederate States of America was organized in the convention at Montgomery. A constitution was drafted and sent to the other seceding states. Jefferson Davis was elected president of the convention, and Alexander H. Stevens was chosen as vice president. They were inaugurated on February 18th.

On January 28th the reassembled Florida convention unanimously adopted the Confederate constitution and became a member of the "Provisional Government."

The Confederate Congress adopted a constitution on March 11th, 1861, and reported it to the Florida convention. This constitution was ratified unanimously by the Florida convention, which met in Tallahassee on April 18th. This convention also divided Florida in two congressional districts and made some amendments to

the Florida constitution, and transacted business related to education, railroads, public lands and fortifications.

Governor Perry had already asked his legislature in the previous year to enact laws and appropriate $100,000 for munitions of war.

The population of the South (8,7000,000) was slightly more than half the population (22,700,000) of the Northern states, and three and a half million of the South's population were slaves. Twenty-three states (including Kentucky and Missouri) were arrayed against eleven southern states. The north had most of the material resources, business capacity, manufacturing and shipping in its hands. The majority of the officers and all the men of the Federal army and navy were on the side of the North.

Yet on April 12th, 1861, when the Confederate guns began firing on Federal Fort Sumter at Charleston, South Carolina, no one on either side realized that a "brother's war" would be started, and would continue for four long heart-breaking years, ultimately involve four million Federal and Confederate troops, and cripple the South for many years.

In spite of the North's material advantages, and her superiority of manpower over the South, many Confederates believed the South would experience greater prosperity outside the Union through trade with Europe, the abolishment of tariffs and taxes and a revival of the slave trade to reduce the cost of labor. They believed that necessity, "the mother of invention," would produce banking, commerce and manufacturing to secure their independence. The secessionists tried to assure the Confederates that the trade in cotton, the plantation economy and the fear of the Northern manufacturers of losing the Southern market would soften northern opposition to secession. They also professed to a belief that England would come to their aid to protect their own textile industries.

Many Southerners had also been encouraged by various attempts at compromise and reconciliation which had been proposed in 1860-1861, including the compromise proposed by Senator J. J. Crittenden of Kentucky. In 1861 a peace convention was sponsored and attended by representatives from thirty-three states. After a month's hard work the leaders of this convention proposed a reconcilation program which they believed would have been acceptable to the South. But the program was not acceptable to the Union Congress.

CHAPTER XII

FLORIDA IN THE CIVIL WAR

By Dr. E. C. Nance

Florida's Contribution to the Cause of the Confederacy

WHEN THE WAR between the Federal Government and the Confederacy began Florida's population was only 140,424; and of this number only 14.373 were of voting age. Up to 1860 the highest vote cast in the state-wide elections was 12.898. Nevertheless, before the end of the war in 1865 approximately 15,000 Floridians had engaged in military services in the Confederate armed forces, and of this number approximately one thousand were killed, about 5000 were wounded and another 5000 died of disease and hardship. Many Florida Confederate officers distinguished themselves on the field of battle. General Edmund Kirby Smith, a native of Florida, became one of the seven full Generals of the Confederacy. A statue of this distinguished citizen and soldier stands in Statuary Hall, in Washington, by the side of that of Dr. John Gorrie, an inventor who also won glory for himself and fame for Florida.

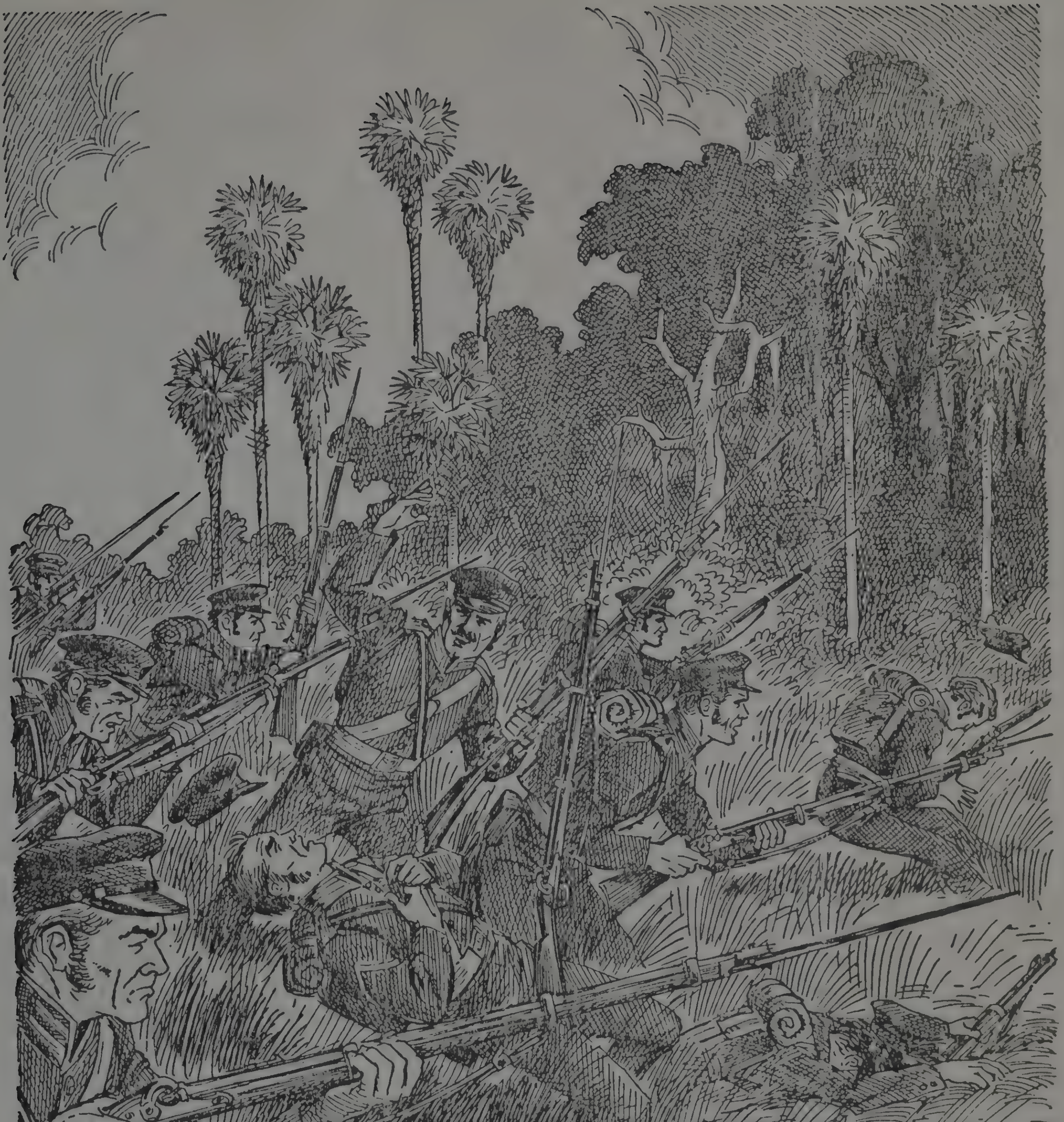
While there were no major battles fought on Florida soil, Florida soldiers participated in nearly all the major battles fought in the other Southern States. In the early part of the war, in 1862, the majority of Florida troops were moved from the State to strengthen the Army of Tennessee.

Besides the many Florida troops sent to fight for the Confederate cause outside the State, Florida contributed to the war efforts of the South in many other ways. The Confederate armies in the East depended almost entirely on Florida cattle. Other food products provided by Florida for the Southern armies included fish. sugar, syrup, hogs and salt.

Seawater was the most important source of salt which was so badly needed to cure beef for the Southern Armies. The process of distilling salt from seawater was, of course, expensive, requiring sheet-iron boilers, brick furnaces, pumps, large kettles, aqueducts, wells, and storehouses. Added to this equipment the salt industry in Florida required large numbers of houses for the workman, and large numbers of wagons, mules and horses for transportation. The government paid $12.50 to $30.00 a bushel for this salt. The Federal blockading ships were constantly searching out and destroying the coastal salt works. In September, 1863, they destroyed a salt works in Taylor County worth approximately two million dollars.

As in every war not all the battles are fought with guns and the other current weapons of war. There are always the families on the home front who must, to use the trite phrase, "keep the home fires burning." The war between the North and South was no exception to this fact of history.

Wars always bring shortages and inflationary prices. The supply lines from the North were broken and commodities which had been imported before the war were no longer available. The papers of the period published "do-it-yourself" articles on everything from how to make soap and shoes to the preparation of medicine and dyes from herbs and tree barks. The people were resourceful and inventive. They soon discovered they could do without many things and that they could find in unexpected places, or manufacture themselves, many other things which they considered essential. There were blacksmiths to make or repair tools and carpenters to use them. Cobblers made shoes from alligator, deer and cow


PACKWOOD

hides, and the ladies made homespun clothing, soaps, candles, and other articles needed for their family's comfort and health. Nothing was wasted. The air, sea and land provided their food and many essential raw materials for clothing and medicine.

The women donated their silver and jewels to the cause and raised money for the "gun boat fund." They gave their rugs and blankets to be made into garments for their soldier men fighting the Yankees. Sewing circles were established throughout the South. There were few idle hands among the youth or adults. Almost every family was represented at the front by a son, husband, sweetheart, or even a grandfather, after the age limit for service in the Confederate armies was increased to include men of fifty-five.

While the men were away at war the women at home, with few exceptions, took over the responsibilities of their men, including the hard physical chores of managing and working the farms. They also worked for the establishment of hospitals, and attended the sick and wounded who were fortunate enough to be returned to their homes.

The State of Florida patriotically provided, through the efforts of the legislatures of 1862, 1863 and 1864, annual appropriations which were never adequate to match all the needs, but they did bring relief to many who were unable to help themselves. The State also provided "some cotton and wool cards to be used in homes for preparing cotton and wool for spinning thread."

The crisis in a housing shortage, due to the advance of the Federal forces, was partially solved by refugees moving in with relatives, or being accepted into private homes, but these measures did not prevent a considerable amount of suffering.

There was always the fear that Federal forces would penetrate the inlands and capture their slaves. Some slaves were moved to plantations where their labors paid their keep and increased the food product of the plantations.

Such medical necessities such as morphine and quinine were smuggled through the Northern lines or brought in by the blockade runners.

Inflation of the times is revealed in such unheard of prices as $5.00 for a bottle of ink, $1.00 for a quart of milk, and $2.50 for a dozen eggs—a situation which later prevailed in Alaska where there was no war.

The Florida Negro's Contribution to The War

Many have wondered why the Negro slaves did not try to take advantage of the War Between The States to escape to the Northern side. A rebellion of the three and a half million slaves in the Southern slave states would certainly have been welcomed by Northern leaders and, in fact, some Northern leaders tried to encourage such a rebellion.

But the slave did not desert his master, except in comparatively few instances where the master mistreated and abused him, or when he was persuaded and aided by the abolitionists. It is true that "the slave patrol laws were strengthened at the beginning of the war," but toward the end of the war the large majority of the white males were in the armed forces of the Confederacy. Had the slaves wanted to escape there is some question whether the patrols could have prevented them from doing so. There is also the fact that the slaves were unorganized and without arms or means of transportation; and, of course, any attempt to escape would have been thwarted by the Southern Military.

Regardless of the moral issues involved in slavery as an institution, historians have assembled considerable evidence that the great majority of slaves were not discontented with their lot. The great majority of their masters were firm in discipline but treated their slaves with reasonable kindness and humane consideration, providing for their spiritual and physical needs. Most of the slaves of such masters compensated them in honest labor, loyalty and devotion. The slaves con-

sidered themselves a part of the master's household and were frequently aware of and deeply concerned about the fortunes of their masters. Many writers of the North, and some from Europe, who visited the slave states in those days spoke of the slaves as "usually happy people" and commended their masters for their fatherly concern for the welfare of their slaves.

Dr. J. E. Dovell, Professor of Political Science, University of Florida, and author of a three volume history of Florida, and also a co-author of this work, says:

"American Negro slavery had become the greatest school for civilizing a race of barbaric savages that the world has ever known. From the day that the first African was introduced into North America the education and training of the Negro in the culture and folklore of Western civilization began. Over the centuries as new slaves were introduced into the American environment this civilizing and educating process went on and was handed from generation to generation."

The modern educated negro in America would agree with Dr. Dovell's observation, but would likely point out the obvious fact that educating and civilizing the negro was not the original intention of the first slave traders and slave owners.

Toward the end of the war there had been some plans to induct some of the able bodied male slaves into the Confederate Armies, but these plans never materialized, and the few negro troops who wore Confederate uniforms in Florida belonged to companies composed of former slaves in Florida and other Confederate States.

Military Actions in Florida

In the beginning of this chapter it was indicated that "no major battles" took place on Florida soil during the war between the North and South. But there were several military and naval actions which made significant contributions to the total war effort of the Confederacy.

The Ordinance of Secession had not yet been adopted when, on orders from Governor Perry, the Federal Arsenal at Chattahoochee, Fort Marion at St. Augustine, Fort Clinch at Fernandina, and two of the three forts at Pensacola, including Fort Barrancas and Fort McRee, had been confronted with Confederate demands to surrender. These military actions were completed between January 5th and 8th, 1861.

Fort Barrancas was the only fort that was garrisoned with more than, perhaps, a small guard. The commander of this fort did not have time to wait for orders from his superior officers but acted quickly on his own judgment, and ordered his one hundred Federal troops to retreat to Fort Pickens, on Santa Rosa Island, where his troops and guns could guard the entrance to Pensacola Bay.

Since hostilities had not officially begun both sides were reluctant to start shooting it out. There was a conviction on both sides that if war did come it would last but a short time. No pitched battle ensued at that particular time as a result of the above military movements.

As we have already indicated, the Ordinance of Secession was signed at Tallahassee on January 11, 1861. Between this date and January 28, when Florida joined the provisional government of the Confederate States of America, Florida was an "independent nation."

On the day following the signing of the Ordinance of Secession the Confederates seized the Navy Yard at Pensacola and occupied Forts Barrancas and McRee, on the west coast, but on the Southeast Coast the Federal Government had been busy with defensive preparations before the secession convention had assembled. When the Ordinance of Secession was signed the Federal troops at Key West, a very small garrison of less than seventy-five, retired inside Fort Taylor. Neither the Southern sympathizers in Key West nor the Confederate troops made any effort to disturb them.

Approximately seventy miles west of Key West, on the Tortugas Islands, the

war department of the Federal Government had been building super Fort Jefferson for more than a dozen years before Florida seceded from the Union. Fort Jefferson, located on Garden Key, had already cost the government more than a million dollars and the plans called for much greater expenditures including a garrison of 1500 men to operate 250 guns. However, some historians tell us that at the time of Florida's secession only 30 men at Fort Jefferson desired to remain loyal to the Federal Government of the United States. In January of 1861 Fort Jefferson received, via Atlantic seaboard, reinforcements of artillerymen and guns from Boston. Fort Jefferson remained a Union Fort throughout the war and contributed greatly to severing of the South's life-line leading from the Atlantic Ocean seaboard to the Mississippi and Gulf ports. After the war Fort Jefferson became the "Devil's Island" home of such noted prisoners as Captain Mudd. Fort Taylor and Key West also remained in Union hands throughout the War Between the States.

From June, 1861, until the end of the war, the Florida coasts were patrolled by Union blockading vessels. Sometimes these vessels would land raiding parties to destroy and pillage, as in 1862, when such a party slipped into Cedar Key and burned the roalroad terminus facilities and several small vessels docked there. Many blockade runners were captured and, in some cases, a considerable number of runaway slaves would be aboard these vessels. But in spite of the handicaps and dangers many Confederate blockade runners did manage to slip *in* with arms and scarce food and medical supplies and *out* with cargoes of tobacco, turpentine and cotton.

Florida's First War Casualties

On September 2, 1861, the Federal Commander sent a raiding party from Fort Pickens to the Pensacola Navy yard and burned a repair vessel in dry dock. A week or so latter sailors from the U. S. Colorado burned the Confederate schooner Juda, moored in the Navy Yard. In this action the raiders met stiff resistance. Twelve of the raiders were wounded and three killed. And there were some losses on the Confederate side.

General Braxton Bragg had been appointed commander of the "provisional army of the Confederate States," on Pensacola Bay, in early March of 1861. He had 5000 men under his command when he demanded and received, on January 12, the surrender of the Navy yard at Pensacola. The Federal Commander of Fort Pickens had originally refused to surrender, but General Bragg and the Confederate authorities deemed it wise to forestall hostilities. There had been a "Fort Pickens Truce" under President Buchanan under which both sides were to refrain from attacking or building up their reinforcements. But Buchanan left office on March 3, and when his successor, President Lincoln, took office he ordered, in early April, reinforcements for Fort Pickens. A thousand men were in Fort Pickens and another thousand manned the four United States warships nearby in the Gulf of Mexico. The Confederates had lost a chance to seize Fort Pickens before the reinforcements came, but when, in early September, the Federal raiding parties from Fort Pickens had destroyed the two above mentioned vessels, General Bragg decided to attack the Fort. On October 9th, he staged a surprise attack on the Federal troops who were encamped in the rear of Fort Pickens. There were rather heavy losses on both sides, but Fort Pickens did not fall. The following month, on November 22, General Bragg's forces in Fort Barrancas and Fort McRee, and the Federal forces in Fort Pickens and on the U. S. ships in the bay, began a lively exchange of artillery fire which lasted for two days. The damage to the Confederate batteries was more severe than that of the Federals, and this artillery duel decided nothing. Fort Pickens was there to stay and to control the most important naval base and harbor on the Gulf Coast. Fort Pickens remained a thorn in Confederate flesh for the duration of the War.

By April of 1862 the Confederate forces in Kentucky and Tennessee were experiencing such great difficulty in holding their lines against the Federal forces that most of the coastal defenses of Florida were abandoned or dismantled and moved to the central part of the State in order that more Florida troops could be sent northward "to defend the Northwest boarder of the Confederacy."

In the meantime, with the serious handicap of the Florida coastal defenses weakened or removed, the Federal Navy extended it's control southward on the Atlantic seaboard and up and down the Gulf Coast on the west side of Florida.

On March 3, 1862, a large Naval force consisting of six steamers, eight sailing craft and eighteen gunboats approached and captured Amelia Island. Jacksonville and St. Augustine were occupied by Federal troops a week later. Two weeks later the Federal forces were masters of the East Coast from St. Marys to St. Augustine.

Between early April and May 10, 1862, the defense of the West Coast seemed so hopeless that a scorched earth, leave-nothing-for-the enemy plan, was carried out. Pensacola was evacuated on May 9th. Florida had been in the war a little more than a year when she had lost her coastal cities from Fernandina on the East Coast to Key West, and Pensacola and Apalachicola on the West Coast.

During the years of 1862 and 1863 Jacksonville was occupied and evacuated three times by Federal troops. There were some Union sympathizers there, but the city also had certain military advantages. The first occupation lasted less than a month. Historians do not explain why this occupation was of such brief duration. The so-called "loyalists" suffered from this short occupation. Some of them moved North.

Federal gunboats blockaded the St. Johns River from Mayport to Jacksonville, General Joseph Finegan, who commanded the Confederate forces in East Florida, tried to frustrate the Federal blockaders by fortifying St. Johns Bluff, four miles above Mayport, and more than seventy feet high above the shoreline. A runaway slave informed the Federals of the rebel plans. After twenty days of unsuccessful attempts of the Federal gunboats to destroy the fortifications and cannoneers on the Bluff, the Federals brought 1600 men, plus nearly as many scouts, to achieve this purpose. A joint land and sea attack on the Bluff, October 2, caused the Confederate forces, with only six hundred men, to retreat, and the federal forces moved into Jacksonville for their second occupation of that city. Upon their arrival some of the Federal troops went on a looting spree, breaking into stores, and destroying property. When their commanding officer learned about this plundering he stopped it immediately.

The Federal troops ended their second occupation of Jacksonville within a few days and took with them "some white and black refugees." They returned again in March of 1863, "to collect negro recruits, to plunder, and probably to inaugurate some plans for 'loyal' political reconstruction", according to William Watson Davis. This third occupation of Federal troops consisted of two Northern Negro regiments under the command of Colonel Thomas W. Higgins, and some reinforcements from the 6th Connecticut and 8th Maine regiments. The historians record some ugly activities of these troops, including "raids into the rural areas in the vicinity of Jacksonville in search of plunder and Negro recruits", the "invasion of private homes and abuse of non-combatants." By the end of March they had evacuated Jacksonville after again looting and setting fires which reduced more than half the city to ashes.

The Federals returned to Jacksonville for a fourth occupation in February of 1864. This occupation was to prepare for a campaign to cut communications between East and West Florida, "to deprive the Confederacy of Florida foodstuffs, and to procure cotton, turpentine and timber for Northern use."

The Federal troops left Jacksonville on February 8th, captured the railroad

junction at Baldwin and, after a week at Sanderson, moved on toward the Suwannee River with a plan to destroy the railroad bridge there.

In the meantime, the Confederates concentrated a force of Georgia and Florida troops near Lake City. The two forces met at Ocean Pond near Olustee Station, on February 20, and engaged in a bloody battle for six hours at the end of which the Union Army retreated, "leaving their dead and wounded on the field." Their losses were severe. Out of a force of 5,500 men they lost 1,861 killed and wounded, and 500 missing. The battle of Olustee was called "a second Dade Massacre." Union forces never again ventured inland from their coastal town positions. While this battle turned out a victory for the Confederates, it cost them twenty percent of their troops in casualties. It has been said that the battle of Olustee produced the highest percentage of casualties, considering the number of men engaged on both sides, of any battle of the War Between The States.

Draft dodgers and deserters from many other Southern States posed another serious problem for Florida near the end of the war. Many of these unwelcome "tourists" were fortune hunters, interested in the possibility of engaging in the blockade running business. These "renegade whites and blacks were hunted down with dogs, and when caught, summarily hung or shot" by companies of Confederate cavalry organized for this purpose.

Federal propaganda also caused trouble for Florida. Confederates were told that their war was a "rich man's war and a poor man's fight." This propaganda caused many to evade military service, or to desert the Confederate cause.

Toward the end of the war, in 1864, many counties in Northwest Florida were terrorized by Union men, deserters, and citizens who had turned against the Confederacy. They raided villages and towns and farms for food and other supplies, and usually hid out near their homes. Colonel H. D. Capers was ordered to move against one of these gangs in Taylor County, in which operation he destroyed their homes and put their dependents in detention camps near Tallahassee.

So destitute were many Confederate citizens and former Confederate soldiers in Florida during the latter days of the war that they, together with many Negroes, deserted to the Federals "to secure food, safety, money and arms."

Also, in September of 1864, a Union General by the name of Asboth slipped out of Fort Barrancas with a cavalry unit of 700 men with a plan in his head to raid Washington and Jefferson Counties. His objectives were (1) to collect horses and mules, (2) to persuade able bodied blacks and whites to join the Union forces, and (3) to set federal prisoners free. In spite of spirited resistence by youths, old men and a few Confederate soldiers on sick leave, Marianna, in Jackson County, was looted of household furnishings, including beds and bedding, and all horses, carts, wagons, food provisions, negroes, and many white males. There were many killed and wounded on both sides. General Asboth was severely wounded. The Union forces on the West Coast also raided Milton and Bay communities from St. Andrews to the Chattahoochee river.

The Last Battle of The War in Florida

It is now the Spring of 1865, and the month of February. The war is drawing to the end. Three transports and nine blockading vessels with their crews and cargo of troops are preparing to raid, occupy or destroy the only port and shipping that had not been raided or occupied by the Federals—St. Marks. The gunboats were to silence the batteries of St. Marks while Federal troops marched overland to capture Newport, the business center five miles above the port, and attack St. Marks. Between February 28 and March 2, the vessels stood off St. Marks bar ready for action.

The Confederates believed Tallahassee to be the main objective of the Federals,

since Tallahassee was the only capital East of the Mississippi River that had not been captured by the Federals.

The tides of the great battles of the world have often turned on some unforeseen or unexpected event or work of nature. The river channel leading to St. Marks evidently had not been studied by the Union Commander. Most of his gunboats got stuck, and even those that did not get stuck could not reach St. Marks. The Union troops which had landed below Newport succeeded in reaching the town but were soon driven off by the Confederates, who had prepared a rather hot reception for them and had frustrated their plans by burning the bridge over the river.

About eight miles above Newport there was a Natural Bridge. The Union Commander thought he might be able to get his troops over this bridge; but the same thought occurred to the commander of the Confederate troops. Anticipating the movement of the Union troops the Confederate commander, with his hastily assembled regulars, militia and a company of cadets from the West Florida Seminary at Tallahassee, took up position near the Natural Bridge. When the Union forces arrived at daybreak on March 6, and found they were not able to achieve their purpose, they withdrew. So ended the last conflict of the war in Florida.

The war was ending elsewhere, too. On April 9, General Lee surrendered his armies at Appomattox. The surrender of General Joseph E. Johnston soon followed. The Confederate forces in Florida began to surrender at Tallahassee on May 10th. Twenty days later the Stars and Stripes replaced the Stars and Bars over Florida's capitol.

Any devoted student of history who has read this chapter on Florida's Contribution to the Cause of the Confederacy will have become aware that this is but a mere outline of the full story of Florida's part in the conflict between the Federal Government and the Confederacy. In fact, most histories are but outlines.

The reader who might be displeased with omissions in this chapter will find it profitable to study the individual East Coast County histories and, as guides to the further study of this period and the chapter notes, references and bibliographies listed in this work. The chapter notes have been included especially for inclusion of new and old materials not included in the context.

CHAPTER XIII

POST WAR RECONSTRUCTION

By Dr. E. C. Nance

Plight of the Confederate Veteran

NO PERIOD OF North American history presents a more pathetic picture of desolation and despair than the first decade in the South following the end of the Civil War. The social, spiritual and economic conditions which existed in the early years of the reconstruction period challenge the most gifted writer.

The defeated, war-weary and battle-scarred veterans of the Confederate armed forces returned to their villages and homes to receive a further shock to their already broken spirits when, in most cases, in whichever direction they looked they saw only demoralization, destitution and destruction, the bitter fruits of "the lost cause".

Physical Destruction

The physical destruction horrified most of the veterans even though they had been partially prepared for what they found by hearsay, letters from home and inadequate press notices. The heavyhand of destruction had favored neither humble cabin nor elegant mansion. Shell and fire had wrecked or completely destroyed both when such destruction served the purpose of the ever-advancing northern armies. Many bridges, railroad tracks, mills, stores, public buildings, including some school houses and churches, hospitals, shops, transportation terminals, docks, warehouses, barns, homes, farmhouses and other Confederate facilities, had been plundered or destroyed by fire or cannon.

The veterans of the Confederate armies had none of the compensations and advantages so familiar to the veterans of later wars in which our country has been involved. There were no "mustering-out pay" checks, no "G. I. Bill of Rights", no unemployment compensation. There were no special privileges awaiting them. There were no industry, business, jobs, or money: only confusion, poverty and a general sickness of soul and body to greet them from Virginia to Texas. Confederate money was hardly worth the paper and ink with which it was made. The pristine glory of the erstwhile proud and prosperous South had "gone with the wind." There was only the "good earth" left, with few men and a few tools and animals with which to cultivate it.

The returning Confederate veteran soon learned that the war had changed everything but the seasons, the tides and the law of gravitation. There were still birds in the skies, fish in the streams. They were the same. But even the women left behind had changed. They were older and the marks of the long years of anxiety and hardships were revealed in their faces, eyes and hands. In many cases, they found only a humble grave marker to remind them of a friend or relative who slept in bosom of the earth. Former sweethearts had grown weary of waiting and married; close friends had disappeared as, in some cases, had entire communities. Dogs and other animals loved by the veteran had grown old and died or been consumed by the war. Buildings that had been spared were in bad repair or beyond repair. In some instances the weeds and vines had grown as tall as the buildings. Even some familiar landmarks were no longer to be found.

The Florida Confederate veteran who had faced the bravest and best North-

ern soldier without flinching, and who had endured hunger, pain and aching fatigue on many fields of battle, had now to face foes he had never expected to meet: desolation, lonely despair and uncertainty. He had also the dark memory of the fact that from three to five thousand of his fellow troopers from Florida, many of whom he might have known, now slept in soldiers' graves all over the south, and that others could not return for a long time until they were released from Northern hospitals and prisons. His uniform was tattered and torn, and likely to have been made of some coarse home-made material. Even if he had had a few dollars in his pocket, civilian clothes were probably not available. The war had consumed practically everything. What was left could only be purchased at outrageous prices.

To be sure, a few officers had been allowed to keep their horses, if they had had horses. But I have been writing of the soldier in the ranks who bears the brunt of all wars. Only a few men in this category were fortunate enough to escape such circumstances as I have tried to describe.

There were many Confederate veterans among the approximately 400,000 who had volunteered or been "called" into the Confederate armed forces who returned, with a few exceptions, without physical wounds. As in every war some had served in medical, military police, or supply units, all essential to the successful operation of the military establishment; and many of these had not known the actual horrors of facing the armed enemy. Some veterans in this category had seen the bloody results of the war on all fronts, and some of these non-combatant and limited-service men had experienced the hazards of ambush, shell fire, the ever-present sniper, and the behind-the-lines raiders. Even among these classifications there had been some casualties by disease and the Federal's guns.

Only a small percentage of the disaffected men in the Confederacy had actually deserted to the Northern forces, or returned to their homes, or hidden out until the war was over; but even a small percentage of 400,000 can be considerable, and on both the Southern and Northern sides there had been thousands of deserters. Some of these had been caught and shot and some had been imprisoned. But the deserters were not the only disaffected Confederate troops. Thousands who had lost faith "in the cause of the South", or their belief that the South could win the war, stood by their guns through the last battle of the war, but Northern propaganda had delivered severe blows to the morale of many Confederate officers and men. This condition had been especially obvious toward the end of the war. It had caused considerable alarm on the part of Southern leaders, including General Lee. Even before the war started there were many men who doubted the wisdom of taking up arms against the North in spite of their grievances against the Federal Government. Regardless of the militant spirit which prevailed in the South before the war there were many who believed in the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill"; especially a blood brother. And in spite of the Southern propaganda that the Northern people were in character and manners just a little better than the devil, himself, many of the Confederate veterans had had some close-up views of the Yankee soldiers, wounded and bleeding on the field of battle or in a hospital, or languishing in a Confederate prison camp, and they had discovered that they were human beings just like themselves, except, perchance, a little better clothed and fed. The Yankee soldiers, like themselves, were fighting for a cause they believed to be right. Few of the Uunion soldiers hated the rebel as a man. They were fighting him because he was on the other side of a long debated argument between his leaders and the rebel's leaders on the question of the extension and preservation of slavery and the breaking up of the Union of the Northern and Southern states. Obviously the dirtiest and most dangerous battles of the war had not been fought by the Northern bankers, journalists, politicians, manufacturers and industrialists on the Union side; nor by Southern landowners, plantation kings, slave owners and politicians on the Confederate

side. With very few exceptions, (and there are always exceptions) in this or any war before or since the Civil War the majority of the men in these categories stay at home and beat the drums, wave the flags, play the stock market, seek government posts, make investments in the supplies and equipment needed by the government for warfare, make speeches, write editorials and articles, dedicate memorials to the dead and preach sermons on the moral justice of the cause for which the *younger* men are fighting and dying. There would be no wars if the creators and managers of wars had to fight them; and, of course, older men could not stand the uncomfortable living conditions of war.

The rank and file Confederate veteran, like the common soldier in most wars, was probably not fully aware, during the war, of the scandalous graft and other infractions of the law that took place on the home front while he was fighting for an ideal. His knowledge on these matters was improved or brought up-to-date when he returned from the battlefronts. He had seen or heard of some of this graft while he was still in the Confederate armies. The Confederate Army commissary had been noted for graft and corruption in many outfits. Henry Steel Commager, in his book, "The Blue and the Gray", published by Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1950, quoted from William Watson's "Life in the Confederate Army" on this subject:

"The Army was furnished, through the quartermaster's department, with quarters, houses or tents, camp equipage, arms, ammunition, accoutrements and clothing, and all means of transport. These the department obtained from contractors, and the shocking quality of these materials furnished showed corruption to a great extent . . . . on the average from every requisition of rations said to have been issued to the troops, the commissary took off one-third and sold it, putting the proceeds in his pocket."

"Disgraceful" is the word used by Watson in describing the system pursued by the Confederate commissaries, which included cheating the soldiers of beef, coffee, sugar, pork, bacon, flour and even clothing and shoes.

The Confederate soldier was paid considerably less than the sixteen dollars per month paid to the Union private. The depreciation of Confederate currency made his pay still lower. He paid for his laundry, or did it himself. If he got any more to eat than the conservative food ration allowed him he paid for it out of his own pocket. He bought his own stove and other luxuries that were available, such as cheese, fruit, tobacco and liquor from the sutler of his unit, or from civilians. He couldn't have made large purchases because everything was scarce and high. John Dooley, a Confederate soldier, in his War Journal, edited by Joseph J. Durkin, S. J., Professor of History, Georgetown University, listed the following prices which prevailed: "A pair of shoes, $350; good boots from $800 to $1,500 a pair. A pound of candy $1,700; an apple of good size, $4.00; hats from $150 to $700 a piece; a whisky straight, $5.00, a mixed drink $10.00. Flour from $1000 to $1,500 per barrel. Tobacco $20 to $25 a plug."

It has been repeatedly asserted that the Civil War soldier on both sides griped more than any soldier before or since. But he had more reasons to gripe. The hospitals and prisons on both sides were terrible; the food and clothing were the worst of any armies of that time. Many of the men lacked confidence in their officers. Approximately as many died of wounds and disease as from bullets on the battlefield. For the most part we were an undisciplined nation at that time and this was reflected in the soldiers on both sides. General Lee reported to Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, that for the month of March, 1864, there were 5,474 men absent without leave and 322 desertions. Neither side had been prepared for war. So, then, we should not be surprised to read of bounty jumping, skulking and straggling to avoid the hardships of battle. Men were not only sick in their bodies but in their minds. The long, hard

fought war had driven many men on both sides to desperation and, in many cases, to depravity or self-destruction.

Toward the end of the Civil War and near the end of his War Journal, the Confederate Captain John Dooley chides the Southern people for blaming their President, Jefferson Davis, for the defeat of the Confederate armies and the loss of the Southern cause. Said Dooley:

"Oh, it is a bitter draught and will torture our proud natures with the most excruciating agony, if it spares vitality itself. All the people blame Mr. Davis for their woes and humiliations. Let them remember that his measures were taken for the best. He did all he could, and if he failed it was not only owing to his own errors and those of his cabinet, but the chief cause of the failures rests with the people . . . The Southern people have been false to their country. Had Mr. Davis received the support of the Southern people as Mr Lincoln did that of the North, our armies would still hold a proud and defiant attitude in the field and our government would stand upon a firm footing."

Captain Dooley was convinced that the "angry complaints and dissatisfaction of many Southern women at home caused numberless desertions from the army".

Now, of course, Captain Dooley, of a Southern pioneer family of Richmond, Virginia, expresses one man's opinions about his fellow soldiers and fellow citizens of the South. He had enlisted in the Confederate Army in 1862, and from this date to 1863 he had written notes day-by-day on his experiences. He spent two years in the Federal prison on Johnson's Island, and was on his way back to Richmond when the above observations were written. All of his evaluations of the war and the conditions of his time are verified by similar observations of others who have written of this period.

Lest some of my readers think these negative aspects of the Confederacy are recorded here because the writer is a Yankee, I hasten to record the fact that I was born and have lived in the South most of my life, and that one of my grandfathers and several great uncles served in the Confederate forces. I would also record here that the most unfavorable things that could be recorded about the Confederate soldiers could be duplicated in any accurate record of the Union soldiers. There were brave and good men on both sides who remained brave and good until the end. And there were graft, corruption and brutality on both sides. For every example of the depraved nature of men on either side there were hundreds of examples of the very highest type of manhood.

The above records of the shocking conditions in the civil and military life of the Confederacy are written here merely to suggest that these conditions must have deeply affected the physical and mental condition, and the spiritual outlook, of the Confederate veteran when he returned to his home in Florida at the close of the war. Not only communities and states needed to be "reconstructed," but people also. The entire world had come to an end for most of the veterans of the Confederacy.

Though many of the Confederate veterans might have been disillusioned with their leaders and grieved and angry that their armies had been defeated, they also had to bear the burden of a great accumulation of hatred toward the North. It is difficult for a man sick with resentment and animosity to think straight or logically. Such a religious man as Captain Dooley, who later became a Catholic priest, could not easily forget or forgive. Though he had unkind things to say about his own beloved South he made this entry in his journal as he approached Richmond:

"Along the roads we pass many negroes deserting their masters and going to Danville to search for those blessings so liberally promised them by Uncle Abraham and the whining hypocrites of New England."

The last entry in Dooley's journal, was written May 6, 1865, when he had arrived in his home town of Richmond:

"I shall not attempt to describe my feelings. The city in ruins and the *hated* and

triumphant army of our *malignant* foes marching through the ruined city. With a raging headache and a swelling heart I reach my home, and here the curtain falls."

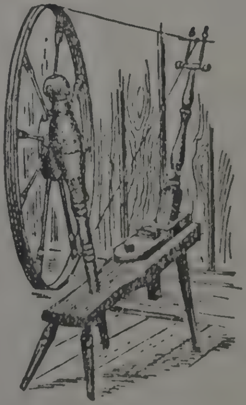
New Status of the Negro

The new status of the Negro puzzled the erstwhile slave and his former master. A new relationship between the two had been established but neither race was prepared for the radical change. As Booker T. Washington, a great Negro leader of the latter part of the nineteenth century has emphasized, the Negro had not been prepared for intelligent and reliable citizenship. He had never participated in local or national politics. No one had bothered to educate him in such matters. Few of his race could either read or write, and the public assemblies of the white man, with few exceptions, were closed to him. Even the few Negroes who could read had little time for such luxury. They had to depend on their ministers or their masters for such information as they received. When they were not tilling the soil of their masters they were attending their own little gardens allotted to them, or seeking a little recreation in fishing, trapping or hunting.

Freeing the slaves created many economic problems for the Negro and white populations. As a slave the Negro had food to eat, shelter, clothing and medical attention. His master provided these basic necessities of life for him. When he was emancipated he had to fend for himself and, for a long time this was not easy for him.

The Federal Government attempted to solve some of the problems of the freedmen by establishing the Bureau of Refuges, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. The Bureau's scope of services included aid for impoverished white people also. Schools were established, medical aid, legal and economic assistance were made available to Negro and white alike. Most of the officials of the Bureau, commissioners, civil agents, military agents and assistants were from the North. In one year—1865-1866, the Bureau handed out nearly 100,000 rations to white and negro families in Florida. In 1867, approximately 1000 Negroes and 500 whites were charges of the Bureau for half of this year. The Bureau provided a hospital near Jacksonville, with a staff of doctors and nurses; an orphanage for Negro children was established at Fernandina; several pest houses were maintained and vaccinations were administered against small-pox which was widespread among the Negro population during 1865-66. Branches of the National Freedmen's Savings Banks were opened at Jacksonville and Tallahassee and made loans against real estate and cotton and lumber. This was a boon to the small farmers and merchants for about eight years, when both banks failed and twenty-three hundred depositors of both races lost $70,000, a great sum of money for those days.

Negroes began to hire themselves out on contract and the Bureau rendered great service to them and their employers in seeing that contracts were adhered to by both parties and that fair working hours and fair wages were established. Shortly after the end of the war farm hands received board, shelter and between twenty-five to thirty dollars per month. Some contracts for other types of labor included a food ration, plus a wage averaging anywhere from fifty cents to a dollar per day. Under some agricultural and farming contracts where units or groups of several men were employed the group received and divided among themselves a third of the crop harvested. There were deductions from the Negroes' share, including a poll tax of three dollars and other items which sometimes almost consumed their total share of the crop. Frequently mill hands and farm laborers were hired by the day. When the group system was used there was often argument and disagreement with the leader who had formed and hired out the services of the group. There was also a family group plan of employment, man, wife and children, still used today among itinerant and local farm laborers in the South, and in the West and Northwest.



There were complaints among lumber mill operators and other employers of the

times that some of the Negroes were not worth a dollar per day; and others complained of some Negroes who were irregular and undependable. They would work a few days and lay up a small supply of food, and loaf or fish or drink until necessity forced them to seek a job.

Some of the Negroes rented land to farm, and a few thrifty ones bought land which they had once farmed as slaves.

A short time after the Negroes were freed some of the husbands left their legal or common law wives. This created a problem for the Bureau. In some cases a man would leave his wife and several children to fend for themselves. In other cases, it was the wife who struck out for total freedom. A few years later a law was enacted to require all Negroes who had lived together as man and wife under the pre-war common law to have a ceremony and be legally registered as man and wife.

Contests for Political Power and Privilege

The wealthy planter and his social, political and economic influence had disappeared from many sections of the South. All government agencies, state and local, bogged down in disorder and bewilderment. Men of different political persuasions were warming up to establish themselves in the new order of things, or to acquire an influence in the new order which they had unsuccessfully bid for under the old order. The opportunist as well as the dedicated public servant was mentally evaluating the situation and preparing himself for "a mandate of the people." The ambitious politicians, both good and bad, were soon beating the drums for a following. There were transitions over party lines, all kinds of deals, sectional contests, interparty battles, charges and countercharges and rough and rowdy campaigning.

Governor John Milton had not completely agreed with all of the Confederate policies, some of which burdened his heart, although he had been a loyal and efficient Governor throughout the War, and there had never been any question about his loyalty to Jefferson Davis. Even before his inauguration he had indicated to close friends that he would assume the duties of Governor "with a heavy heart." He had been in office only a few weeks when he was confronted with spiteful opposition from the radical members of the Democratic party who had been loyal to former Governor Perry. Many of his recommendations to the legislature were neglected or voted down. These legislators had tried to reduce his executive power and frustrate him in the performance of his duties. In the convention of 1862 the radical Democrats and Constitutional Unionists joined forces and abolished the State Militia, appointed an executive council to advise the Governor and repealed anti-monopoly laws.

Governor Milton had to deal with difficult financial problems of the State; tax problems, the Confederate Impressment Act of 1863, the railroad problem, abuses of the Impressment Act, speculation in foods and Confederate monies, graft, blockade running enterprises, inflation, conscription, draft dodgers and the raising of money and materials for the war effort. Though the Governor had been called "as noble a patriot as ever lived," he was not able to please everyone.

Governor Milton finally broke under his heavy burdens and eight days before General Lee's surrender, on April 1, 1865, the weary and lonely Governor hanged himself on his beautiful plantation in Jackson County.

A. K. Allison was president of the state senate when Governor Milton passed on, and immediately assumed the governorship. When General Lee surrendered Allison appointed commissioners to go to Washington and learn from President Andrew Johnson what the status of Florida was in the Union. The commissioners appointed were J. G. L. Baker, E. C. Love, M. D. Papy, J. W. Baker and D. L. Yulee. A special session of the legislature was called for May 13, 1865, and an election was to be held on June 7th. General Edward M. McCook, on behalf of the Federal Government, refused to recognize Allison as Governor and informed

him that his newly appointed commissioners should remain in Florida and the convention should be cancelled. Within a period of ten days Florida was under marital law and General Quincy A. Gilmore, Commanding General of the Department of Florida, Georgia and South Carolina, had pronounced the governors of these three states guilty of treason against the United States. The acts of these governors were proclaimed null and void. Local officials were requested to continue in their offices. By the middle of June, Negro and white garrisons had been established in the State. Confederate supplies and some private property was seized by Federal forces for taxes, sold and, in most cases, the money was retained by the agents. Communication and transportation facilities were restored and put into operation.

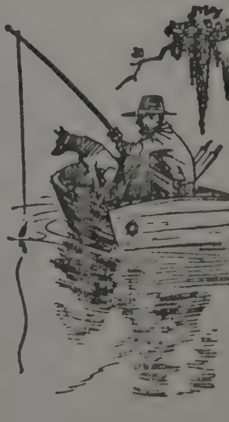
The Negro Is Drawn Into Politics

Until the white man, particularly the Northern white man, began agitating the emancipated Negroes they caused little concern in Florida. When they were freed they were happy but, with few exceptions, they were not offensive. They conducted themselves better than it had been expected they would. A large majority of them remained to work on the same plantations where they had worked for their masters, but under a different relationship and for a wage. The military leaders of the occupation urged the ex-slaves to work for the planters whose crops needed cultivation and harvesting, but under the Black Codes and the Freedmens' Bureau rules and regulations. The Federal Government instructed the military officials to explain to the freedmen their new advantages, opportunities, rights, and responsibilities. The freedmen were advised to appoint overseers from their own group to enforce discipline. They were to take some of their more difficult problems to the local provost marshal who soon became their guardian.

In the North, however, the conviction prevailed among some of the citizens and leaders that the Southern leaders and laymen were neither prepared nor willing to promote the best interests of the Negro people. They professed the belief that the Southerners would be reasonably decent to the colored people as long as Florida was occupied by Federal troops, but would enslave the Negro, one way or another, as soon as the occupation ended. Of course, Southern leaders denied any such intentions. The war was over. They had lost their cause and they intended to abide by the law of the land, so they contended. This was generally true, but as we shall presently see, many of the white people did not desire to grant the colored people all the rights which the Northern Congressmen proposed for them.

By the middle of June 1865, the military occupation of Florida was well under way and marital law prevailed. A little later, A. K. Allison was arrested and imprisoned as were the commissioners appointed by him. We may be sure that this move on the part of the Federal Government was not approved by the people who were devoted to Allison's party and his friends. Allison had had no thought of treason when he assumed the office of Governor and appointed commissioners to visit President Johnson to discover what Florida's status was under the new order. Both Allison and his commissioners had reason to believe that Andrew Johnson, in opposition to the vindictive reconstructionists in Congress, would follow the conciliatory course initiated by Lincoln who did not approve measures of radical reconstruction intended to punish and subdue the Southern rebels.

Lincoln's policy had included the recognition of provisional governments in the rebel states when they had repudiated the ordinance of secession previous to the end of the war, as in the case of Virginia whose western counties had repudiated the secession ordinance as early as 1862 and entered the Union as West Virginia in 1863, although this policy had been opposed in Congress by a strong minority. In contrast to the western counties of Virginia, Florida had stayed in the Confederacy until the last shot was fired, but Allison naturally assumed that a provisional gov-



ernment would have been appropriate until the Federal Government issued plans for Florida's future.

Lincoln had also pursued a restoration-reconstruction policy of executive action in the seceded states which had come under Federal control before the end of the war. In Tennessee, for example, the Union Democrat and Senator from that state, Andrew Johnson, was appointed military governor and the restoration of civil administration began soon thereafter with an election of state officials in March 1864. Two thirds of the county officials had also been elected at that time. The following year, in the Tennessee State Convention, amendments were drawn to repeal the ordinance of secession and abolish slavery. These amendments were made a part of the state constitution by popular vote, thirty days later.

In 1862 a part of Louisiana was under Federal control and had elected congressmen in December of that year and the congressmen were seated in the House. But Thaddeus Stevens, a Pennsylvania Congressman and Senator Charles Sumner organized opposition to Lincoln's reconstruction policy. Their argument was that these seceding states had repudiated the Constitution and the Federal Government when they seceded from the Union, and it was not for them to decide when, how or whether they should come back into the Union. This congressional opposition was set back by Lincoln's Proclamation of 1863 in which he set forth his policy of amnesty to the States which had seceded from the Union, and what would be required of them before they could be re-established as member states of the Union. On the renewal of their oath of allegiance to the Federal Government rebels would be pardoned and all their property rights, except the slaves of former Confederates, would be restored. There were some exceptions: civil appointees and military personnel who had resigned or left the Federal Government to serve the Confederacy, and officials of the Confederacy were required to take a loyalty oath.

Lincoln said he favored a "loyal" vote equal to ten percent of the vote cast in the 1860 general election, in the seceded states, before the electors of these states could organize a new state government. The representatives of such state governments could be seated in Congress only with the approval of Congress. There were many people in the North and South who considered Mr. Lincoln's executive reconstruction policy liberal and fair, but there was strong opposition to his policy in Congress which resulted in the enactment sponsored by Congressmen Wade and Davis which would have given Congress the right to decide the matter. The Wade-Davis bill required that a majority, not just ten percent, of the people should take the amnesty oath before a state government might be re-established. The bill also included Steven's belief that ten per cent of the ex-rebels could cause considerable trouble and possibly govern the Southern states. The ten percent would be the most determined, the most loyal and would therefore control the other ninety percent. The veto of this bill by President Lincoln was his final victory and the final checkmate to the sponsors of a more radical and severe reconstruction policy. President Lincoln's opponents believed his successor would turn his influence to their objectives, but Andrew Johnson followed Lincoln's policies and appointed provisional governors in all the erstwhile seceded states, and constitutional conventions in these states repealed their secession ordinances, abolished slavery and repudiated the rebel debt. In the Southern elections which followed Confederates won the majority of the offices but their attitudes and temperaments were so unacceptable to Congress that not one was seated. Their attempt to revive the Southern State militia and the established "Black Codes" were reprehensible to the Congressmen from other states.

During the winter of 1865-1866 Congressman Stevens of Pennsylvania came back into the reconstruction picture. He succeeded in getting a joint Senate-House committee of fifteen appointed to examine the question of seating the former Confederates who had been elected in their respective states. The answer to the question was to be decided after the committee conducted an inquiry on the condition of

the states which had elected them to office. This caused political bickering for the following ten years or so—and the initiation of this committee's activities marked the end of moderate reconstruction in Florida and the other Southern states.

Florida's Reconstruction Plan

Florida's reconstruction plan began on July 13, 1865, when President Johnson appointed Judge William Marvin of Key West as provisional governor of Florida.

Judge Marvin was a man of no mean ability. He had been in sympathy with the Southern cause; had represented Monroe County at the St. Joseph's Convention in 1838; had served on the Federal bench at Key West for twenty-four years and had retired in 1863.

Governor Marvin arrived in Tallahassee in August and without delay began organizing a state government that would be loyal to the Federal Government.

Two of Governor Marvin's first acts was to order the return of all Federal property which had been confiscated by the Confederate Government, and to stop the sale of property taken over by Treasury agents. He worked harmoniously with General John G. Foster, the Federal Commander of the Military Department of Florida. He announced an election of delegates for a constitutional convention to be held on October 10, 1865. All who were to take part in this convention or serve as delegates, if they had been former Confederate officials, etc., were required to meet the requirements set forth in Lincoln's Proclamation of 1863, "procure a pardon from the President acting upon the provisional governor's recommendations."

Many prominent secessionists were anxious to regain their franchise in order to be qualified to seek a place in the new government. Among the first to seek pardons were Generals Joseph Finegan and J. J. Finegan, A. K. Allison, D. L. Yulee and S. R. Mallory. Thousands of Floridians regained their franchise by taking the amnesty oath. By the 10th of October nearly nine thousand had been enfranchised.

Governor Marvin spent the two months before the election on speech-making tours throughout the state. He addressed freedmen and former planters and citizens in other walks of life. He advocated the repudiation of the state's Confederate war debt; exhorted the former slave owners to recognize the Negro's new status; the annulment of the secession ordinance; the acknowledgement of the end of slavery and the new legal status of the colored people in the courts of the state. He cautioned the freedmen against laziness and petulant conduct and advised them to work under written contracts with the planters, and to abide by their new marriage contracts. He emphasized that the Southern white man was still the Negro's best friend. He emphasized the Negro's new social obligations and encouraged industry. He exploded the rumor that all freedmen were to receive from the Federal government a mule and forty acres of land.

On October 10, there were 6,707 votes cast in the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention. Many who were elected were former Confederates.

When the Convention convened, October 25th to November 7, all measures that Governor Marvin had recommended were included in the revised constitution. The new constitution asserted that "Circumstances and politics" was all that changed the attitude of the former masters toward the ex-slaves. It also indicated that the North was interested in changing the ex-slave's political fortunes only in the South. The poor Negro soon found himself in the middle of a long and bitter fight between the Northern and Southern politicians.

Resolutions were approved at this convention on behalf of the imprisoned Jefferson Davis and the prominent Floridians who had been imprisoned, including Allison, Yulee and Mallory. The governor was requested to have all Negro troops removed from the state "to preserve the peace." The convention went on record against the Negro's right of franchise.

When the convention adjourned Governor Marvin re-instated all officers who

held office when civil law had been supplanted by martial law. This order did not abrogate military authority in cases of severe crimes. The Federal military authority in Florida was still a force for law and order.

The Convention set November 29, 1865, as the date for election of county and state officers under the new constitution. About 4,000 voted in this election. An ex-slave holder and Whig, David S. Walker, was the unopposed candidate for Governor. He was inaugurated on December 20, 1865. He had opposed secession but in his thinking he represented the viewpoint of the old time Southern planter and politician. An attorney by profession, he had been representative, senator, registrar of public lands, Superintendent of Public Instruction and Judge of the Supreme Court.

Ex-Confederates continued their control of Florida's government. Governor Walker and the majority of the legislators stoutly opposed the Negro's right to vote or have any voice in government. Most of the civil rights granted to the freedmen by the convention called under Governor Marvin, and stipulated in the new Constitution, were supplemented by statutory enactments. The slave codes of former centuries were now translated and changed into the "Black Code" which included laws to regulate the life of the Negro in the so-called new order. These acts included "double standards of crime and punishment" under which the Negro could be flogged or subjected to the pillory. Forced labor and bond were prescribed for vagrancy. Neither the Negro nor the Northern white people were happy about the "Black Codes." While Florida was not the only Southern state to pass such "double-standard" laws the Northern Congressmen were furious. The so-called "radicals" pointed out, and correctly this writer believes, that the South had accepted the abolition of slavery in name only. The conservative Southern leaders answered this charge by claiming the new regulatory laws were for their protection against predicted Negro crimes which they were convinced would follow the abolition of slavery. Congress refused to seat William Marvin and Wilkinson Call, U. S. Senators of Florida, because Stevens and Sumner opposed them on the basis that Florida's government remained "un-reconstructed."

Congress was greatly disturbed about Florida's "un-reconstructed attitudes," and those of the other Southern states. The so-called "radicals" in Congress answered the "Black Code" of the South with the passage of the Civil Rights Bill, the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, on April 9, 1866. The bill was passed over the veto of President Johnson, which indicates the strong convictions of Northern Congressmen that the South was un-reconstructed. From what we have already learned of Governor Walker's attitudes, and those of the legislators under him, we are not surprised that Walker sent this Bill of Rights to the state legislature with the strongest possible recommendation that it be defeated. The amendment, which would have disfranchised most of the legislators, was angrily rejected. The amendment received the same treatment in all the other old Confederate states except Tennessee, Maryland and Delaware.

Why this wide-spread and angry rejection of the Civil Rights Bill? What was in it that was so offensive to the Southern States, and why is Civil Rights still a bone of political contention in the South? The provisions of the bill included:

1. Citizenship for every person born or naturalized in the United States.

2. All states depriving the Negro of his right to vote were to suffer a reduction of representation in Congress.

3. All ex-Confederates were to be barred from holding state or national offices if they had held similar posts before the Civil War.

4. The Confederate debt was repudiated and the validity of the United States debt affirmed.

The Civil Rights Bill might have fared better in the legislatures of the Southern states had it not proposed a franchise for the ex-slaves and other Negroes.

At this great distance from the strange and unusual circumstances of that period,

it is difficult for most moderns to get a proper perspective of the people and the times. Both races have advanced greatly since those far away times of nearly a hundred years ago. Our economic situation is different and our social outlook has improved. The blood of the white and black races has been mingled in several wars for common survival, and the Negro race has worked for and with the white man to build a great democracy which has endowed both races with benefits and blessings unknown and even unheard of by citizens of many other countries.

One need neither be a "radical," nor a "communist"; an Afrophile nor an unloyal American to recognize that the present Afro-American in many sections of our country has not received, even in our day, all the rights to which he is entitled under the democracy which he, with his fellow white citizen, has helped to build and fought to defend. The Negro has often been deceived by both major political parties, and even by some members of his own race, but he has grown in wisdom and is more alert to his short-comings and to his opportunities for advancement. Some members of his race have distinguished themselves in all the major professions and the arts and sciences, including our national government and the United Nations. The Negro, like the white man, discovers that ambition and industry bring rewards and that each is subject to the same laws of God, nature, and economics. Given equal advantages and equal opportunities, the Negro who is also equally as materialistic and ambitious as the white man will equal the white man's achievements. It is probably a fortunate thing for the Negro, himself, that he is not as materialistic as the white man, nor as ambitious. On the whole he is doubtless happier. But society and the Negro race particularly, loses the general up-grading that would come with his accelerated ambition and education.

But now to return to the white man's fear of the Negro vote in the period of reconstruction. We must not be too quick to judge the white man of that day by the standards of our times. Nor should we neglect the status of the white man's stage of advancement in that day, nor the nature of his economics, nor the content of his secular and spiritual education, nor the stock from which he came. He had come, for the most part, from a hardy, brave and good stock; from the kind of pioneering people who felled the forests, fought the Indians and established a prosperous (for those times) way of life in a wilderness. Right or wrong, he judged himself better and wiser than the poor slave who tilled his soil. His manner of life had been generally approved for generations. He didn't hate the Negro either when he was his slave or after he had been emancipated. But he did hate the Yankee politician who sought to destroy his way of life, just as we in our day despise the local or foreign radical who would destroy our way of life. In fairness to the people of the South, we should observe here that the reforms forced upon them by the Northern politicians were sudden and drastic; especially so soon after such a humiliating and destructive defeat. The vindictiveness and hatred of this period were the result of a disastrous conflict of human emotions and convictions that might very well have been avoided had there been more reasonable and cool-headed leaders on both sides. While at this point in history most Americans of the South and North are thankful that slavery was abolished, we still regret that to achieve this humane mission we had to engage in a "brothers war." The War Between the North and South was one of the great tragedies of history which also turned out to be one of the greatest blessings.

The statistics could not have changed greatly in ten years, except that there were fewer white men, due to the losses in the war, but in 1855, the J. H. Colton Company of New York published a most interesting map to which I have already referred in a previous chapter, on the back of which was statistical information indicating that in some counties the Negro population was almost equal to the white or surpassed it. In Madison County, for example, the whites out-numbered the Negro slaves by slightly over one hundred. In Leon County which had the largest population (11,442) of the twenty-eight counties of that period, approximately

two thirds (8,259) were Negroes. In Jefferson County more than half of the population were Negroes. The same was true of Gadsden, Calhoun and Nassau counties.

Nor should we overlook the economic side of the white man's aversion to the freedmen. Percentage-wise the great landlord and/or plantation owner did not include the majority of the population of that period. He was not the only man in the community who was handicapped by the emancipation of the Negro. There was a laboring class of white men who worked on farms, the railroads, the county roads, in shops and mills and for the state and county governments. The freedmen would be available for many of the jobs on which the white man had held an unwritten monopoly. So very suddenly, throughout the South, a third of the population (ex-slaves), plus an ever increasing number of whites moving from the North before and after the war, posed a considerable economic problem for the native population who had suffered just about all the devastation and hardship that a war of that period could bring upon a people anywhere in the world.

As we shall see later, there was reason to the white man's fear of the potential political power of the colored people of Florida. The Democrats correctly believed that the majority of the colored people would favor the Republicans under whom they had been emancipated. Under Northern influence the Negroes were already restless and they were beginning to organize and to think politically.

Radical Reconstruction Intensified Under Republicans

WE NOW ENTER a new and radically different phase of the reconstruction period in Florida.

We have observed that President Lincoln's ambition was to aid the South to a quick recovery by loyal allegiance to the Union. To achieve his purpose provisional governments were set up in Virginia, Tennessee, Louisiana and Arkansas, and he had issued his (1863) Proclamation of Amnesty, the conditions of which we have discussed.

Lincoln was succeeded by Andrew Johnson, a war Democrat who had been elected in 1864 on the Union Republican ticket with Lincoln. Johnson soon set up provisional governments in North Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Texas, Alabama, South Carolina and Florida, and granted pardons to many former Confederates, excepting a few classes, who took an oath to "support, protect and defend the constitution." He had approved and authorized loyal white citizens to draft and ratify new state constitutions and to elect state legislatures. Ordinances of secession were to be repealed, the Confederate debt repudiated and the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery ratified. But in December, 1865, vindictive and rebellious leaders of Congress repudiated the Johnson plan of reconstruction, refused to seat the state senators and representatives elected under his plan, and formed a joint committee to investigate and regulate reconstruction. This hostile opposition to President Johnson's reconstruction plan emerged from the personal dislike of the President on the part of several congressional leaders who believed that he was encroaching on the powers of Congress. But the more significant motivation of this opposition included their desire to promote and protect the interests and rights of the Negroes, including their right to vote. There was also considerable resentment over the return to political power of so many ex-Confederates. And, of course, it should not be overlooked that the Republicans were dedicated to the creation of a Republican party in the South.

The two Federal Bills of 1866 that created the greatest concern in the South was the Freedmen's Bureau Bill and the Civil Rights Bill; particularly the latter.

In the national elections of 1866 the Radical Republicans and President Johnson campaigned for control of Congress and the Republicans won. The Fourteenth Amendment was denounced by President Johnson's friends who also urged a policy of conciliation toward the former slave states. But Congress was not in the mood

to compromise or conciliate. A Military Reconstruction Act was passed in 1867, over President Johnson's veto. Later in the year additional acts were passed outlining administrative routines. In essence this legislation included the appointment of a Major General to command each of five military districts into which the ten unreconstructed states had been divided; Negro and loyal whites were to elect constitutional conventions and enact legislation providing for Negro suffrage. It was required that these state constitutions be approved by Congress. The qualified voters of each state were required to elect legislatures pledged to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. Only the states ratifying this Amendment were qualified to apply for representation in Congress.

The enactment of the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 marked the beginning of the settlement of the big questions which had caused so much political turmoil in the ex-Confederate states and, furthermore, it also indicated the political and economic policies of the federal government.

The "radical Republicans" continued their aggressive policies and shocked the nation by impeaching President Johnson. The following year after their victory at the polls in 1866 they pushed through Congress the "Tenure of Office Act" which prohibited the President from removing office holders in the Federal Government without the approval of the Senate. Then in 1868 President Johnson fell into their trap by dismissing Edwin M. Stanton, his Secretary of War. Immediately after Stanton's dismissal the House of Representatives impeached the President for "high crimes and misdemeanors." But when the President was tried before the Senate in March of 1868 the "radicals" lacked the two-thirds of the votes necessary for a conviction. But, regardless of this defeat, the "radicals" within the Union Republican party continued to promote a severe Southern policy, which caused social and political confusion because the "military reconstruction" soon built a political regime based on the heavy Negro votes. The Negro votes were organized and controlled in many sections of the South by scheming, dishonest and ambitious white men from the North who came South to take advantage of the poverty and confusion which then existed in every Southern state. These white men were called "carpet-baggers," and the few Southern whites who cooperated with them in hopes of gaining financial and political favors by aiding the "radicals" and rascals were called "scalawags." Florida had its heartaches with both elements plus an emerging Union Republican party that began back in 1862, in Jacksonville, during the Federal occupation.

During and after the war many northerners were impressed with the natural resources of Florida, and the opportunities for business and industry. At the end of the war there was a great migration from the North to various sections of Florida. Many of these new residents were honest people seeking to make an honest living in a new country. Some of these new citizens remained and contributed much to the economy and industry of the state. During every war since, many military personnel who were sent here for training have discovered the advantages of living in Florida and have returned to become citizens of the state.

But in the early post-war period of the Civil War the state was not prepared for, nor did the older residents desire some of the slippery and tricky characters who came to Florida. There were too many federal office holders and carpetbaggers among the new arrivals to please the old timers. Most of the federal appointments were made from members of this undesired element. This situation produced interesting political alignments. For example, the old-line Democrats and Whigs joined forces in the conservative party. This party was opposed by the old-line loyal whites (those who had favored the Union), some conservative new-comers and the carpetbaggers.

We have already referred to the beginning of organized Negro groups and societies. We referred to the creation and activities of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, which Bureau operated in all the former slave states

and, with exceptions, rendered a great service to the freedmen and refugees. But the *exceptions* included dishonest political activities by some of its many commissioners and agents which ultimately resulted in its removal. Under the ex-lawyer yankee soldier, Thomas W. Osborn, from New York, the Freedmen's Bureau functioned properly and effectively during its first year in Florida. Even the conservative press of the state commented favorably on his work. Osborn was succeeded by General John G. Foster, who was also the military commander. Some ideas of the social and political trends of 1866 are gleaned from one of General Foster's reports of that year in which he stated that if "protected" the Union army veterans who were coming into the state to mill lumber and make other investments of service and money might secure political control of the state if the military occupation could be extended for one or two years.

Colonel John T. Sprague succeeded General Foster. Sprague believed and so reported that the military occupation had worked to the advantage of the freedman. He advocated protection of the Negroes and reported that they should be enfranchised. There were at that period, October 1, 1867, so Sprague reported, 11,151 white registered voters and 15,441 Negroes.

There were several Negro organizations in this period. It is believed that the Union League might have originated among the northern loyalists during the war. This organization had been established in most sections of the South and it included several other secret societies such as the Heroes of America and the Lincoln Brotherhoods. The freedmen greatly increased the membership. The leadership was white. One of the major purposes was to organize the Negro vote. The Lincoln Brotherhood in Florida was independent. In early 1867 other organizations of freedmen appeared in Florida. The Loyal League was one such very strong organization. This Loyal League and the Lincoln Brotherhood groups held secret meetings and had rituals, drills and parades in many sections of the state. White and Negro organizations from the North, such as Daniel Richards, William M. Saunders (Negro), Liberty Billings and others caused considerable strife between the Negroes and whites. The Negroes were told by the League leaders that League membership was essential to membership in the Republican party. Even the threat of return to slavery was held over their heads as a penalty for veering from the party line.

The white loyalists, including a considerable number of natives, met in Tampa in March 15, 1866, and organized the "Central Committee of the Union Party of the State of Florida." Ossian Hart, a native Floridian, was the leading member of the new party. He was a loyalist throughout the war, having practiced law at Key West. A month after the meeting at Tampa a Republican Club had been organized by Hart in Jacksonville. The first state convention of this Republican party was held July 11, 1868, in Tallahassee. Only eight of the thirty-eight counties of the state were not represented at this convention. Of the 125 delegates approximately half were of the Negro race. There were factions, but T. W. Osborn and O. B. Hart were nominated for permanent chairmen. Hart was defeated after a speech by Liberty Billings against his nomination.

The Conservatives (Democrats, old line Whigs and loyal whites) held a convention September 25, in Tallahassee. Only five counties were represented and several Negroes were chosen as convention officials. But later, Wilkinson Call repudiated his erstwhile stand on Negro suffrage, and stated among his objections to the Republicans' stand on the Negro suffrage. . . . ". . . the white race is and of a right should be the governing power of every state in the Union. . . ."

General Pope ordered the registration of voters which began in the spring of 1867. Voters had to be 21 or over and take the prescribed oath. By October 15, five hundred Negroes had registered and 11,151 whites. Obviously the Republicans left no stone unturned in their search for support. There were many slogans and promises put forth by the Republicans to garner the Negro vote: "Homesteads and equality" and even the suggestion of "inter-marriage." Registration board members

were paid on the basis of the number of people registered. General Pope admitted that the purpose of paying the registers was to enlist the votes of all the freedmen. One objective was obvious: to give the freedmen control of the government so that the Negroes would have the rights promised them. There was even manipulation of the voting districts as a means of achieving these objectives.

The Conservatives fared poorly in their efforts to get out the vote. There was considerable apathy.

In the November election of 1867 the white Conservatives of Florida realized they had lost the suffrage of the Negro, and that the Negro had no intentions of voting with or for them. They, therefore, began immediately a long fight to disfranchise the Negroes.

The radical Republicans controlled the 1868 Convention. Their success was short-lived because the Conservatives withdrew to Monticello and fourteen delegates, all whites drew up a constitution. The radicals, in the meanwhile, had drawn their constitution, and informed General Meade, successor to General Pope, of this fact. The Monticello white delegates slipped back into Tallahassee at midnight in February. They had made a few converts and now had twenty-four delegates. They made an attempt, by some questionable methods, to oust and make null and void the delegates who had remained in Tallahassee. General Meade arrived from Atlanta on February 17th and brought the two separate conventions together and the convention completed the Monticello Constitution for adoption on February 25th, and submitted it for ratification at a general election on May 6-7, 1868.

Although the Conservatives finally held a convention in Quincy on March 31st, with sixteen counties represented, they were destined to failure as far as controlling the government was concerned. With some obviously unavoidable repetition, Ruby Leach Carson more fully evaluates the Post Civil War politics in the following chapter, "From Reconstruction To The Beginning Of The Twentieth Century."

CHAPTER XIV

FROM RECONSTRUCTION TO THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

By Ruby Leach Carson

Constitution of 1868

AFTER THE CLOSE of the War Between the States, unsolved political problems kept Florida's general development at a standstill for fifteen years. Take, for example, that election of 1868. There was no violence during the election, but as the registered negroes far outnumbered the whites, and as those negroes had voted the Republican ticket, the Conservatives had no chance to win. Their candidate for Governor had been Colonel George W. Scott of Leon County. The Republican gubernatorial candidate, Harrison Reed, was elected by a vote of 14,421 to Scott's 7,731.

The Constitution of 1868 was adopted by a vote of 14,561 to 9,511. In this Constitution, the State Legislature was authorized to hold annual sessions sixty days long, with specially called sessions limited to twenty days. The Governor's term remained fixed at four years, and a Lieutenant Governor and president pro tem of the Senate remained in line of succession to the office of Governor. The Governor was authorized to appoint his cabinet subject to confirmation of the Senate, and he and his cabinet were designated a board of commissioners of State institutions. Homestead exemption was first introduced here, and provision made for the Seminoles to be represented in the Legislature.

In their book, "The Government and Administration of Florida," Authors Doyle, Laird and Weiss state that this Constitution "was not completely unpalatable to the people of Florida." They said: "By concentrating powers in the governor the constitution protected members of the white race against a vast electorate out of bondage, even in counties where the latter were in a majority."

The Harrison Reed Impeachments

When Governor Reed was inaugurated on June 8, 1868, he took his oath of office before a Legislature which consisted of sixteen Republicans and eight Democratic Senators, and a lower house composed of thirty-seven Republican and fifteen Democrats. Governor Reed faced impeachment trials twice—in 1868 and 1872; and attempts at bringing impeachments in 1869 and 1870. Not one of these attempts at removal from office by impeachments succeeded.

Some of Reed's troubles started with the election by the Legislature of Thomas W. Osborne to the United States Senate. Reed and Osborne belonged to antagonistic factions in Washington, and an unfriendly feeling, already existing between them, was intensified when Reed as Governor refused to aid Osborne in a "shady" timberland deal. Because of Reed's disinclination to cooperate with Lieutenant-Governor William M. Gleason and others in "undertakings which smacked of outrageous graft" and because Reed had antagonized the Legislators by discouraging their desire for an extra session so they could demand extra pay, Reed's impeachment was demanded.

The quarrels which precipitated Reed's impeachments were strictly within "The Ring", as the carpetbag element in control was called. Reed had come from his native Wisconsin in 1863 to be federal postal agent for Florida, and after five years had found himself in the Governor's chair. He was Florida's first Republican governor, and two were to follow him. Reed found the state treasury empty, but he and his two successors were to leave it sunk under a one million dollar debt.

Charles Dyke, crusading Democratic editor of Tallahassee's Floridian at the time, wrote that Governor Reed's impeachments were "between thieves of power".

"This disgraceful quarrel," wrote Editor Dyke, "growing out of the possession of the offices and privilege as to which faction should be possessed of controlling the Negro vote and the plunder to follow, was quieted only by a decision of the courts ejecting one faction and retaining the other."

Reed's first impeachment included charges of falsehood, incompetency in making State and County appointments, lawlessness in declaring seats in the legislature vacant, embezzlement of State securities, and corruption in disposal of State offices.

During the eighteen days which had elapsed before Reed was sustained by the Supreme Court, Gleason as Lieutenant Governor had declared himself to be Florida's lawful Governor. And while Reed kept Gleason out of the capital by putting a voluntary guard around it, the latter set up so-called executive headquarters in a hotel.

"Were there now two Governors of Florida?" asks Historian William Watson Davis, who added that "the Democrats looked on and smiled."

Once reinstated as Governor, Reed ousted Gleason from office, proving in court that the Dade County man had not been in Florida long enough to have a legal right to the office of Lieutenant Governor.

The second and third impeachment attempts against Governor Reed took place in January, 1869, and again in January, 1870, and both failed because the House refused to impeach. Reed was shown to have received bribes. But bribes were mere routine then, according to John Wallace, Negro historian who wrote "Florida Under Carpetbag Rule". Wallace was an educated Northern Negro who had been brought to Florida by William D. Bloxham to teach the freed Negroes who were living on the Bloxham plantation near Tallahassee. Wallace was honest and, as Leon County's State Senator, he was aware of the plundering and scheming going on, and he wrote about them. For a full account of the 1868-1870 railroad scandal, read Davis, pages 658-663. To understand the scandal which grew out of the issue of bonds to the Jacksonville, Pensacola and Mobile Railroad, it is necessary to go back to the close of the War Between the States. At that time the bankrupt railroads defaulted over $4,000,000 in bonds which were guaranteed by the State Internal Improvement Fund.

When Reed became Governor the State was operating over four hundred miles of railroad at a loss. To rid itself of this burden, the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund sold the railroad bonds during the years 1867, 1868 and 1869. They were largely disposed of at from 30 to 35 cents on the dollar. It was the 1869 sales, however, that brought the greatest disgrace to the Republican regime. The Swepson and Littlefield interests had in 1868 bought the Florida Central Railroad. In 1869 this company had bought the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad which ran between Lake City and Quincy, and also had bought the Tallahassee Railroad, which ran between Tallahassee and St. Marks. The roads were allowed the privilege of paying the State with roads' bonds at their par value. The railroads had bought up these bonds secretly at thirty-five cents on the dollar. In order to get the money to buy these bonds, Swepson had embezzled money from a railway in his home state; and even then he lacked $472,065 of having enough cash or bonds to pay the State the required $1,415,000.

This did not disturb Swepson, however, for he succeeded in getting the State to accept his check and deeding Swepson, Littlefield and Associates the railroads be-

fore it became evident that his check was worthless. W. T. Cash, in his "The Story of Florida" commented as follows on this:

"As if the giving of a bad check in such an amount was not audacious enough, the railway purchasers, after easily securing from the Legislature a charter consolidating the lines they bought, went before the Legislature of 1870 and got a bill passed under the terms of which the Internal Improvement Board was to take the bonds of the railroad company up to $16,000 per mile and in return issue the company bonds guaranteed by the State of Florida. Four million dollars of State bonds were thus received by the railway corporation in exchange for its own securities in a like sum.

"These were sold for seventy cents on the dollar and of the $2,800,000 thus obtained, all but $308,938 was recklessly dissipated. Nearly $2,500,000 was a plain steal, of which Governor Reed was accused of pocketing $223,750.

"The bill making this possible was gotten through the Legislature by the most shameless bribery which has ever occurred in Florida."

Election Fraud of 1870

The election fraud of 1870 brought into focus the ascending political star of a young Leon County planter-statesman, William D. Bloxham. Although cheated out of the victory he won at the polls, Bloxham was destined to become the only man to be elected two times to the governorship of Florida.

The story of the famous fraud starts with that August 31, 1870, when the Democrats, in convention at Tallahassee, nominated Bloxham to the most important office to be filled that year—that of Lieutenant-Governor. His Republican opponent was to be Samuel T. Day.

Bloxham then was not new to politics. In 1861, at the age of 26, and upon his discharge from the Confederate Army for reasons of health, he had won a seat in the State Legislature. In 1868 Bloxham had been named as one of the presidential electors on the Seymour-Blair ticket and with other candidates had stumped the State. It was in this campaign that he had distinguished himself as an orator and a political leader of ability. He was, the Tallahassee Floridian declared, a statesman to whom the masses would go with a rush.

The campaign had developed strength of victorious proportions by November 8, election day. Several days later, unofficial reports from over the State indicated a Democratic victory. Then came gossip and intrigue about Radical Republican plans to have Day counted in as Lieutenant-Governor, and the Radical candidate, Josiah T. Walls counted out as Representative. Walls was Florida's only colored representative in Congress during the Reconstruction Era. Wallace wrote concerning the matter: "The leaders of the ring and such other members as sat in the 'amen corner' at once held a consultation to devise means to sucessfully behead Bloxham, the 'Democratic giant!'"

Thus it became evident to comptroller R. H. Gamble, the one Democratic member of the canvassing board, that Bloxham would be deprived of his victory, even if he had received a majority of the votes cast. The other two members of the canvassing board were Secretary of State Jonathan C. Gibbs, Negro, and Attorney-General Meek. When pressure was put upon these two men by the Radicals to get them to count out Bloxham when they made the canvass, Gibbs "yielded to the tempters" while Meek, although he yielded at first, became wary later and resigned from office, giving a serious illness as his excuse. Governor Reed appointed Sherman Conant in Meek's place.

While waiting for the election returns of the counties not yet heard from, the leaders of the radical ring began gathering in Tallahassee. "Their presence," said Wallace, "was an admonition to the shrewd Bloxham and the veteran editor of the Floridian that some political trick was imminent. Different ones of the ring ap-

proached Governor Reed and indirectly suggested the counting out of Bloxham and Niblack, but he informed them that if Bloxham was elected he ought to be so declared by the Board of Canvassers. The ring gave the Governor to understand that if Bloxham was counted in they would unite with the Democrats to impeach him, Reed, so as to make Bloxham Governor." Although the reports from nine counties had not yet been received by the office of the Secretary of State, he began canvass of the returns.

Having learned that Gibbs and Conant were determined to manage the count so that Day would receive a majority, Bloxham "had his spies on hand". Although the door was locked, Dyke was "standing at the key-hole on the outside waiting for a whisper from Gamble". Returns from Brevard, Columbia, Dade, Manatee, Monroe, Lafayette, Sumter, Suwannee and Taylor were not in yet. When this fact was reported to Dyke as he stood at the key-hole, Bloxham decided to get legal aid in stopping the board's canvass until all returns were recorded. Word was sent at once to Judge P. W. White, the nearest Circuit Judge, who granted an injunction on November 30.

The Radicals, finding themselves outwitted, resorted to further unscrupulous tactics and had Judge White arrested and taken under guard to Jacksonville on the trumped-up charge of having violated, by his injunction, the Federal Enforcement Act of May 31, 1870. "The arrest of Judge White was a weird travesty of justice." The canvassing board now decided to go on with the count, and on December 27, they again met in the office of the Secretary of State.

Gibbs and Conant left Gamble waiting, while they went into the office of the Governor, faked a certificate of the canvass and signed it. Gamble refused to sign, since the board had refused to count returns from nine counties. Those votes alone totaled 2,582, of which 1,630 were for Bloxham and 952 for Day, showing a majority for Bloxham of 678 in those counties alone. The final count of all the counties showed that Bloxham won over Day by 64 votes, since he had received 13,462 to Day's 13,398. Bloxham then laid his case before the Supreme Court in mandamus proceedings to compel the Board of Canvassers to canvass those counties.

The Radicals, meanwhile, gave Day a pretended certificate, and made secret and crafty plans for upsetting the decision of the Supreme Court if it should be in Bloxham's favor. Bloxham's election was finally established by the record in the case, the Supreme Court finding that there had been no canvass conducted legally and that Bloxham had been legally elected.

While the case was before the Supreme Court, the Legislature then in session repealed the act which had created a Board of Canvassers of three State Officers. The Supreme Court, therefore, after argument, said that the proceedings had to be dismissed because the board of canvassers could not be compelled to do what the law did not require of them, "not even to finish what they had commenced". Democrat Silas L. Niblack won his seat in Congress over Walls, but Bloxham, denied the office to which he had been elected, won a moral victory, as the public believed he had polled a majority of the vote cast.

Bloxham was now a really great figure in Florida politics. Resentment over this injustice won him friends and supporters who had previously counted themselves Republican, while members of his own party became more devoted to him than ever.

He was nominated for Governor at the Conservative State Convention in Jacksonville on August 14, 1872. The 104 delegates present included some of the state's most distinguished men. After Aristides Doggett of Duval County placed Bloxham's name in nomination, no other name was mentioned for this office.

Bloxham was defeated in this 1872 campaign. One of the contributing factors to his failure was the weakness of the national Democratic ticket when the Democrats had little chance of electing Horace Greely over so strong an opponent as Grant. Furthermore, rainy weather on election day prevented heavy voting in the

precincts where Bloxham expected to draw his strength. The Republican candidates elected to State and National office that year were: Ossian B. Hart, Governor; Marcellus L. Stearns, Lieutenant Governor; and W. J. Purman and Josiah T. Walls, Congressmen.

Hart, who had been appointed Associate Justice on the Supreme Court by Governor Reed, was 51 years of age and was therefore fourteen years older than Bloxham. Like Bloxham, he was born in Florida and had been a slave holder, but Hart had been a strong Unionist. The Tallahassee Weekly Floridian of March 24, 1874, declared that "socially Governor Hart was much liked for his kindly disposition while his integrity as a man was unquestioned." This was written at the time of his death. Stearns, Lieutenant Governor, completed Governor Hart's term of office, and was the State's last Carpetbag governor. He was a native of Maine.

Among the celebrities who visited Florida during the decade of the seventies were Sidney Lanier, Georgia's poet commissioned in 1875 to write a book on Florida for the Atlantic Coast Line Railway; Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and General Henry S. Sanford, ex-minister to Belgium, who bought land on Lake Monroe about 1875 and founded the city of Sanford.

Negroes in Office

The following is a summary of Negroes who held State Office between 1868 and 1877, and their home counties: In the Constitutional Convention of 1868 as delegates were J. C. Gibbs and son, T. V. Gibbs of Duval and J. T. Walls of Alachua. The elder Gibbs was Secretary of State under Governor Reed and Superintendent of Public Instruction under Governor Hart. In this he replaced Charles Beecher, brother of Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe. Members of the State Senate in 1885 were John E. Proctor of Leon, H. W. Chandler of Marion, E. C. Sammis of Duval and D. C. Martin of Alachua. Chandler and Martin were in the State Senate again in 1887.

Overthrowing Carpetbag Rule

Nearly a decade of failures had not discouraged the leaders of the Conservative Democratic party in their efforts to defeat Radical Republicanism.

They were determined to win in the 1876 gubernatorial race, even if they had to nominate a Northern man in order to appease the old-line Whigs and to attract enough Republican votes to carry the election. In the nomination of a Conservative Democrat recruit from the Northern ranks, the Democrats finally decided to place their hopes for victory.

George F. Drew, lumberman of Ellaville, Florida, was the candidate most generally agreed upon in advance of the Convention at which he would be ultimately nominated.

Before coming to Florida, Drew had lived in Georgia, where he had married and where three of his children were born. His lumber industry in Florida had developed around Ellaville, from which port on the Suwannee River he shipped his product to his customers. Although Drew was known to have been spmpathetic with the Unionists during the War Between the States, he was known also to have supplied the Confederate War Department with bridge timbers.

The two-day State Convention at Quincy began on June 7, 1876, with 190 delegates present from thirty-five of the thirty-nine counties in the State. Upon Bloxham's motion, Drew was nominated for Governor by acclamation, "amid loud and prolonged cheering," according to the Floridian of June 13, 1876.

Drew and Hull clubs were formed. The Monticello Constitution printed the statement that a number of colored men had voluntarily enrolled in the Drew and Hull club there and that they had been welcomed with cheers. Furthermore, the club had adopted resolutions encouraging and pledging protection to every man

who would cut loose from the Radical corps and unite with "the army of progress, reform and good government."

Another article in the Monticello Constitution told of the negro women objecting to their husbands departing from "the decaying carcass of Radicalism"; and reported that these women had, in some cases, threatened their husbands with abandonment. A prominent lawyer of Monticello directed the Constitution to say that the legal fraternity would make no charge for procuring divorces for all men who were turned adrift by their wives for voting a Democratic ticket. The paper itself guaranteed that the Clerk of the Circuit Court, to be appointed by Governor Drew, would make no charge for recording such papers.

The Tallahassee Drew and Hull Club also received colored members. Sixty negroes were present at its June 26 meeting. A Drew and Hull Democratic Reform Club was formed in the Iamonia District of Leon County on July 15.

In the spring of 1875 Governor Stearns called a meeting of the "Ring" in Jacksonville to announce his intention of becoming the Republican candidate to succeed himself as Governor in the 1876 campaign. Stearns eliminated an influential rival, W. W. Hicks, by appointing him State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The Sentinel, the rival of Dyke's paper, was launching attacks against a fellow Radical, Senator S. B. Conover, who was aspiring to the Governorship.

The Republican ranks in Florida continued to be split by factionalism during the campaign of 1876. The nominees of the Republican Convention held in Madison May 31, 1876, were Marcellus L. Stearns, incumbent, for Governor; David Montgomery of Madison County, for Lieutenant-Governor.

One of the Electors on the Republican ticket, Charles H. Pearce, was a negro who had been sent to Florida in 1866 to reorganize and expand the pioneer work of Methodist churches among the negroes. In February of 1868 he had organized an African Methodist Episcopal church of 64 members in Jacksonville; and later that year had gone to Tallahassee, where he had organized a church with 116 charter members. Although he was only a presiding elder, he was always referred to as "Bishop" Pearce. Later when the outcome of the Presidential election was contested, testimony showed that Pearce had been convicted (in the Circuit Court) of bribery and that the case was then pending in the Supreme Court.

November 7, 1876, arrived. "The colored brothers," wrote Wallace, "now following the instructions given them by Stearns through Saunders, began to vote early and often." It was estimated that 500 votes were secured in Leon County alone by this method. Many of the negroes in Leon County voted the Democratic ticket, not because they were forced to do so, but because they were disgusted with Stearns. It was in the later investigations that all the irregularities engaged in, by both sides, came to light. Wallace stated that nine-tenths of the irregularities committed were in Democratic counties, "and were the work of officers appointed by Stearns for that very purpose, and of which he and his managers reaped the benefit."

Although on the face of the returns from this election the Democrats in Florida elected both their State and National tickets, the State victory was destined to be acknowledged only after a bitter struggle. The National victory was to receive acknowledgment only on the printed page of history, after Tilden and Hendricks had been robbed of their victory by partisan rulings and decisions of the Electoral Commission.

As a part of a plan to contest the election, Zachariah Chandler had sent out his famous announcement: "Hayes has 185 electoral votes and is elected." The number of votes necessary for election was 185, since the whole number of electors was 369. Tilden already had 184 electoral votes that were undisputed, so if Hayes were to be elected he would have to find twenty votes to add to his 165 undisputed votes.

It was evident that the only available votes for swinging a victory to Hayes would be the disputed electoral votes. One of these was in Oregon and the other nineteen were those of Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina. In January, 1877,

the Florida Legislature passed a law providing for a new Canvassing Board and for a recanvass of the electoral vote of the State.

When Congress met in Washington for the short session in December of 1876, it set up an Electoral Commission to determine the outcome of the Presidential election. This commission was provided for in a bill which was passed January 29, 1877.

After many days of debate, the Electoral Commission on February 9, 1877, by a strictly party vote decided that the Hayes electors were the ones properly elected. Florida's vote along with that of Louisiana and South Carolina and one disputed vote of Oregon were all counted for Hayes.

It is conceded by historians that a tacit agreement had been made between the two parties: That if the Democrats would not further contest the election of a Republican president, the federal troops would be withdrawn from Florida. Without those troops the Carpetbag government would fall . . . which it did, when the State passed into the hands of its citizens.

So Drew became Governor, the recount ordered by the Supreme Court having shown that he had received 24,179 votes to Stearns' 23,984. The Democrats took over the State government, which included the staggering debts and the impoverished treasury left by the Radicals.

And where did the swindler of the Carpetbag Era go? It was declared, in plantation vernacular, that he . . .

"Laid down his toga on de floah,
Took up de kelter on de go,
Shuffled off de san from de bottom o' his shoe
An gone whar de woodbine grow."

Florida still had a large Republican vote. Moreover, as Historian Cash remarked, "neither Democratic nor Republican party was at this time exactly angelic in its methods."

The Drew Administration

During his years in office, Governor Drew proved his business ability by the attention he gave to state finances. His avowed policy was to spend only what was necessary and to pay bills when made or as soon as possible thereafter. By 1879 the floating indebtness of the State had been reduced from $250,000 to $65,000; and the bonded indebtness had been reduced. In 1877 and 1878 he made an aggregate saving of $180,000 to the taxpayers.

When the Democrats met to select a candidate to succeed Drew in the 1880 State elections, Drew made it known he would like to succeed himself. This came as a surprise to his Secretary of State, William D. Bloxham, who was destined to get the nomination. In later disputes about the matter, Bloxham and Drew each claimed that the other had expressed disinclination to make the gubernatorial race in 1880.

The legislature of 1879 had chosen Wilkinson Call as United States Senator . . . a man who would prove to be an interesting storm center until his defeat in 1897. Call and Bloxham were considered the best orators of the time.

Bloxham's running mate in the 1880 campaign was Livingston W. Bethel, candidate for Lieutenant Governor. Conover was Bloxham's Republican opponent. In the election Bloxham's majority was 5,000; and Democrat candidates to Congress, R. H. M. Davidson and General Jesse J. Finley, likewise tasted success.

Bloxham and Disston

When Bloxham became governor of Florida in January, 1881, only one railroad reached as far South as Orlando. When Bloxham's term ended four years later, 1,000 miles of new railroad had been built. Contrast this to the 537 miles which

were all Florida had possessed up to 1881. Even the Flagler railroad, which was to reach Miami in 1896, began its march down the Florida east coast during the 1880's. The conditions which had prevented normal railroad development in Florida at the close of the War Between the States were not corrected until the Disston land sale of May 30, 1881. And that land sale was the result of Disston's needs resulting from his drainage contract in January of that year.

It was at the January 25, 1881, meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund that a proposition was received from Hamilton Disston of Philadelphia and others associated with him "for the drainage and reclamation of the lands overflowed by the waters of and adjacent to Lake Okeechobee and the Kissimmee River." Disston was the son of Henry Disston, English-born saw manufacturer of Philadelphia. They proposed to effect this drainage by cuts or canals. The trustees approved and drainage plans and operations began. Bloxham had been in office only six days when he "pulled this rabbit" from his hat. But the Disston land sale was to be a bigger and better "rabbit" because it would be more immediate in its effect. The Disston land sale would provide, among other things, enough cash to relieve the State from the pressing indebtedness of the Internal Improvement Fund. The Disston sale was to become a target for unfriendly criticism, not only from a few who sincerely disapproved of the terms of the sale, but from those ubiquitous political "outs" who seek to minimize the good work achieved by the "ins."

The two administrations before Bloxham's had attempted to raise money to relieve the fund by selling a large body of the land at a reduced price, and each of these administrations had received the endorsement of its party after such attempts had been made. Governor Stearns had appointed Reverdy Johnson, a former minister-plenipotentiary of the United States to the Court of St. James, as the agent to visit Europe for the purpose of selling a large body of swamp and overflowed land at 25 cents an acre. The claims against the fund in 1877 amounted to some $960,000. Governor Drew had appointed S. A. Swann of Fernandina as agent of the Board to try to make a satisfactory sale "in order to save the fund from utter wreck."

Where these two executives had tried and failed, Governor Bloxham was to have the distinction of succeeding.

On May 30, 1881, Governor Bloxham reported to the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund "that he had gone to Philadelphia and had there entered into articles of agreement with Hamilton Disston for the sale to Disston of four million acres of land at twenty-five cents per acre."

This met with unanimous approval of the Trustees, who at once adopted resolutions requesting the preparation of a formal contract for the sale. At last the million dollar debt with which the Internal Improvement Fund was encumbered could be paid; the danger of tying up by litigation all of the State's 13,000,000 acres would be averted by the selling of 4,000,000 acres; and the clear title on the remaining 9,000,000 acres which the Board of Trustees held in trust would make it possible for the land to be used for internal improvements, especially railway building. The Democratic Convention in June, 1880, when Bloxham was nominated, had committed itself to such a program, when this resolution had been adopted:

"That we favor the disencumberment of the Internal Improvement Fund of the State at the earliest practicable moment, and the appropriation of the public lands as far as may be necessary, to the construction of a railroad through South Florida, and the completion of the road from the Apalachicola River to Pensacola in West Florida."

It was June 1, 1881, before the details of the contract between the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund, and Hamilton Disston of Philadelphia, were agreed upon and signed. A cash payment by Mr. Disston of $200,000

was required "upon the execution of this agreement." The remainder of the $1,000,000 was to be paid as follows: $300,000, the second payment, was to be made within ninety days from the day of the agreement; $250,000, the third payment, was to be made within the 150 days following; and $250,000, the fourth and last payment, was to be made on or before the first day of January, 1882.

The contract permitted Mr. Disston to select his 4,000,000 acres upon making the $200,000 first payment. He could select this land in bodies of 10.000 acres, but after the selection of 3,500,000 acres he might select smaller bodies, if the Board of Trustees were willing. As fast as Disston selected the land, the Trustees were to be notified, and the land was then to be withdrawn from sale by the State.

The contract stipulated that in the selection of lands in "bodies of ten thousand acres," each selection of that many acres should be in a compact body as nearly as practicable, and that "ten thousand-acre tracts may be made up by detached smaller parcels of land where the intervening lands do not belong to the Internal Improvement Fund."

By September 20, 1881, Hamilton Disston had made to the Board of Trustees his second payment and on that day the Trustees deeded to him 351,109.08 acres of the land. On October 6, the Trustees delivered to him 381,358.85 acres. On November 1, the Board of Trustees agreed that after Disston had selected all but 500,000 of his 4,000,000 acres, he could select the remaining land in bodies of 640 acres, "it being understood that lands selected in lieu of those surrendered by him for railroads shall be selected in bodies of ten thousand acres."

The actual settlers on the lands sold to Disston had until January, 1882, to file with Hugh A. Corley, commissioner of lands and immigration for Florida, a description of their lands. They had until January, 1883, however, to purchase those lands at the prices then demanded by the State, and no interest was to be charged during such term. The lands were located in Hernando, Sumter, Orange, Brevard, Hillsborough, Manatee and Polk Counties. Public notices to "squatters" were ordered by the Board of Trustees to be published in newspapers in the foregoing counties.

The Philadelphia company wanted industrious families, from all over the Union and from abroad, to settle on these lands and to join with those already there in the development of the region's natural resources, the construction of factories, and the turning of raw materials into marketable commodities. The Company in turn promised efforts toward railroad construction and navigation on inland waterways.

Before the summer of 1881 was over, the Disston Company announced that a colony of 250 New York families was being organized to settle in September in Orange County, near Orlando. As the best lands in the areas purchased were expected to be sold at high prices to offset losses on swamps which would neither sell nor be available for lumber, settlers selected for such lands were those who could buy twenty, forty, and eighty-acre farms, at prices ranging from $1.25 to $5.00 an acre. The Disston investors organized the Florida Land and Improvement Company to take charge of improving the land for colonists. The company's land commissioner in New York established agencies in Europe also. For land purchased at 25 cents an acre the above prices were expected to yield large profits.

On July 29, 1881, Hamilton Disston entered into an agreement to give the South Florida Railway the right of way to be extended South from Ocala to Tampa. By its charter, this railroad was to receive every alternating section of six miles along its line and the Disston project threatened to deprive it of this land, which equalled 3,840 acres for each mile of road. Mr. Disston agreed to relinquish these alternating sections provided an additional land grant elsewhere of equal value and extent would be given to him by the State. By the following

year, the South Florida Railway was owned by the Plant Investment Company, in which Henry B. Plant was chief stockholder.

Henry B. Plant

One of Florida's three great railroad builders, Henry B. Plant, began making railroad history in the State in 1881, when he connected the city of Jacksonville with Savannah and his "Waycross Short Line". This was a railway system he began developing in 1879 when he bought and merged two Georgia lines.

Plant was a native of Connecticut but was living in Georgia at the outbreak of the War Between the States. Just before he War he had been superintendent of the Adams Express Company, which aided him in organizing the Southern Express Company upon the obvious approach of the War. After Plant had started his railroad career and had once entered Florida, he extended his line from Jacksonville to Palatka and then from Palatka to Sanford. By 1882, when he purchased the South Florida Railway, it was running from Sanford to Kissimmee. He then purchased its undeveloped charter for the extension to Tampa by 1884. The Plant System completed the road on time and thus in 1884 the backbone of the Florida peninsula was opened up to developments which have never ceased.

In Tampa, the Plant interests performed such spectacular achievements as the development of a deep water terminal for its steampship lines, and the construction of the three million dollar Tampa Bay Hotel, which rose in Moorish grandeur to attract the cream of the tourist industry. By the time the soldiers of the Spanish-American War were encamped in the Tampa area, the city's industries had begun—tourism, agriculture, cigar manufacturing, trade and commerce. The railroad made possible the mining of phosphate rock which was discovered near Hawthorne, Fla., in 1882. By 1886 a good grade of phosphate was discovered in Polk County along the Peace and Alafia Rivers and their tributary streams. It was loaded in box cars for shipping. According to Tampa's noted journalist-historian, D. B. McKay, the industry by 1892 was producing a total of 350,000 tons annually.

By 1895, Plant had 1,494 miles of railroad, most of which was in Florida; and steamship lines running between the Florida coast and Havana and Mobile. His steamers operated on three rivers—the Flint, the Apalachicola and the Chattahoochee. Plant died in 1899, three years before the Atlantic Coast Line acquired his railroad and six years before the city of Tampa acquired the Tampa Bay Hotel, which is now the University of Tampa.

Looking to The 1884 Election

While Florida newspaper editors were generally friendly to Bloxham's diplomacy in working toward the adoption of a new constitution for Florida, the Pensacola Commercial was critical. The facts are that the 1881 and 1883 Legislatures took the definite steps needed for Floridians to vote on the calling of a convention to draft a new constitution. Governor Drew, in his farewell message to the Legislature of 1881, and Governor Bloxham, to his 1883 Legislature when it first convened, led out in this needed reform despite the public sentiment against it. Bloxham, however, spoke of "revision". So the Pensacola Commercial, on April 12, 1884, having decided for itself that Bloxham was not in favor of a Constitutional Convention, said:

"... . like Maccauley says of Titus Oates, his (Bloxham's) word is just as good as his oath, and his oath in politics is worth nothing; like Bunyan's waterman he always looks one way while he is rowing the other; false in one, false in all; Slippery Bill will be slippery still as it was and is, so it will be in the future."

Pensacola's other paper, The Pensacolian, admired Bloxham so much that in 1884 it suggested him for election to the United States Senate.

The Liberal movement in the Democratic Party in the November, 1884, election caused many to vote the Independent ticket. The Conservatives won with the election of their Confederate hero, General Edward A. Perry of Pensacola, and with a majority vote in favor of a new Constitution.

Governors Perry, Fleming and Mitchell

One provision of the Constitution of 1885, which went into effect January 1, 1887, was for the election by the people of the State's administrative officers. Under the Constitution of 1868 these had been appointed by the Governor, and therefore were called his cabinet. The election of 1888 was the first held under the new Constitution. Francis Philip Fleming of Jacksonville was elected Governor of Florida in 1888, and W. D. Barnes was elected Comptroller. On May 1, 1890, Governor Fleming appointed Barnes as judge of the First Circuit of Florida. He then appointed W. D. Bloxham to Barnes' place as Comptroller to serve until the election in 1890 when Bloxham could be a candidate to fill the rest of the unexpired term. In the Fall election, Bloxham was victorious over his Republican opponent, Leroy D. Ball, by a vote of 29,176 to 4,737.

In this same election, the Democrats in the First Congressional District elected as Representative Stephen R. Mallory, who had won the nomination over the incumbent, R. H. M. Davidson. In the Second Congressional District, General Robert Bullock, a Democrat, who in the Convention had been nominated to succeed himself, also had been victorious over his Republican opponent in the November election.

By this time, as the Republican vote gradually diminished and as many of the leaders of the old Conservative Democratic party gradually became ultra-conservative, the liberal faction which had asserted itself under the leadership of Frank W. Pope in 1884, was becoming stronger. One writer lists among the ultra-conservatives such leaders as W. D. Chipley of Pensacola, W. Hunt Harris of Key West, James P. Taliaferro of Jacksonville, Ziba King of Arcadia, F. W. Sams of DeLand, John W. Watson of Kissimmee, Charles J. Perrenot of Milton, J. E. Hartridge of Jacksonville, John A. Henderson of Tallahasee and Tom Peter Chaires of Old Town.

The same writer lists among the liberals, besides Pope, Senator Wilkinson Call, Congressman Stephen R. Mallory, John C. Stockton of Jacksonville, W. S. Jennings of Brooksville, B. H. Palmer of Lake City and J. P. Wall of Putnam County.

Some of the names mentioned were in neither faction: Among these were such leaders as Jefferson B. Browne of Key West, Frank Adams of Jasper, James E. Broome of Quincy, Arthur T. Williams of Fernandina, and Ex-Governor Bloxham, who was serving as Comptroller.

The liberal faction saw that the railroads, which had been so important a factor in bringing on the Florida boom of the eighties, were now beginning to over step their privileges. The Liberals advocated railroad control, as well as most of the demands of the Farmers Alliance, which now threatened to become a political power in the State.

The National Farmers' Alliance was a cooperative association of agriculturalists founded in Texas in 1876 for the purchase of supplies and the sale of farm products without the intervention of traders; and for the promotion of social and political issues of interest to farmers. Sub-Alliances were first organized in Florida by Osward Wilson and James B. Young of Texas. Wilson, in Jackson County, and Young, in Citrus County, formed their local organizations of June 15, 1887. Four months later, after these men had organized sixty-five of these local Alliances, they organized a State Alliance at Marianna on October 4, 1887.

Osward Wilson became its president and also editor of its newspaper, the Florida Farmers' Alliance, published in Marianna. By 1890 the Alliance had reached its peak. In that year it groomed Judge G. Speer of Orange County as a candidate for election to the United States Senate in 1891, when the term of Wilkinson Call would be ended.

The Farmers's Alliance, however, was not the only organized interest fighting the re-election of Call to the U. S. Senate in 1891. The railroad interests, whose greed for State lands was under fire by Call, were led in their movement to defeat Call by Colonel W. D. Chipley of Pensacola, Vice-President of the Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad. Early in May of 1890 the Savannah Morning News announced that Chipley had resigned his office as Mayor of Pensacola in order to make a campaign against Call throughout the State; and also "for the purpose of vindicating himself." Chipley was further quoted as saying that he himself was not a candidate for the office. In this year Chipley published his denunciatory pamphlet entitled "A Review of the Record of Senator Call," which he scattered about the state.

Francis P. Fleming, whose gubernatorial term began January 8, 1889, was the first Governor to feel the impact of the Farmers' Alliance activity. Despite the Radical and Corporation fight against him in the Legislature, Senator Call was re-elected in 1891, but only after a tussle. Governor Fleming had claimed that the election had been illegal because a majority of the members of the State Senate had slipped off to Georgia to avoid voting. The Governor thereupon appointed ex-Congressman R. H. M. Davidson as United States Senator. The United States Senate refused to seat Davidson, but seated Call, claiming that a majority of the legislature—rather than a majority of each house, constituted the necessary quorum for a joint ballot.

The most important achievement of Governor Fleming's administration took place in 1889 when the Legislature passed a law creating the Florida State Board of Health. The yellow fever epidemic of 1888 had caused the death of the Governor's senior law partners in Jacksonville—his own brother, Louis I. Fleming, and J. J. Daniel. The new law provided for a board of three members who would choose a State health officer. The health officer chosen was Dr. Joseph Yates Porter of Key West, an expert in the disease.

Governor Henry L. Mitchell, elected in 1892 with the aid of the Farmers' Alliance, was fortunately a capable administrator. During his term of office the nation was stricken with one of the greatest depressions in its history, and the two famous "Big Freezes" of Florida, one on December 29, 1894, and the other on February 7, 1895, destroyed the State's citrus industry until new groves could bear fruit.

Although a native of Alabama, Mitchell came to Florida with his father when he was fifteen years of age. They lived in Hillsborough County, where Mitchell studied law. He was serving as a state's attorney when he joined the Confederate Army. After the War he served as Circuit Court Judge, a State Legislator, a member of the Supreme Court, and again as a judge. He wat noted for his "exact official honesty".

While in 1895 the Democratic Party nationally was following William Jennings Bryan in the great free silver campaign, and while locally the Gold Democrats had sympathizers, the records show that most of them did not leave the regular Democratic Party. They nomianted William D. Bloxham for Governor to run against Edward R. Gunby, Republican; and A. W. Weeks, Populist. Bloxham was elected.

Bloxham's Second Administration

With the usual pageantry of State Militia and imposing ceremonies, William

D. Bloxham was inaugurated Governor of Florida on January 6, 1897, to begin serving his second term in this office.

The atmosphere was tense over the forthcoming election of a United States Senator because Wilkinson Call's term was to expire at noon on March 4, 1897. John A. Henderson was appointed by Governor Bloxham to represent Florida in the United States Senate in the extra session to be held March 15 of that year. Henderson was Vice-President of the F. C. & P. Railroad and was an old and close personal friend of the Governor. He was considered an able lawyer and speaker. The newspapers took up the quarrel. The Kissimmee Valley approved of Henderson. The Ocala Banner said many who were close to Bloxham had believed he would give the appointment to Senator Call, and that by not doing so the paper believed Calls' chances for re-election were increased.

Ten days later the Banner ridiculed the Jacksonville Citizen for coming out for Henderson after being assured that he would not be in the race for the regular term.

The State's newspapers quarreled over the Call and anti-Call; the corporation and anti-Corporation; the Chipley and anti-Chipley issues, which were, after all, one and the same. Said the Ocala Banner, proud of being privately owned: "The newspapers not owned by Flagler and owned by Plant, and those not owned by Plant and owned by Flagler, are all blowing the Chipley horn for United States senator. But the newspapers owned by their owners are not all piping the same tune. It makes a big difference whether a newspaper wears its own collar or somebody else's collar. Nothing excites out pity so much as to see a newspaper living out its existence wearing the tag and collar of a master, and sneeze, sneeze, sneeze, as often as the master dips snuff."

Previously, the Banner had censured the Jacksonville Metropolis for censuring Senator Wilkinson Call "because his mouth did not always drip molasses candy". When the Banner told Pensacola that it should pull itself away from the surroundings and environments of corporate influence, if it wanted to be a teacher of democracy, the Pensacola News had replied: "Shoot that old gag. The people of West Florida have become prosperous through the operation of corporate agencies . . . . The Banner should not confound Democracy with demagogy. Damning corporations is no more proof of a man's Democracy than to speak slightingly of the devil is proof of one's Christianity."

The balloting on Call and Chipley began on April 20, 1897. Actually, when the balloting began, about twenty nominations had been made. On the first ballot. Call was ahead with 33 votes, Chipley followed with 24, and there were 14 for Judge George P. Raney and 12 for Judge William A. Hocker. Representative J. N. C. Stockton of Jacksonville managed Call's campaign. Finally on May 14 a compromise candidate had been accepted—Stephen R. Mallory of Pensacola. Mallory was elected, and "pandemonium prevailed for a time", said the press.

The Senatorial contest was only one of many problems that were being settled by the Legislature. The passing again of a bill to re-create a Railroad Commission for Florida was considered by many to be the most important achievement of the 1897 legislative session. Since the Commission had been abolished in 1891, its friends had failed in their efforts to revive it. Now, however, supporters of railroad regulation began working on a new bill, for although Bloxham did not support the measure, he had promised not to veto it. On April 13, 1897, Charles A. Carson of Kissimmee introduced Senate Bill—No. 71, which was that day read for the first time and referred to the Committee on Railroads, composed of E. B. McLin of Umatilla, Chairman; H. Gaillard of St. Augustine, J. N. Phipps of Key West, W. J. Daniel of Marianna and A. T. Williams of Fernandina.

When the bill came up for consideration on April 22, the Senate spent almost the entire day reading it section by section. Senator J. E. Hartridge of Jacksonville, a Chipley follower, and very friendly to the railroads, suggested sixteen different amendments, only one of which was adopted. He wanted to strike out

the provisions for the establishing of such depots and stations and schedules as the "public comfort and convenience may require," but his motion was lost. Carson, the promoter of the bill in the Senate, offered thirteen suggestions for changes in wording, all of which were adopted by the Senate, and Bill No. 71 started on its journey. It passed the Senate on April 24, with only two dissenting votes, those of Senators Hartridge and A. T. Williams, the latter a member of the Committee on Railroads.

This bill to provide Florida with a Railroad Commission came to the Governor's desk while the deadlock for the Senatorship held the Legislature tense. Bloxham had showed his disinclination to favor either the Chipley or Call fraction when he had appointed John A. Henderson to represent Florida at the extra 1897 session of the United States Senate. While Bloxham did not sign the bill, he permitted it to become a law without his signature by not returning it within five days, which is the provision of the Constitution of 1885. The first commission, created in 1887, had lasted only four years.

One of the first things the Legislature did on its opening day was to invite William Jennings Bryan, their defeated Democratic standard bearer for 1896, to come to Tallahassee to address it on the principles of the Party and the issues of the day. On his way to Tallahassee, Bryan stopped off at St. Augustine. There, on the evening of April 8, he addressed 3,000 persons from the piazza of the San Marco Hotel. At the close of the speech several hundred people flocked about him, and a forty-foot section of the piazza, unable to bear up so much weight, gave way and precipitated part of the crowd to the ground below, a distance of twenty feet.

Bryan was picked up in an unconscious condition and carried to the office of Dr. Dooley, where he received medical attention. He was not seriously hurt but like scores of others he received minor injuries. Bryan's cousin, W. S. Jennings, former Speaker of the House of Representatives of Florida, and who would succeed Bloxham as Governor, accompanied Bryan to Tallahassee, where they arrived at 4:10 on the afternoon of April 10. A reporter for the Citizen, addressing the "Great Commoner" at the station, asked him how he felt. Bryan replied: "All right, but I was considerably shaken up. My chest and legs are very painful."

Colonel Chipley, who was appointed to welcome Bryan on behalf of the Legislature, helped the distinguished visitor into a carriage and rode beside him to the Bloxham home, where Bryan was to be an over-night guest. Besides his inability to move easily, Bryan's bruises were apparent around one eye, which was badly discolored.

That night Bryan was driven in a carriage to Lewis Park, where he spoke to over 1,000 persons. He was introduced by Colonel Chipley. Bryan had lost his overcoat in the St. Augustine accident, so Chipley lent the Nebraskan his. Meanwhile Chipley "sat in a chair behind the speaker and shivered."

When the Legislature of 1897 adjourned on June 4, many of the friends of Colonel Chipley bade him bood-by for the last time. Death was to take him six months later. His defeat in the Senatorial election had not dampened the spirits of his admirers in Pensacola. They gave him a "welcome home" demonstration which, as the Pensacola News declared on June 8, "went beyond all bounds of imagination". His health failed soon after his return and he died on December 1.

The close of the Legislature left Bloxham with unfinished business connected with charges against the State's Treasurer, C. B. Collins. The House had passed a resolution requiring the Governor to see that Collins be prosecuted for unlawfully converting the State's money to his own use. To fill the vacancy Bloxham appointed a young lawyer, James Bryan Whitfield, who was later to serve on the

bench of the Supreme Court of Florida for many years. He became one of the State's greatest jurists.

The Legislature of 1889 selected a man from the Conservative branch of the Democratic Party to succeed United States Senator Samuel Pasco, who had served for twelve years. Their selection was James P. Taliaferro of Jacksonville.

The last months of Governor Bloxham's administration were months of political strife within the Democratic Party because a new Governor was to be chosen. Since he was a friend of the successful aspirant for the gubernatorial nomination, W. S. Jennings of Brooksville, Bloxham must have been satisfied with the choice of his party.

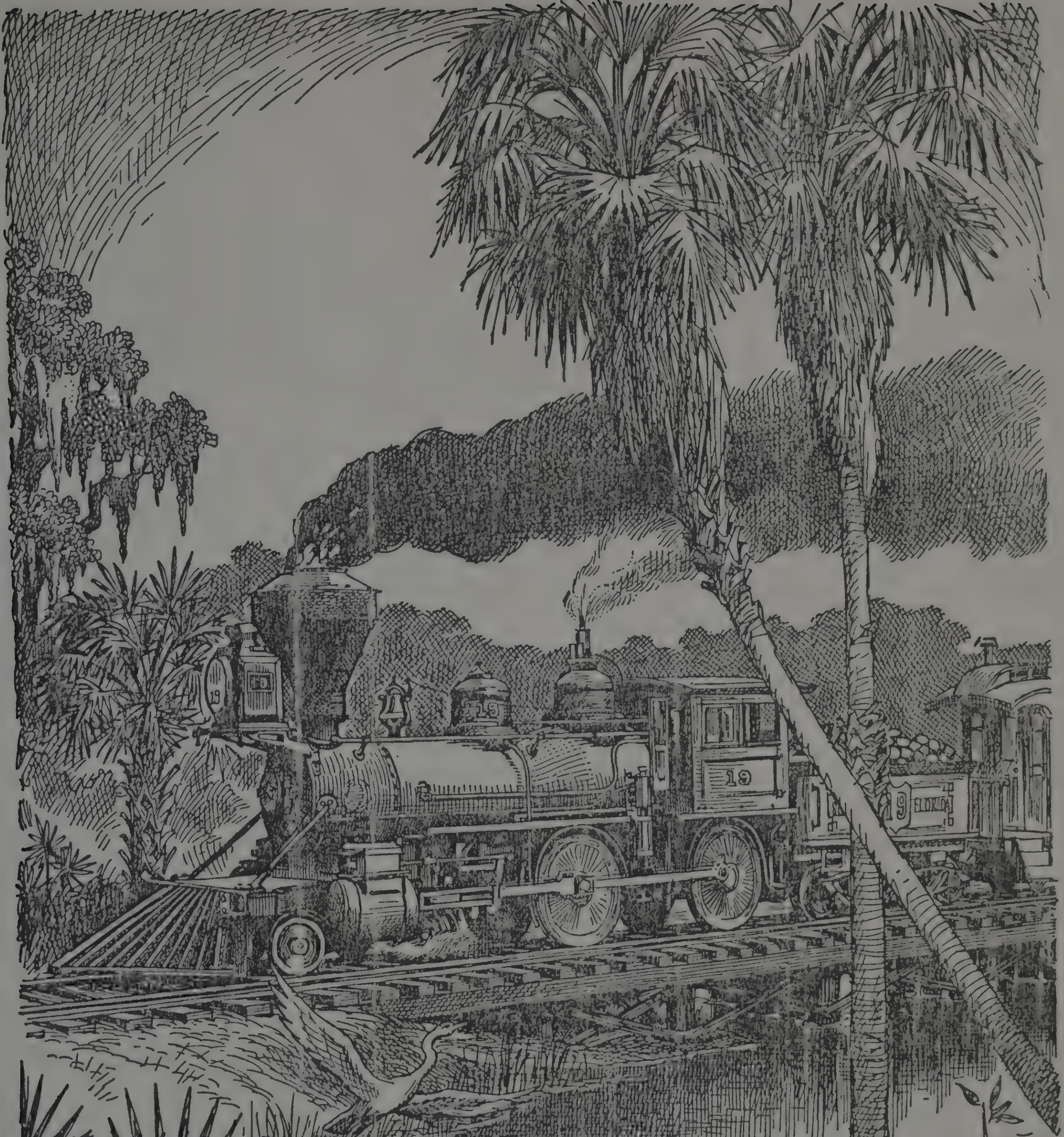
The Cuban War for Independence, because of the filibustering expeditions from Florida, had been a problem of his administration, even after American intervention when Congress declared war against Spain on April 25, 1898.

A curious situation in regard to the gubernatorial succession was brought up by Bloxham in his 1899 message to the Legislature. The Constitution provided that in case of a vacancy in the office of Governor, the President of the Senate shall assume the duties and powers of the office; and that in the event of there being a vacancy in the office of President of the Senate, the powers and duties of the office shall devolve upon the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Having explained this, Bloxham said that Charles J. Perrenot, the late President of the Senate, had died, and that the expiration of the term of D. H. Mays, who had been Speaker of the House, had left that office vacant. He pointed out that there would have been no officer authorized by the Constitution to assume the powers and duties of Governor, should there have been a vacancy.

End of The Bloxham Era

With the closing of Bloxham's second term in office in January, 1901, a story in statecraft ends. Bloxham's political career has been revealed in three diverse patterns. He entered the pages of history as an aggressive consolidator of the Conservatives during the Reconstruction Era. During his first administration as Governor he was a great Chief Executive as he lifted the lien against the State-owned lands and started an era of railroad building. In his second term as Governor, the needs of his Party led him along a quiet and conciliatory course which resulted in bringing together warring factions within the Party. His Florida was ready to meet the new century.

Much of the material in this chapter is based on the author's master's thesis at the University of Florida on "William Dunnington Bloxham: Florida's Two Term Governor."


19
19
19
19
FLORIDA
PACKWOOD

CHAPTER XV

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF FLORIDA'S EAST COAST COUNTIES

By Dr. E. C. Nance

ON JULY 21, 1821, General Andrew Jackson, Military Governor, of Florida divided East and West Florida into the two counties of Escambia and St. Johns. Twenty-nine years later, in 1850, there were twenty-eight counties. There follows a brief description of each of these counties, taken from the 1850 census.

The 1850 Census

ALACHUA COUNTY had a total population of 2,524, consisting of 274 families in 274 dwellings. Of Alachua's total population, 1,617 were white, one free negro, and 906 negro slaves. There were 233 farms under cultivation, but no industrial establishments listed. The county seat was Newnanville.

BENTON COUNTY had a total population of 926, consisting of 117 families living in 113 dwellings. Benton County's total population was composed of 604 whites and 322 negro slaves. There were 82 farms under cultivation but no industrial establishments. The County seat was Menendez.

CALHOUN COUNTY had a total population of 1,377 consisting of 165 families living in 165 dwellings. The population consisted of 866 whites, 38 free negroes and 453 slaves. There were 63 farms in cultivation and one industrial establishment was listed. Saint Joseph was the county seat.

COLUMBIA COUNTY'S population was 4,808 people who lived in 569 dwellings; a family in each dwelling. There were 3,541 whites, one free negro and 1,266 slaves. There were 475 farms under cultivation, and three business establishments were listed. The county seat was Alligator.

DADE COUNTY just missed being the smallest of the twenty-eight counties of the 1850's. It had a total population of 159, consisting of twenty-three families living in as many dwellings. There were 147 whites, one free negro and eleven slaves. The citizens of Dade county had 6 farms under cultivation and two industries were listed. Then as now the meandering county seat was Miami.

DUVAL COUNTY: The County seat was, and is in 1960, Jacksonville. Five industries and 167 farms were listed. There were 455 families living in 451 dwellings. The population was comprised of 2,338 whites; 2106 slaves and 95 free negroes.

ESCAMBIA COUNTY'S population was 4,351, consisting of 563 families living in as many dwellings. The whites numbered 2,644. The slave population numbered 1,332 and 375 negroes were listed as "free." Nine industries and 34 farms were indicated. Pensacola was the County Seat.

FRANKLIN COUNTY, with a population of 1,561 had only 377 slaves. The County's population consisted of 261 families and the same number of dwellings, and there were 1,184 white residents in the county. The 1850 census did not indicate the number of farms or industries. The County Seat was Apalachicola.

GADSDEN COUNTY, with its county seat at Quincy had a total population of 8,784 of which 4,880 were slaves and seven were free. The white population numbered 3,897. The census listed 684 families and the same number of dwellings.

HAMILTON COUNTY, with it's county seat at Jasper, had 301 dwellings in which 302 families lived. The total population was 2,511 of which 685 were slaves, none were free, and the number of white persons living in the county was 1,817. Two hundred and five active farms were listed but no industries were indicated.

HILLSBORO COUNTY, with its seat of county government at Tampa, had a total population of 2,377 who lived in 253 dwellings. The white population was 1,706. There were 600 slaves and eleven free negroes living in the county. The census listed 257 families—most of whom lived on the 120 farms in the county. Nine industries were listed.

HOLMES COUNTY'S population was 1,205. Number of families 187, number of dwellings, 185. The great majority of the residents, 1,037, were white. There were five free and 163 negro slaves, slightly more than one slave for each of the county's 103 farms. No industries were listed. The County Seat was located at Cerro Gordo.

JACKSON COUNTY had 560 dwellings, 577 families, and 3,075 of its total population of 6,639 were white citizens—a minority to the slave population of 3,534. Thirty were free. The county had no industries but the census takers listed 287 farms. Marianna was the county seat.

JEFFERSON COUNTY, with its county seat located at Monticello was one of the larger counties of that day, with a total population of 7,718 but more than half of the people were slaves—4,938. There were five free. The whites numbered only 2,775. There was a total of 520 families who lived in the same number of dwellings. There were seven industries in the county and 377 farms.

LEON COUNTY boasted fifteen industries and cultivated 356 farms and had the largest population, 11,422, of all the 28 counties listed in the 1850 census, and approximately two thirds of the county's population consisted of slaves. Of the 11,442 population, 8,203 were slaves; 56 were free and the census listed 3,183 whites. The 737 families lived in the same number of dwellings. The county seat was then and still is Tallahassee.

LEVY COUNTY had sixty-four families, sixty four dwellings and a total population of 465, of which 145 were slaves—leaving 320 whites. How the citizens of this county made a living is not indicated, since neither farms nor industries are indicated. The people were probably fishing, hunting, or working on their farms when the census taker called. The county seat was Waccassassee.

MADISON COUNTY, according to the 1850 census, had a population of 5,490 divided into 498 families, one family to a dwelling. There were 2,802 whites and 2,688 slaves who managed 262 farms and four industries. The town of Madison was the county seat.

MARION COUNTY had 2,068 whites and 1,269 slaves, a total population of 3,338. No industries were listed but there were 329 farms. There were 394 dwellings and the same number of families. Ocala was the county seat.

MONROE COUNTY, of which Key West was and still is the county seat, had only six farms under cultivation, but eleven industries were listed. The census listed 2,088 whites, 431 slaves and 126 free—a total population of 2,645 in 443 families who lived in 420 buildings.

NASSAU COUNTY with county seat at Nassau Courthouse, had a total population of 2,164 in 188 families, living in 188 dwellings. The slaves and free negroes outnumbered the white population; whites, 1,061, free 26, and slaves, 1,077. Eleven industries and 137 farms were listed.

ORANGE COUNTY was among the four smallest of the twenty-eight counties, with a total population of only 466 who lived in fifty five dwellings—one family to a dwelling. There were 226 slaves and 2 negroes free in the county. No industries. Nineteen farms. Meltonville was the county seat.

PUTNAM COUNTY'S population was 687. Slaves numbered 204. There were 10 free negroes. Four hundred and seventy three whites lived in the county. One hundred and eight families lived in as many dwellings. Twenty farms were under cultivation. No industries were listed. Palatka was the county seat.

ST. JOHN'S COUNTY recorded 321 dwellings with 346 families living in them. The total population was 2,525, of which 993 were slaves and 115 were free. The white population was 1,417. Seven industries were listed and thirty four farms were under cultivation. Saint Augustine was, and is now, the county seat.

ST. LUCIE COUNTY'S population in 1850 was the smallest of the twenty eight counties. No farms or industries were listed for the 139 people who lived in the county. Twenty-two families lived in twenty-two dwellings. Twenty-seven of the population were slaves. There was one "free" negro listed. Fort Jupiter was the county seat.

SANTA ROSA COUNTY had a total population of 2,833 of which 784 were slaves and four free. The white population numbered 2,095. Five hundred and twenty seven families lived in five hundred and twenty six dwellings. Santa Rosa county had twenty eight industries, the largest number of any of the twenty eight counties. Ninety-one farms were listed. The county seat was Milton.

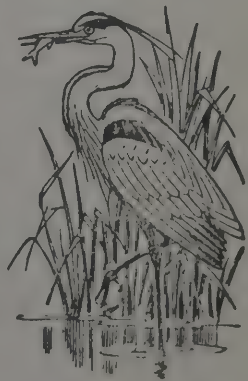
WAKULLA COUNTY'S total population of 1,955 was composed of 700 slaves, one free, and 1,164 whites divided into 229 families living in 227 dwellings. One hundred farms and five industries were listed. Newport was the county seat.

WALTON COUNTY listed one hundred and sixty-one farms but no industries. There were two hundred and sixty-seven families and two hundred sixty seven dwellings—for a white population of 1,481 and 336 slaves. The county seat was Eucheeanna, (named for the Euchee Indians, and Mrs. Anna McLeod, the first white woman to live there.—Brevard History, p. 116 L. C.)

WASHINGTON COUNTY'S population was 1,950. There were 504 slaves and 12 free, and the white population was 1,431. Two hundred and seventy six families lived in two hundred and seventy three dwellings. There were 155 farms in cultivation and the county had four industries. Holmes Valley was the County Seat.

The reader will have noticed that several of the counties listed in the census of 1850 have lost their original names and their seats. Benton County, for example, is now Hernando and the county seat is Brooksville. The county seat of Calhoun county is now Blountstown. The county seat of Columbia County is now Lake City instead of "Alligator." "Cerro Gordo" is no longer the county seat of Holmes County. Bonifay now enjoys that honor. Bronson, not "Waccassassee" is the county seat of Levy County. The "Nassau Courthouse," listed as the county seat of Nassau County, is out-dated also. Nassau County Seat is now Fernandina Beach. Orlando, not "Meltonville," is now the county seat of Orange County. Fort Pierce, not Fort Jupiter, is the county seat of Saint Lucie county. Wakulla County seat is now Crawfordville.

DeFuniak Springs, and not "Eucheeanna," is the county seat of Walton County. Washington County seat is Chipley, and not "Holmes Valley." Ancient maps show New River, Benton and Mosquito counties. These counties still exist but under different names. One doubts if beautiful and prosperous Orange County would have attained its present status as "Mosquito" county. Saint Lucie and Broward counties both lost and regained their names. Had an enabling act not lacked sufficient votes, we might have had a county named for W. D. Bloxham, Florida's first Democratic Governor. Fayette County lasted only two years, 1832-1834, and became Jackson County.



The student of Florida history will find both interesting and factual, the "Origin of Counties," and "Florida's Names," also, "The Traces of the Years," in the 1959-1960 edition of Allen Morris' "Florida Handbook."

Florida's Counties Today

North Florida Counties:

Alachua, Baker, Bay, Bradford, Calhoun, Clay, Columbia, Dixie, Duval, Sscambia, Flagler, Franklin, Gadsden, Gilchrist, Gulf, Hamilton, Holmes, Jackson, Jefferson, Lafayette, Leon, Liberty, Madison, Nassau, Okaloosa, Putnam, Santa Rosa, St. Johns, Suwannee, Taylor, Union, Wakulla, Walton, Washington.

Central Florida Counties:

Brevard, Citrus, Hernando, Hillsborough, Lake, Levy, Marion, Orange, Osceola, Pasco, Pinellas, Polk, Seminole, Sumter, Volusia.

South Florida Counties:

Broward, Charlotte, Collier, Dade, DeSoto, Glades, Hardee, Hendry, Highlands, Indian River, Lee, Manatee, Martin, Monroe, Okeechobee, Palm Beach, Sarasota, St. Lucie.

Sixteen of Florida's counties have a population of less than 10,000; eighteen counties have a population of between ten and twenty thousand; and there are eleven counties whose populations range from twenty to fifty thousand—which doesn't prove anything except that about two-thirds of Florida's sixty-seven counties have a population of less than fifty thousand per county.

These population statistics have some political and tax implications which are obvious, inasmuch as more than half the population of Florida is located south of Orange County.

The total population of the thirty-four counties in North Florida, is 1,375,766 (1960 Census)

The fifteen Central Florida counties have a population of 1,612,226 (1960 Census)

South Florida's eighteen counties have a total population of 1,885,616 (1960 Census) Obviously, Central Florida would be in a favorable bargaining position with both North and South Florida. It should be pointed out, however, that political sectionalism in Florida is not as vigorous and acrimonious today as it was a few decades ago. The people and their legislators are more and more conscious of the total welfare of their state and in recent years, particularly under the administration of Governor LeRoy Collins, there have been sincere attempts toward establishing a more equitable system of representation in the State Legislature.

The big ten, population-wise, among Florida's sixty-seven counties, are Dade, (935,047); Duval, (455,411); Hillsborough, (397,788); Pinellas, (374,665); Broward, (333,946); Palm Beach, (228,106); Orange, (263,540); Polk, (195,139); Escambia, (173,829); and Brevard, (111,435).

The Atlantic Coast Counties

Thirteen of Florida's sixty-seven counties are bordered on the east by the Atlantic Ocean. The names of these counties and their county seats, and their populations, (1960 Census) follows:

County	County Seat	Population
Nassau	Fernandina	17,189
Duval	Jacksonville	455,411
St. Johns	St. Augustine	30,034
Flagler	Bunnell	4,566
Volusia	DeLand	125,319
Brevard	Titusville	111,435
Indian River	Vero Beach	25,309

St. Lucie	Fort Pierce	39,294
Martin	Stuart	16,932
Palm Beach	West Palm Beach	228,106
Broward	Fort Lauderdale	333,946
Dade	Miami	935,047
Monroe	Key West	47,921

The thirteen East Coast counties listed above whose east boundaries touch the Atlantic Ocean, showed an average increase in population of over one hundred percent between 1950 and 1960. The largest population increase was in Brevard County—370.0%. Broward County's population increased 292.5% during the same period; Dade County 85.4%, Duval 48.2%, St. Johns 15.9%, Nassau 31.6%, Indian River 109.8%, St. Lucie 93.2%, Palm Beach 95.8%, Monroe 51.8%, Martin 112.0%, Volusia 68.2%, Flagler 35.3%. The total population of these Atlantic Coast Counties in 1960 was 2,370,509.

CHAPTER XVI

NASSAU COUNTY

Introduction by Dr. E. C. Nance

ONE OF FLORIDA'S greatest and oldest treasures is its history. It was here that the history of the North American white man and Negro began. It was here on East Coast Florida where the first organizations of Catholics and Protestants were established. Slavery, as we know it in American history, began here—as did civil government, commercial and industrial enterprise, agriculture, citrus culture, the cattle industry and many other civic and cultural activities. And it was here that white men first shed blood in battle in Florida and, as far as we know, where the Florida Indians first met white men.

Two opinions obtain as to the origin of the name of Nassau County. During the English occupation of Florida many emigrants came to this section from the Bahama Islands. Some historians believe Nassau County may have been named for the chief city of the Bahama Islands. Other historians think the county may have been named for the German Duchy of Nassau.

Nassau was the tenth county to become a political unit in the expanding political life of Florida. It was established on December 29, 1824—three years after General Andrew Jackson Military Governor of Florida, divided East and West Florida into counties. The county comprises 429,440 acres. It is on the extreme northeast corner of Florida, with the Georgia state line forming the entire northern boundary and most of the western boundary. The St. Mary's River runs along the northern boundary to separate the county from the State of Georgia. It is bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, on the south by Duval County and on the southwest by Baker County. Fernandina, (now called Fernandina Beach) the county seat, is located on Amelia Island, in the northeast corner of the county, thirty-four miles northeast of Jacksonville.

Fernandina is twenty-two feet above sea level. The annual average temperature is 69.1 degrees, varying from an average of 55.6 degrees in January to an average of 81.5 degrees in August. The annual rainfall is 48.50 inches, and the greatest amount of rainfall is in the months of June, July, August and September.

Incorporated cities in Nassau County include Callahan, established sometime prior to 1884, and named for one of the contractors engaged in the construction of the old Transit Railway; Fernandina Beach, "The Ocean City," the second oldest city in the United States, settled by the Spaniards in 1567, which derived its name from (1) King Ferdinand of Spain or (2) Don Domingo Fernandez; Hilliard, founded in 1881 and named for one of the members of a lumber company, Hilliard and Bailey; and Boulogne. Other townships and villages include Kings Ferry, Lessie, Andrews, Evergreen, Gross, Crandall, Dyalo, Italia, Yulee, Becker, Chestero, Lofton, Hero, Neil, Amelia, Amelia City, American Beach, Nassauville, Ratliff, Kent, Crawford, Dahoma, Verdie, Ingle, Bryceville and Mattox.

From this paragraph on, except for the conclusion, you will be reading the history of Fernandina in particular and Nassau County in general, written and compiled by "Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of Florida, Sponsored by the Florida State Planning Board, and copyrighted by the City Commission of Fernandina in 1940."

Fernandina,* An Island Frontier—Nassau County

When Jean Ribault, French admiral, dropped anchor in the St. Mary's River, May ,3 1562, the Indians fled from their villages but returned when they saw that no depredations were committed, and brought gifts of meat, berries, and other food products. These were the Timuquans, who became the most civilized of the Florida tribes, and were known as the Mission Indians.

The names of the vicinity have undergone many changes, according to the nationality of the explorers who came here. The French explored the network of waterways around Amelia Island, claiming and naming them. Amelia Island was christened Isle de Mai, in honor of the season. The St. Mary's River, flowing into Cumberland Sound north of the island, they named the River Seine, because it was "broad as the Seine from Havre de Grace unto Honfleur." Later a Spanish mission, Santa Maria de Sena was located on the St. Mary's River with a recollection of the French named incorporated in the mission name Sena, a corruption of Seine. Nassau Sound at the south end of Amelia was called Serranay, probably an Indian name adopted by the French.

The name Guale applied to Amelia Island by the Spaniards was probably of Indian origin and was first used by the Spaniards to designate a large area on the coast, with St. Helena's Island as military headquarters. After a series of defeats by Carolina settlers, what is now Amelia Island was selected in 1686 by the Spanish for military headquarters, and the name Guale became associated with it. This name is thought to have been the Spanish version of Quale in the Indian tongue; later the English adaptation was "Wallie," and still later, the Spaniards called the Island Santa Maria. Amelia was the English name which survived.

In 1567, came Pedro Menendez, Spanish governor of Florida, who built a fort on the island. The native Timuquans proved to be more adaptable to the ways of the white men than any of the Florida tribes. They soon were converted to Christianity. Santa Maria mission, established between 1597-1602, on the island was one of a chain of coast missions extending north as far as Port Royal, South Carolina, and for more than a hundred years the priests labored among the Indians. Grammars, catechisms, and other books were written in the native language as early as 1602, and the native children used them in learning to read and write under the priests' direction. Governors and bishops made official tours. This golden era which lasted until the end of the 17th century, ended with the coming of the English.

The Spanish authorities at St. Augustine persuaded many Indian converts to move from Georgia to Amelia Island, so they would be close to St. Augustine. Spain's desire to bring their Christian Indians nearer to St. Augustine grew stronger as English settlements sprang up on the coast and steadily progressed southward.

A Spanish fort, San Fernando, was built on the island and a community now known as Old Town grew up behind its walls. The fort was built in 1686, only a few years after the great stone fort at St. Augustine. The site, on a little peninsula, was well chosen. Guns of the fort guarded approach by water; marsh lay on the north and south; and the only land approach was from the east, where a gate and blockhouse were built to guard the settlement. The mission priests were not sorry to have the fort at the far end of the island—they believed the Indians were more tractable without white associations other than themselves.

The mission community was described by a Quaker, Jonathan Dickenson, who with several companions was shipwrecked on the Florida coast in 1696. They were given an escort to the borders of Carolina by the Governor of Florida. They spent one night on Santa Maria. Dickenson related: "An hour before Sunset we got to the town call'd St. Mary's: This was a Frontier, and a Garrison Town: the Inhabitants were Indians, with some Spanish Soldiers. We were conducted to the Ware-

---

*George M. Barbour says in his book "Florida" published by D. Appleton & Co., 1883: "Fernandina was founded by the Spaniards in 1632."

house, as the Custom is, for every Town hath a Warehouse; Or, as we understood, these Houses were either for their Times of Mirth and Dancing, or to lodge and entertain Strangers. The House was about 81 feet diameter, built round with 32 Squares, in each Square a Cabin about 8 feet long, of a good Height, being painted and well matted. The Centre of the Building was a Quadrangle of 20 feet, being open at Top, against which the House is built; thus this Quadrangle is the Place they dance, having a great Fire in the Middle; One of the Squares of this Building is the Gateway or Passage in. The Women Natives of these Towns, clothe themselves with the Moss of the Trees, making Gowns and Petticoats thereof, which, at a Distance, or in the Night looks very neat. The Indian Boys, we saw, were kept to School in the Church, the Friat being their School-Master. This was the largest town of all."

Even as early as 1699 the English King had granted territory to Carolina which included the northern half of the peninsula of Florida. Withdrawal from the disputed territory had availed the Spanish nothing, for Queen Anne's War gave the Carolinians a desired excuse to attack Florida. In September, 1702, a bitter fight took place on Santa Maria Island between the Spanish and an army of 50 white men and 300 Indians led by Governor Moore of South Carolina. Fourteen vessels carried Moore's men, the smaller craft going by way of the inland passage. The fort was captured, the mission was destroyed, and it is claimed that the priests as well as many Indians were carried into captivity.

There was little security after this date for the Indians and Spaniards on the island. Following Moore came Barnwell, Hughes, Palmer, Nairn, and Oglethorpe with large bands of Indian allies, and the Santa Maria inhabitants were forced to flee. On Oconee Island in Okefenokee swamp, a number of the Indian refugees built a town, living for generations thereafter in complete isolation.

Oglethorpe, scouting furtively in Spanish fields in 1735, found peach and orange trees flourishing on deserted Santa Maria Island. Because the island was so beautiful, he re-named it in honor of the princess Amelia, young sister of George II of England.

Claiming the St. Johns River as the southern boundary of Georgia, Oglethorpe built a small fort on Amelia Island in 1736. Later in the same year the Spanish governor made a treaty with the Georgia governor which designated territory north of the St. Johns as neutral ground, where neither English nor Spanish were to settle. Accordingly, Oglethorpe evacuated his Amelia Island position. Madrid disowned this agreement, however, and insisted that by the treaty of 1670, Spain owned all territory south of St. Helena's Sound. About 1,500 Spanish soldiers were dispatched from Cuba to expel the English settlers in Georgia, and hearing of this, Oglethorpe restored the Amelia Island garrison. He was just in time: in April 1737, thirty Spaniards arrived by boat, but retreated when they found the Georgia men entrenched.

In 1737, danger of gunboats entering Cumberland Sound caused the Georgians to ask that one man-of-war be stationed at Amelia and one at Jekyl Island. "At Amelia is a harbor that has 24 feet at low water," ran their report. The fifty soldiers stationed at Amelia fort distinguished themselves, according to the same authority, because they had "applied themselves to cultivate and formed a village at Amelia."

The War of Jenkins Ear between England and Spain broke out in 1739. The Spaniards opened hostilities with Georgia by killing two men at Amelia. In retaliation, Oglethorpe sailed up the St. Johns River and seized forts Picolata and San Francisco de Pupa, built to guard the Spanish Trail, which ran to west Florida missions. Frontier posts were dangerous places. Soldiers did not venture beyond the stockade of Amelia. Robert Miller, the Georgia trustees' botanist, who had been collecting plants and roots in this region, informed the officials that he would not search further because of the Spaniards. Even in Savannah, people became so

frightened that magistrates published an order forbidding anyone to depart from the town. Oglethorpe reported to the Lords of Trade and Plantations that Georgia settlements could not exist unless St. Augusine were captured.

In 1740, St. Augustine was besieged for two months, by Oglethorpe's army of Georgia and South Carolina colonials; but the attempt to capture the great fort failed, because, it was claimed, the South Carolina ships did not carry out their part of the campaign. English coast defenses were strengthened thereafter for the settlements had news that Spain would retaliate. Since Fort William, on the south end of Cumberland Island (overlooking the entrance to Cumberland Sound) was one of the strong posts, it is probable that the Amelia Island fort, just opposite, was abandoned and its garrison added to that of Fort William.

Spanish privateers swarmed along the coast endangering English shipping. Reports of the massing of Spanish armies kept coming to Savannah. In 1742, came the expected Spanish attack. Finding Fort William prepared to resist, the Spanish fleet of 32 ships abandoned the attempt, and sailed instead to St. Simon's Island and landed an army. The two forces met at the battle of Bloody Marsh. Two hundred Spaniards were killed, and as many more were captured. This decisive defeat left the coast as far as the mouth of the St. Johns River in control of the English.

In 1748, a treaty was concluded between England and Spain, and for 14 years thereafter Amelia Island, although a Spanish possession, remained a sort of no-man's-land, comparatively safe for Englishmen. Some of the soldiers probably remained in the little settlement they had built there. Then the French and Indian War drew Spain into the struggle long enough to lose the whole of Florida to England.

The Anglicizing of Amelia

When in 1763 Florida was ceded by Spain to England, a definite boundary at the St. Mary's River was set for the province. Thus Fernandina again became the border town of Florida, a situation which was to have further significance thirteen years later when the American Revolution broke out.

The English divided Spanish Florida into East Florida and West Florida, a division that continued through the second Spanish occupation, and into the American territorial era. It was the basis for the establishment of the first two counties, St. Johns and Escambia. Amelia lay on the northern boundary of East Florida.

A town on Amelia Island, labeled Egmont Town, with regular streets laid out, appears on an English map of 1767, prepared for the Earl of Egmont, one of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, the Parliamentary Committee which governed the American colonies. He obtained by grant a tract on the north end of the island and because of a government bounty on indigo, developed a large plantation to produce this crop. Indigo still grows wild in this region.

In March 1774, William Bartram, noted botanist, on his tour of East Florida in preparation for reports of the natural resources of this newest English territory, visited Amelia Island. He landed on the northern coast of the island, walked through the oak and palm forest that is now a State Park (see Fort Clinch), and crossed a little creek. This must have been the present Clark's Creek, then called Egan's Creek, for the manager of the Egmont plantation, who escorted Bartram over the island. Interested in archaeology as well as other features of the area, Bartram wrote, "On Egmont estate are several very large Indian tumuli, which are called Ogeechee mounts, so named from that nation of Indians who took shelter here, after being driven from their native settlements on the main near Ogeechee River. Here they were constantly harassed by the Carolinians and Creeks, and at length slain by their conquerors, and their bones entombed in these heaps of earth and shells."

At the outbreak of the American Revolution, Florida remained loyal to England. Fort Tonyn was erected by the British on the northern coast of Amelia near where

Fort Clinch now stands. It was named for the fiery Tory who was governor of Florida in the last nine years of British rule. In May 1777 American forces under Colonel Samuel Elbert landed near the fort. Its defenders must have withdrawn, for it was not until an American patrol met a British force on the southern end of the island that an engagement took place. The British killed an American officer and wounded two soldiers; in retaliation Colonel Elbert burned houses and destroyed the cattle on the island.

In 1777, a British force under Captain James M. Prevost surprized an American camp at Thomas' Swamp on Nassau River, the southern portion of Amelia River. All but fifty Americans fled, though the remnant fought until obligated to retreat. Eight Americans were killed and thirty-one captured, including two captains. Before Captain Prevost could intervene, Indian allies of the British murdered half of the captives.

General Robert Howe invaded Florida in 1778 with 3,000 Americans. Many skirmishes took place between the St. Mary's and the St. Johns Rivers, especially at Nassau Bluff, on the northern shore of Nassau River, and at Alligator Creek. At the present town of Callahan, 300 American cavalry attacked 450 British on June 30th without decisive results for either side. The American invasion was a failure, attributable more to losses from illness than from fighting. After 500 Americans had died, a council of war was held at Fort Tonyn on July 11th, and the army withdrew. Several American soldiers remained on Amelia Island, in Old Town, where their lots were recorded on the town chart as belonging to them but with "no record of transfer of title from the original owner."

The population of Florida during the Revolution increased as the fortune of the British waned in the colonies to the north. Wealthy Tories from South Carolina and Georgia brought their slaves, and other portable possessions to Florida. Tonyn, the English Governor of East Florida, was so succsesful in his energetic campaign to attract these settlers, that when Cornwallis surrendered, there were 16,000 English in the province. Plantations were especially numerous in northeast Florida, along the Halifax and Nassau Rivers. The latter river was named by settlers for the West Indian city of that name.

At first, the American Revolution seemed to have little significance for Florida, other than the migration into it of many British refugees from the Southern States. However, in February 1783, Governor Tonyn received notice from England that by the preliminary articles in the Treaty of Paris, Florida had been ceded to Spain, and English citizens were given 18 months to leave the province.

This news was a stunning blow to the settlers, who had been encouraged by the British Government to come to Florida. Their move had entailed great losses and remaining funds had been expended in new homes, seeds for crops and other necessities. In spite of pitiful pleas to the mother country for intercession, the British were forced to evacuate the territory—going to the Bahamas, West Indies, Nova Scotia, and England.

Amelia Island was selected as the point of embarkation, because of its capacious harbor. Long lines of wagon trains came to the shores, and many small boats also dumped their cargoes there. Mountains of baggage, tented colonies of settlers with their slaves, cattle, harvested crops, and even naval stores extended for miles around the Amelia settlement. Confusion, distress and terror prevailed. For a year bandits, among them the American deserter, Daniel McGirt, preyed upon unprotected travelers, until finally two troops of horsemen were delegated to check the reign of terror. In spite of this protection, houses continued to be plundered and burned, while horses, cattle, and Negroes were stolen throughout the months of moving. Natives were so afraid of McGirt that they refused to form a posse to capture him.

In May 1783 a convoy of food ships arrived at Amelia and was held until September so that the settlers might harvest their crops and thus have food to take to their new homes. No money was available, for sales of property soon glutted the

market so that little could be gained therefrom. Governor Parr of Nova Scotia described one transport with 200 Florida refugees as "miserable wretches without a shilling, naked, destitute."

In June, the first ships left for Jamaica and New Providence and two ships sailed for England. Planters owning Negroes preferred the West Indies. A few embarked in privately chartered vessels, carrying the lumber of demolished wooden houses, for reassembling in the new land. By 1784 hundreds of Florida planters were in the West Indies and seven more transports left the St. Mary's River that year.

Some of the dispossessed still lingered in America, sending petition after petition to England in the hope that the British Government would reconsider holding Florida. Transports were still leaving Amelia in October 1784; evacuation was not formally completed until November 19, 1785, when two transports sailed for England with Governor Tonyn, his officers and their families.

The Semblance of Spanish Authority

As soon as Spanish officialdom was established, the few settlers remaining in Florida petitioned the new governor, Zespedes, to confirm the grants to land they had held under British rule. This was usually done, the only condition being a change of allegiance from England to Spain. The Egmont property on Amelia Island however formed a part of a grant confirmed to Don Domingo Fernandez. The whole, known as "Eliza" or "Louisa" plantation, included the site of the present city of Fernandina.

The town, however, was not named for Don Fernandez. He found a village bearing that name on his tract, so evidently the name of Egmont had not persisted. Among other possibilities the Spanish fort of 1680, San Fernando, may be considered as a source of the name. In 1831, the Spanish Count of Fernandina, cruising American waters in his yacht, visited the town because of its name.

Don Fernandez left the management of his plantation to his wife who set the acreage out in orange trees and managed her household and slaves wisely. Fernandez was an astronomer and spent a large part of his time in a little summer house "star-gazing." Mrs. Fernandez outlived her husband and in her will charged her children with the care of all aged slaves.

From 1796 to 1811, Amelia Island was comparatively quiet, though a small garrison of ten men was kept at Fort San Carlos under Commandant Lopez. Relations between the inhabitants seem to have been amiable. In the early days there was apparently no idea of segregating Negroes, for many free Negroes owned lots in various sections of the town. Every effort was made to keep on good terms with the many Indians who came to town to trade. To avoid trouble townspeople kept out of sight when the Indians grew frenzied from drink. As soon as their savage guests became insensible, the townsmen laid them in their canoes like sardines, and towed them to the opposite shore. Finally it became necessary to insist that only four boats with three Indians in each be allowed in town at the same time. Soldiers from blockhouses, built on Bell's River and Lanceford Creek, enforced this decree.

In 1807 Fernandina became internationally notorious. Jefferson's Embargo Act closed American ports to shipping at a time when American commerce with all countries of Europe was enjoying a robust growth. At once the little Spanish town across the American border became a resort for ships of all nations. Foreign vessels thronged its port and wharves were piled with goods destined to be smuggled into the United States. Three large trading firms had wharves and offices there—Hibberson & Yonge, Forbes & Co. (successors to Panton, Leslie and Co.) and Sibbald & Bethune.

A sinister chapter in Fernandina's history opened in 1808. In that year the United States forbade further importation of slaves from Africa; while conversely the demand for slaves was increasing with the spread of plantations in the South

and West. So, contraband slave trade was added to the profitable smuggling enterprises of Fernandina. Violence more desperate even than that of recent prohibition days underlaid the trade, for a captain caught smuggling slaves was subject to the death penalty. Hence human cargoes would be dumped overboard if too hard pressed by the U. S. patrol. If the Fernandina port could be reached, however, the slave-ship owner's investment was saved. So important did this profitable trade become that Lopez, the Spanish commandant, discreetly petitioned the governor at St. Augustine for more warehouse space so that ships might dispose of cargoes "temporarily" deposited at Fernandina.

Gaining that much desired port was not easy, however, for hijackers concealed their swift barks behind the little marsh islands in the vicinity and pounced upon many unlucky traders as they came in sight. Pierre and Jean Lafitte found this a paying locality and were thought to have visited Fernandina. Some traders bought immunity and others shared profits with the hijackers. Few planters of the area, American or Spanish, were without some connection with these slave ventures.

There were many planters on and near the island by 1810. Don Domingo Fernandez received his grant on the north end of the island in 1808. In 1809 the Browards (originally spelled Brevvard), Bellamys, Harrisons, O'Neils and Fitzgeralds arrived in a body from South Carolina, landing first on the south end of Amelia, where they pitched their tents. The men reported to the commandant at Fort San Carlos and later went to St. Augustine to register claims to plantations on the island and along the Nassau River. Many of these planters cultivated their grants until the War between the States. Captain James Smith (father of Martha Reid, wife of a governor of Florida) had several plantations, one at Sawpit Bluff, others at Pumpkin Hill, Black Hammock and Lunny Grant. The Fitzpatricks and Browards lived at Cedar Point. Hibberson, the trader, tried the role of planter, experimenting with coffee on the marsh islands, using cut marsh grass as fertilizer. He hoped that the fogs would temper the cold, but the tender coffee plants did not prosper.

Fernandina grew so rapidly and irregularly that in 1811 the Spanish Government decided to replot the town. Those who moved their houses to conform to the new plan received a lot or half lot adjacent to their property as a reward. Among several residents whose moves were recorded was Isabel Jardine, wife of a wealthy planter, who maintained a town house as a refuge during Indian raids.

Fernandina's remarkable prosperity made the town a more and more tempting morsel in the great international game in which Florida figured as a pawn. Spain was under the thumb of Napoleon, and many of her American colonies were in revolt, distracting her attention from Florida. Meanwhile, France, England and the United States, regarding Florida as the key to the Gulf of Mexico, watched each other to check any move for control there. Governor Folch of Florida begged in vain for Spanish reinforcements against the border invaders, and finally in disgust wrote Robert Smith, Secretary of State, that if help did not come before the first of the year (1811) he would have to surrender both the Floridas (East Florida and West Florida) to the United States. Concern was not unwarranted; one resident of Fernandina wrote that he had counted thirty-six English warships in the harbor at one time during 1812.

The Spanish Governor's letter reached Washington about January 1st, and Madison immediately called a secret session of Congress to discuss its implications. In a bill passed by Congress, the President was empowered to receive and hold Florida east of the Perdido River, if the local authorities were willing to give it up or if there was danger that a foreign power would attempt to occupy it. Foreign power meant England, for by this time it was generally realized that a war betwen the United States and England was inevitable, and it was deemed essential to forestall the seizure of Florida.

The President was authorized by Congress to use the army and navy, if necessary,

and to expend up to $100,000 in the occupation of East Florida; he was further authorized to set up a temporary government and appoint such civil, military and judicial officers as he saw fit. President Madison appointed General George Matthews and Colonel John McKee as commissioners to carry out the provisions of the bill.

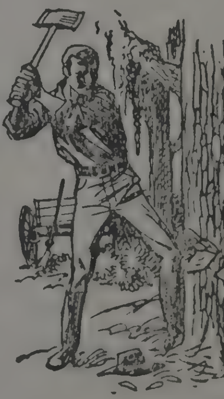
In their instructions the commissioners were directed to "conceal from general observation the trust, with that discretion which the delicacy and importance of the undertaking required." If the local authorized leader was inclined to surrender in an "amicable manner," General Matthews was to accept his abdication in behalf of the United States. "Should there be room," wrote Robert Smith, "to entertain a suspicion of an existing design of any foreign power to occupy the country in question you are to keep yourselves on the alert, and, on the first undoubted manifestation of the approach of a force for that purpose you will exercise with promptness and vigor with whom you are invested by the President to pre-occupy by force the territory to the entire exclusion of any armament that may be advanced to take possession of it."

In spite of the admonition to secrecy it was common knowledge that the United States intended to take possession of East Florida on one pretext or another. When General Matthews arrived, he found the St. Mary's River alive with British shipping engaged in smuggling goods in violation of United States nonimportation laws. After careful inquiry the American decided that it would be impossible to take peaceful possession of the province. Fernandina, free port of entry since 1808, was now a place of considerable importance; it was said that as many as 150 square-rigged vessels could be seen at one time within her harbor, and the town had a population of about 800. The lucrative smuggling trade would not be surrendered without a struggle, Matthews felt, so he recommended the employment of force. The plan he evolved was inspired by a recent occurrence in West Florida; the people of East Florida were to be encouraged to revolt, declare the province independent, and apply for annexation to the United States, as the West Coast people had done. Matthews thought that "200 stand of arms and fifty horsemen's swords would be necessary," and he guaranteed not only that they would reach the right people, but that the United States would not be compromised. He discussed his plans at length with Senator William H. Crawford of Georgia, and felt sure that the latter communicated them to the President. A strong hint also had been officially given by General William Eustis, Secretary of War, to create a new local authority friendly to the United States.

All in all, Matthews felt justified in taking the President's silence for consent, so he proceeded to organize the revolution. His preparations took about a year, which is not surprising in view of the state of communications at that time.

Adventurous spirits abounded along the St. Mary's River, which was termed the "jumping place" for criminals and desperate characters. "Moccasin boys," as they were called, were making slave and cattle raids into the Indian country. Fort Alert, built at Traders Hill on the King's Road in 1812, for the express purpose of checking smuggling across the border, was adapted to a strange procedure. When a slave trader had a cargo of Negroes to "run" over the border, the "moccasin boys" spread an Indian alarm through the backwoods, settlers crawled into the fort, and the Negroes were marched in gangs unobserved across the Georgia line.

Not only were these adventurous spirits ready for any deed of daring, especially one that promised injury to the Spanish authorities, but an ideal leader was at hand in the person of John McIntosh. Many years before he had intrigued against the Spanish Government, had been arrested and imprisoned in Morro Castle. By 1811, he had become a man of some wealth and importance along the lower St. Johns. Promised protection and reimbursement by Matthews, McIntosh devoted himself to the "sacred cause."



Matthews probably obtained the "200 stand of arms and 50 horsemen's swords,"

for on March 14, 1812, he wrote to the Secretary of State that Commodore Hugh Campbell had furnished him with "every assistance in his power." In the spring of 1812, some 200 adventurous "patriots" assembled near the St. Mary's. Proceeding to organize a government, they established a Republic of Florida with General McIntosh as governor or director and a Colonel Richard Ashley as military chief. The "patriots" adopted a white flag on which was a soldier with bayonet charged and the motto: Salus populi—suprema lex—(The well-being of the people is the supreme law).

They were now ready for the capture of Fernandina. At that time Don Jose Lopez was in command of the fort and viewed his garrison of ten men without illusion. On March 15th, Colonel Ashley sent Lopez an ultimatum in which he said that rather than have the United States take possession of East Florida, the inhabitants had decided to do it themselves, and that they now held possession from the St. Mary's to the St. Johns River; they demanded the surrender of the fort. There is no doubt that this move was part of Matthews' carefully considered plan; indeed, there is on record testimony in a damage suit that the Patriot War was planned by General Matthews. On any other supposition it is highly fortuitous, to say the least, that exactly at this time there were in Fernandina nine American gunboats under the command of Hugh Campbell. Their purpose was ostensibly an innocent one, namely, to prevent smuggling and enforce the non-importation law, but significantly, their guns were turned on the fort in Fernandina.

Lopez sent messengers to Commodore Campbell stating the demands of the insurgents, and inquiring if he, Campbell, had orders to aid him. Messengers were also dispatched to a Major Jacint LaVal, who was in command of American troops at Point Peter. While LaVal replied that he had no such orders, Campbell temporized and referred the messengers to General Matthews. These messengers made no secret of their knowledge that the "patriots" were Americans brought to Florida under the promise of 500 acres of land in case the revolution succeeded, and they added that Lopez would never surrender. But Lopez had little choice.

The patriots came down the river in boats; saw the line of warships with their guns bearing upon the town. Although flying the flag of a neutral power, everyone knew that the warships were prepared to enforce the demand of the "patriots." The Spanish garrison marched out ten strong. Lopez gave up his sword, McIntosh hauled down the Spanish flag and raised the Flag of the Republic of Florida at four o'clock on March 17, 1812.

In the articles of capitulation it was provided that "the island shall, 24 hours after the surrender, be ceded to the United States of America under the express condition that the port of Fernandina shall not be subject to any of the restrictions on commerce that exist at present in the United States, but shall be open as heretofore, to British and other vessels and produce, on paying the lawful tonnage and import duties; and in case of actual war between the United States and Great Britain the port of Fernandina shall be open to British merchant vessels and produce, and considered a free port until the 1st of May 1813." The articles were witnessed by George Atkinson, George I. F. Clarke, Charles W. Clarke, and Archibald Clarke. At noon on March 18th, the Stars and Stripes were flying over the fort and a company of soldiers under Lt. Ridgley was on garrison duty, but many citizens in Fernandina remained loyal to the Spanish administration, among them Hibberson, Atkinson, Cashen and Yonge.

On the 21st of March, General Matthews wrote the Secretary of State, "Enclosed you have a letter from the constituted authorities of East Florida requesting me as commissioner of the United States to take possession of all that tract of country lying between the St. Mary's and the St. Johns Rivers, including the islands between the same, which agreeably thereto was ceded and surrendered to the United States through me on the 18th inst. . . ."

Both the Spanish and the English ministers at Washington protested vigorously

against the occupation of Fernandina and a subsequent movement upon St. Augustine. Madison deemed it expedient to say that Matthews had exceeded his instructions and that he would be dismissed. Governor Mitchell of Georgia was appointed to take his place. He had luck neither with the "patriots," who refused to lay down their arms, nor with Governor Estrada, who declined firmly to make any agreement granting immunity to the insurrectionists. Governor Mitchell thereupon boldly sent to Savannah for aid, which arrived at the same time as the news of the declaration of War against England. Seventeen British ships and a large quantity of timber lying in harbor were promptly seized. Governor Mitchell was thanked by Madison for his "ability and judgement," and removed to make room for General Thomas Pinckney. This gentleman was cautioned to use only peaceable means to take possession of the province, unless some foreign power attempted to seize it. Nothing untoward seems to have happened. Contraband trade proceeded briskly; cotton bales filled the streets, and goods from all over the world piled up in the warehouses. In 1813, however, the embargo was repealed and Fernandina lost its commercial advantage. On May 16th, 1813, Pinckney withdrew from Amelia Island since, presumably, the danger from a foreign country was past, and Spain was again in possession of Fernandina.

Though Spain published a general pardon to her East Florida subjects, this did not end the ill-feeling and the skirmishes between the Spaniards and so-called patriots, nor the incursion of bands of idlers bent only on making trouble. Fernandina was too weak for defense. St. Augustine was unwilling to send its troops out to hunt "bush fighters," to quote George Clarke, emigre from Virginia to Fernandina, who wrote: "The newly styled Republic of Florida over which the influence of order had not been felt since March 1812, and having now no compulsive inducements to union among its members, soon fell into the most wretched state of anarchy and licentiousness; even the honest were compelled to knavery in their own defense, and thus continued until August 1816—while the most rancorous feelings existed between the Patriots on the main, and the damn'd Spaniards of Amelia Island."

In August, 1816, Clarke, who had been employed as surveyor during the English occupation and later by the Spanish Government, acting on Spain's behalf, made a bargain with the "patriots" by which they were given considerable land on condition that they return to Spanish rule; the past was to be "buried in total oblivion." The "patriots" accepted, and thus ended the Republic of Florida.

Heyday for Pirates

This peaceful interlude was of short duration, for in June 1817, arrived the picturesque "General" Gregor McGregor. One day a fisherman came hurriedly into Fernandina with news that some men in a boat from a vessel had hailed him, and after inquiring as to number of inhabitants in the town, the means of defense, the number and character of the garrison, had commanded him to return to the city and tell the commandant that General Sir Gregor McGregor with his fleet and army was off the bar on his way to take possession of the town. When the five vessels were in sight the leading men of the town met and called upon the commandant of the garrison, Colonel Morales, to find out what action he proposed to take. The Colonel was a fat old man who loved his ease. He threw up his hands with the words, "What can I do? There is just one thing for me to do, and that is to take the men in the garrison, march them to St. Augustine and report to the Governor." One of the citizens warned him that he would be put in irons and sent to Havana for such a cowardly act, but Morales proceeded to carry out his intention, leaving the town defenseless. Many of the inhabitants sent their families out of the town, some left themselves, while some few remained in Fernandina to await further developments.

Letters of J. Skinner, postmaster of Philadelphia, on file in the State Department at Washington, give evidence of MacGregor's American backing. Skinner seems to

have been close to administration leaders. He was consulted by MacGregor, he says, in regard to a plan for capturing Amelia Island and making it independent of Spanish rule. This was to be the first step in acquiring use of the harbor of Fernandina as a basis for MacGregor's own South American operations, since he considered it one of the best harbors on the coast, and a familiar resort for the type of men needed for the South American enterprise, a doubtful compliment from any viewpoint.

At first Skinner thought MacGregor an English spy, but finally concluded that he was a visionary, and harmless, if not actually beneficial, as far as the interests of the United States were concerned. MacGregor was a handsome young Scotsman of 31, the grandson of the Laird of Inverardine. He had been for some years interested in the cause of South American independence, had served under Miranda and later under Bolivar, his relative by marriage. In spite of these Spanish affiliations, there was feeling against him in Fernandina so he determined on another approach to the cause.

Understanding that the United States Government would not oppose him, MacGregor gained the promise of financial support in Philadelphia. He enlisted recruits in Charleston, young and adventurous spirits, some belonging to the first families in the city, many of whom had served in the late war with England. In Savannah he enlisted more recruits, but these were of a more mercenary type, who were to be paid $10 a month for their services. In Savannah also he is said to have obtained an advance on a loan of $30,000 in return for which he was to give the mercantile house making the loan 30,000 acres of land in East Florida. This mercantile house sent at least one spy to Fernandina, and MacGregor's plan of attack was based on the information he brought back. It was learned that the Spanish garrison at Fernandina consisted of but 54 men, officers included, and that there were only 200 men in the town capable of bearing arms. MacGregor decided to make his attack on a Sunday, when many of the soldiers would be absent from the fort. He marched his 55 men in open order, to give the appearance of a large force.

The march on the fort took place on Sunday, June 29, 1817. Morales, believing attackers to be much larger in number than they in reality were, surrendered the fort to them. The band that entered Fernandina had waded through the marsh and though wet and muddy, were truly impressive, each man with a long green plume in his hat. This insignia turned out later to be ordinary dog fennel, probably used to ward off the swarms of insects. The men took possession of the abandoned houses. MacGregor established himself in the finest house in town. He assumed great style; sentinels paced before his door and formalities had to be observed in approaching him, though nothing could exceed his affability, once admission to his presence was gained. He entertained lavishly, gave grand dinners, and was profuse in his hospitality. In company he was jolly and good-natured. As a prank he told his Spanish wife (who spoke no English) to greet her American guests with "Go to Hell." "Why do they laugh?" she asked wonderingly. "Because you speak so charmingly, my dear," he replied.

MacGregor issued daily documents ornate with ribbons and seals. His followers wore on the left arm a shield of red cloth with a motto and a wreath of oak and laurel leaves embroidered in yellow silk. His flag was a green cross on white which he promised soon to plant on "the proud walls of St. Augustine." He declared all Florida in a state of blockade from the south side of Amelia River to the Perdido River, and signed his communication to Morales, "Gregor MacGregor, Brigadier General of the Armies of the United Provinces of New Granada and Venuezuela and General-in-Chief of that Army, destined to emancipate the province of both Floridas, under the commission of the Supreme Government of Mexico, and South America," etc., etc.

The invaders set up a town government, appointed a mayor, opened stores for the sale of the valuable merchandise brought with them, and solicted traffic with

the town people. The latter did not neglect the opportunity to dispose of their produce. They received good prices for their chickens and eggs, or exchanged them for such delicacies as coffee, tea, sugar and cocoa. Fernandina was made a free port, and large quantities of dutiable goods were smuggled into the United States. The harbor was visited by vessels from many countries, and trade was good.

MacGregor's popularity and power, however, were short-lived. Raids on neighboring settlements made him unpopular with the inhabitants of East Florida, and the Spaniards prepared to attack him. His paper money proved worthless, he got into debt, the expected help from the north did not materialize, and his men began to contract fever. Just as a battle was impending with the Spaniards, Ruggles Hubbard, high sheriff of New York, arrived, but since he had not brought with him the financial assistance which MacGregor was expecting, the general deemed it prudent to depart for New Providence, from whence he did not return.

In abandoning the cause of freedom MacGregor perforce surrendered the command of Amelia to Jared Irwin. The latter had been a member of Congress from the State of Pennsylvania. Irwin, with feverish haste, prepared for an impending Spanish attack on the island. He collected what force he could from the heterogeneous elements then loose in the vicinity and enlisted the services of several independent privateers in the port of Fernandina. In a few days the Spaniards appeared before the town and the battle began. It was won by the poor markmanship of Irwin's privateers, who, training their guns on the Spanish battery on McClure's Hill, overshot their mark so that shells fell among the Spanish troops massed below. Several were killed and a number wounded. The Spanish commander, becoming panic-stricken at the unexpected development, ordered a retreat, leaving Irwin in undisputed possession of Amelia Island. This was September 13, 1817. After the battle, Hubbard, who had been at St. Mary's, joined Irwin. These two American politicians entered into a combine to retain possession of Amelia Island, not for the purpose of conquering Florida, but for the establishment of a rendezvous for the swarms of privateers that then infested the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico. Hubbard became the Civil Governor and Irwin the naval and military chief of Amelia. There is strong evidence that they were allied with certain large American mercantile establishments that dealt in prize goods illegally taken upon the high seas.

The high sheriff of New York and the former Congressman from Pennsylvania were busily engaged in organizing a government for their new acquisition when, about the first of October, the fleet of the Frenchman, Luis Aury, sailed into the harbor of Fernandina with two privateers. Like the LaFittes, he was a client of Edward Livingston. Appointed first governor of Texas under the New Mexican Government, he had been operating against the Spanish on the Gulf Coast and had acquired thirteen ships. It is said that his prizes were worth $60,000. Governor Hubbard and Colonel Irwin appealed to Aury for financial assistance in perfecting their establishment at Amelia, but Aury refused unless he were made supreme chief. The Americans objected to this agreement. Contention lasted several days; Aury was preparing to leave when the two others yielded. It was finally agreed that Hubbard should retain his title of Civil Governor of the island, but that Aury should be military chief and Irwin adjutant-general. Aury, in his capacity of a Mexican official hoisted the flag of that republic over Amelia Island. So with the buccaneers lined up at attention, Amelia Island was annexed to the Republic of Mexico on the 4th of October, 1817. This flag's device was a coiled reptile.

Aury had brought with him to Amelia Island a band of Santo Domingo Negroes, known as "Aury's Blacks," together with outcasts of various other nationalities, among them remnants of LaFitte's band. LaFitte himself is reported to have visited Fernandina as freely as he did New Orleans. One lady recalled borrowing a book from a cultured visitor in town and finding the name LaFitte on the flyleaf. When

she questioned the donor, he laughed and said "LaFitte walks the street like any other man,"

Irwin continued in the office of adjutant-general under Aury. The establishment of Amelia was now a piratical institution of the first class, slave ships taken upon the high seas being the chief source of revenue. In two months more than a thousand slaves were smuggled through the port of Fernandina. Conditions at this time are graphically portrayed in Roland Bank's novel, *Black Ivory*. Other cargoes consisted of coffee, tea, cocoa, wines, liquors and costly fabrics. During Aury's command there were as many as eight prizes in the port at one time. One of the most interesting was a cargo of a thousand boxes of cigars made expressly for the King of Spain.

The compromise agreement between the Americans and Aury was soon broken and affairs of state drifted into the utmost confusion. Two factions developed, one headed by Hubbard, called the American party, and the other led by Aury, known as the French party. The two were on the point of open warfare when Hubbard died of an attack of yellow fever, after which Aury gained control of Amelia.

The United States Government had kept an eye on affairs at Amelia, and as soon as it became apparent that these were in no way tending toward a conquest of Florida, President Monroe invoked a secret law of authority and ordered a military and naval force to the Spanish waters of Amelia to run Aury out. On December 23, 1817, Capt. J. E. Henry of the United States corvette John Adams demanded Aury's surrender. Aury protested but made no resistance. The American troops landed, marched up to the fort at Fernandina to the tunes of Hail Columbia and Yankee Doodle, and hoisted the American flag. Aury sailed away to continue his operations as a privateer until his death on the Island of Old Providence in 1821.

The Spanish minister protested the occupation, to which John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State, countered with a long shrewd reply. He broadly hinted that since Florida had become too troublesome for Spain, she ought to cede it to the United States, and enumerated five terms for such a cession. The Spanish minister, in a reply also as thick as a volume, gave his reasons why Spain would never consent to a cession on any terms.

While the United States was holding Fernandina "in trust" for Spain, all duties on goods coming to the port were paid to the American collector of customs at St. Mary's, Georgia. The Spanish authorities at St. Augustine were so bitter against this arrangement that on November 21, 1818, they sold ten horseloads of arms and ammunition to the Indians, urging the natives to attack the Americans who were then holding the Spanish ports at Pensacola, St. Marks, and Fernandina. Major Fanning, in charge at St. Marks, reported three English vessels trading arms to the Indians on the West Coast, one at Tampa and two at the mouth of the Suwannee River.

Some of this ill-will was vented when Captain Miller of the Spanish forces fired on Augustus Santee, a resident of Fernandina, and two American soldiers who had left the shelter of the town and were visiting near the mouth of the St. Johns River. The three men were taken to St. Augustine as prisoners over the protest of General Gaines, American Commander at Fernandina.

In 1818, a yellow fever epidemic broke out which was so devasting that even the United States Marines left. The town was almost depopulated, and many years passed before people returned in appreciable numbers to live there.

Jackson's raid into West Florida caused a temporary lull in negotiations for the cession of Florida, but afterwards they were resumed, and Adams' terms were the basis on which Florida was finally ceded to the United States. This was called a sale, but actually no money changed hands, claims against the Spanish Government for damages to property of Americans during the Patriots' Rebellion cancelling the purchase price of Florida. On July 10, 1821, the Spanish flag was lowered on

Fort San Carlos and the Stars and Stripes "announced the second acquisition to the young nation of the New World,"

American Proprietors

Transfer of Florida to the United States had less perceptible effect on Fernandina than on other sections as it had been under American influence since 1817. However, as in the case of St. Augustine and Pensacola, Fernandina's population did not relish the idea of American ownership.

At the time of the cession the community was described as a town of about 40 wooden houses on six streets laid at right angles and bordered by Pride of India trees. Beside the river and in front of a public square stood the small fort with eight guns. About one hundred and fifty people lived there at the time.

In 1824 Nassau County was created with Fernandina as the county seat. The town was incorporated that same year, and a plat was made for a large town, but the community did not prosper enough to take up the new sections. While West Florida towns were developing rapidly, and people were hurrying to the new town of Jacksonville, Fernandina seemed caught in an eddy. Only one ship a year visited the harbor. One small store, a boarding house with four rooms, and a few houses comprised the town. There was no post office; mail came from prosperous St. Mary's across the Sound.

So stagnant did business become between 1835 and 1840 that the county seat was removed from Fernandina to a community known as Court House Ditch at Waterman's Grant, between King's Ferry and Fernandina. Eventually, because of its great harbor, Fernandina was deemed worthy of special protection, and an act reserving land from the public domain for military purposes was signed in 1842. In 1844, General Duncan Lamont Clinch, a distinguished veteran of the Seminole and Mexican wars, visited the plantation of Kingsley Gibbs on Fort George Island, at the mouth of the St. Johns River. Here he met the sister of Mr. Gibbs, Mrs. Sophia Couper, a young widow. Early in 1846 they were married in Jacksonville, where the many distinguished connections of the Gibbs family in northeast Florida made their wedding a notable event. The general became such a figure of public interest locally that the new fort at Fernandina, begun in 1847, was given his name. Fort Clinch was located on the north end of Amelia Island, where 420 acres were set aside for a reservation. At the same time this tract was acquired by the Government, the land on which old San Carlos fort stood was released.

In December 1824, the legislative Council of the Territory of Florida had passed "an act to incorporate the city of Fernandina" (site of the present town) for a term of eight years. No development resulted, but in 1853, when news spread that the Florida Railroad Company planned to make Fernandina the eastern terminus of the first cross-state railroad, values rose; the road was built; heirs of Don Fernandez sold the tract where the new city of Fernandina now stands for $10 an acre. City streets were laid out, many houses were built, and steamers arrived daily from Charleston and Savannah. Within seven years, Fernandina's population grew from a few hundred to 1,390 people. The place was not without its old-style characters, however. Pirates still slipped in and out of town unostentatiously selling or claiming what they would. The ornate Swancy Jack, a boat belonging to George Latham, Fernandina resident, attracted the eye of a fastidious pirate who offered gold for it. When George hesitated, the pirate remarked that he might as well take the money, since he (the pirate) would get the boat anyway. The yacht Wanderer landed contraband slaves here in 1860. Nor was the advent of the railroad considered an unmitigated boon. Backwoodsmen claimed turpentine operations that developed as a result of the railroad ruined their hog ranges, and the railroad killed their cattle; farmers wives claimed that market eggs were broken when carts

crossed the tracks. The new railroad ran to Cedar Keys. Coastal ports extended the service to Havana and the West Indies.

In order to avoid the marsh which surrounded Old Town, the city plan, originally drawn in 1824, was finally carried out, whereby the railroad reached deep water in front of the present town of Fernandina. Trade in cotton, timber, and naval stores became heavy. Consuls from many countries had their offices here. A wooden footbridge across the marsh joined Old Town and the new city.

Just as the railroad was completed, steamers built, and mail contracts granted, the War Between the States broke out, thereby delaying for many years the growth that had seemed just ahead.

War Between The States and Reconstruction

On December 20, 1860, a steamer flying the palmetto flag of South Carolina arrived with a message that the mother state, South Carolina, had seceded and asking if the daughter state, Florida, would follow. A division engineer of the Florida Railroad who was a Union sympathizer, remarked that this message was just like South Carolina, always claiming everything! He was a minority representative: the State seceded January 10, 1861.

The Confederate call to arms met with an immediate response in Fernandina. Two hundred armed men were mustered, and case after case of ammunition arrived from New York, from sympathizers with the Southern cause. Fernando Wood, Mayor of New York, was reported to have aided in forwarding the ammunition to Fernandina.

The engineer with Union leanings narrowly escaped lynching at Bronson, when he went on his route. Half his head was shaved and he was hurried on a train to Fernandina where he was lodged in the jail for safe keeping until he could be shipped north.

At the outbreak of hostilities, the Confederates under Colonel W. S. Dilworth occupied Fort Clinch, but they knew that the fort was outmoded and could not be held against a Federal fleet. Letters of Colonel Dilworth in August 1861, reflect the tension of the men: "Enemy war vessels are in sight every day," he wrote. "If we had a horse company, we could patrol the beach." Finally he began a letter which read: "The nature and character of the defense being—" but this letter was never finished. On March 2, 1862, a bark, flying French colors, signaled for a pilot, and Colonel D. F. Holland and six soldiers of the 4th Florida Regulars went out with a white flag. The ship proved to be a Federal vessel; the men were captured and the bark sailed.

Immediately thereafter, news reached the fort that a United States fleet under Commodore DuPont was steaming for Fernandina. Colonel Dilworth's orders to evacuate Fort Clinch at once and to dynamite the railroad bridge over the Inland Waterway caused everyone to leave hurriedly. So close was the fleet on the heels of the refugees that shells from the gunboats fell on the last of two trainloads of people from Fernandina as it crossed the bridge. Seated next to one of the two men killed was Senator Yulee, who had represented Florida in the U.S. Senate until the outbreak of the war. The steamer Darlington, with other refugees, was captured at the drawbridge. Because he did not stop his boat when it was fired upon, and thereby risked the lives of his passengers, the captain, Jacob Brook, was sent north in irons.

On March 3rd DuPont anchored opposite "new" Fernandina, where the railroad ships were still burning. Federal troops occupied the fort and the town was under their control for the duration of the war. They found 200 frightened women, old men and children in the town or on the plantations. Many of the slaves remained with their owners though it was easy to desert and join the Union Army.

A proclamation was issued that protection would be given those who came in

and registered at the provost marshal's office, and deserters from the Confederate Army, roughly clad but well armed, came filtering in. No one was allowed in the streets after dark.

Federal boats searched the miles of waterways around the town and the U.S.S. Michigan captured a Nova Scotian blockade runner and a schooner with medical supplies. For miles their course was luridly illuminated by flames of lumber yards, set on fire by Confederates. The Federal gunboat Ottawa was fired on by a Confederate regiment from Mississippi, and in the resultant engagement many men on the bank were killed.

Dungeness, on Cumberland Island, was carefully guarded by the Federals because the owners, heirs of Mrs. Fitzhugh Lee, lived in Rhode Island. Southern property owners weren't so fortunate. Federal troops were quartered in the Presbyterian Church.

People of Fernandina were very poor; their hardships are described in letters written by Martha Reid, a resident, whose husband later became Governor of Florida. Kerosene was purchased a quart at a time; peas and beans were grown in small garden patches, and the seeds saved or divided with less fortunate friends. Tea cost $3 a pound; coffee $1; and flour $25 per barrel.

At the close of the War the people of Fernandina surveyed the devastation preparatory to rebuilding. The county seat was restored to the town, but its economic life was wrecked. Wharves, shops, and warehouses were destroyed both at Fernandina and Cedar Keys. Crossties and bridges were rotting, and of the rolling stock of the railroad there remained only four locomotives, nine boxcars, twelve flatcars and two antiquated passenger cars. Much of the rail between Baldwin and Fernandina had been taken up during the war to make Live Oak connection with the Atlantic and Gulf railroad, though this was later restored.

The proclamation of May 24, 1865, disowning provisional governments set up in South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, dashed any hopes of Confederates that they would be reinstated as citizens. Commissions of Claims in Washington confirmed their fears in 1871 by a questionnaire whose eighty questions were concerned with whether or not each male over 16 had rendered any service to the Confederate cause.

The Florida Railroad lost $20,000 in 1865, the year its President, Senator Yulee, was a political prisoner. In 1866 the railroad was sold for $323,400 to Isaac K. Roberts who had the deed made to Edw. M. Dickerson and associates, bondholders and creditors. Business so improved that by the 1880's its stock was good investment. In 1867, 8,000 bales of cotton came to the port for shipment, and although it sold for only 1½ cents a pound, the sale was a hopeful sign after the years of stagnation.

By 1870, there were 1,722 people in Fernandina, but life was still hard for both whites and Negroes. Negroes had political equality in the decade following the war: Nassau was one of the "black" counties, so-called because nearly all the city and county officials were Negroes. But economically, the race was uprooted; many stood on the streets with nowhere to go and nothing to do, and often were prey to the nefarious exploitation of politicians. However, even in this section many Negroes stayed to work the farms, as in the case of the Harrison plantation.

Before the 1870's closed the economic future seemed to brighten. The citizens were energetically promoting a project for a canal between the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, an idea that seems to recur in the history of Florida whenever the people feel optimistic. A fashionable school for girls, occupying 42 rooms, was built. It was known as the Priory, or Bishop's School, because it was under the supervision of the Rt. Rev. John Freeman Young, Episcopal Bishop of Florida. At the same time a public school system had its beginnings. Provision was made for the education of Negro as well as white children, the education of the former in the hands of zealous Northerners anxious that the freedman be prepared for his new status. The school budget, however, reflected a very limited educational

program. The county set $25 a month as the highest salary possible for a teacher. For classes of more than fifty pupils an assistant teacher was provided at a salary of $20.

The Florida Railroad Company built the Egmont hotel in 1877, an elaborate structure of seventy-five rooms, fronting a park, and Fernandina's confidence in the future was restored, only to be cruelly checked by a severe epidemic of yellow fever in 1878. A cordon was established around the town and all persons entering or leaving the stricken area were required to have passes. Theories regarding yellow fever were as numerous as the mosquitoes that caused it, but twenty years were to pass before the source of the trouble was discovered.

From 1879-1885, the historian, George R. Fairbanks, was editor of the Florida Mirror, Fernandina's newspaper. Its editorials supplied vivid pictures of the life of the period. It mentions that the town had about 2,800 inhabitants then, and people were beginning to say it would be the leading port of Florida. When a $60,000 shipment of cotton seed and cotton left Fernandina for England in 1879, it was hailed as the most valuable cargo out of the port. Fairbanks penned a bitter attack on a "carpetbag" candidate for mayor in 1880, along with eloquent pleas to the citizens to join the Hancock and Bloxham Club, called a conservative, but in reality a Democratic club.

Former President Grant, who had returned from his tour of the world, was making another trip to Key West, West Indies and Mexico. He arrived in Fernandina in January 1880, on the City of Bridgeton, accompanied by star newspaper correspondents, stopped at the Egmont Hotel, made a speech and attended a ball. Because he had obtained the release of Senator Yulee from Fort Pulaski, after the War Between the States, Grant was warmly welcomed by ex-Confederates, to the surprise of resident Republicans. Senator Yulee, whose fortunes had mended with that of his railroad, was, of course, on hand to greet him. Later Yulee asked one of his ex-slaves what he thought of Grant. "Wal, Mr. Yulee, he aint as hearty a man as yo' Pa," replied the old man.

The distinguished visitor was entertained by a drive on the smooth beach and a boat ride down the river, stopping at Dungeness. The correspondents wrote glowing accounts of this rediscovered South.

A jetty begun in 1880 was the first of a series of harbor improvements. Where then there was but 12 feet of water at low tide on the bar, today, due to improvements, there are 30 feet, a depth which is maintained up to the city docks.

In 1881 the iron hulled steamer Western Texas began its run between Fernandina, Nassau and Cuba. A Negro longshoreman's strike created excitement in 1888. An unknown Negro who came into town on a large white horse, organized a strike, raising a flag and gathering crowds by his exhortations. The local militia was unequal to the task of restoring order. Authorities called on Gainesville troops for aid. An outbreak of yellow fever further demoralized the white residents in town, for at first, only they seemed smitten. The strike continued, conditions verged on panic. Minute Men were organized, ready to be summoned at the ringing of the Presbyterian Church bell. Then yellow fever broke out and all well persons, white and black, were too busy nursing to think of other troubles. The Gulf Stream, the regular steamer between New York and Fernandina, was in port when the first cases were reported and took many people away before the cordon was established. Others, unable to leave, sought refuge in flimsy structures built in the woods. Sulphur was burned in the houses and ships to fumigate them. Regulations were so strict that letters leaving town were perforated in order to fumigate them.

A branch of the Howard Relief Association was opened by the townspeople. Work of this organization, started in New Orleans in 1873, preceded that of the Red Cross in the United States. Relief came in from the outside, and was so generous that there was no suffering from lack of food or medicines. Many of the

Gainesville militia, still in Fernandina, succumbed. A monument in Gainesville commemorates those volunteers who died while on duty.

The fever lasted until late in October, when there was a severe frost. Even though this epidemic was not as severe as the one ten years previous, there were hundreds of cases and fifty-two deaths. No one seemed to know how the fever was transmitted. One theory attributed it to bacteria in the air, and one Florida doctor fired cannon believing that concussion would destroy the germs.

The United States Government meanwhile was making here and elsewhere an intensive investigation to locate the orgin of the disease. Dr. Ross of the United States Marine Hospital service, with an assistant, was ordered to Fernandina from Pensacola, and together with George E. Wolff, the local sanitary inspector, investigated each case minutely. Reports of these investigations must have had much to do with locating the carrier of the infection, the mosquito, dramatically proved by Walter Reed and his associates years later. With screening and intensive war on the insect, yellow fever has become a thing of the past.

Pro Cuba

Popular sentiment in America was deeply stirred by the Cuban revolution of 1896. Officially the United States was neutral at first and the Navy patrolled the Atlantic seaboard to prevent smuggling of arms to the Cuban insurgents. The many Cubans in Florida had roused public sentiment to the point where filibusters were very successful here and Fernandina had her full share of these adventurous spirits. A lively filibustering trade had built up with Cuba, whose troubles with Spain had long been fomenting. Arms, ammunition, and recruits for the rebel Cuban army were shipped out of Fernandina.

An account of one of these exploits in which Fernandina figured is found in Ralph Paines *Roads of Adventure*. This young man was entrusted by William Randolph Hearst, the publisher, with a jeweled gold sword for the Cuban leader, General Garcia. Paine undertook the commission as a publicity stunt. Garcia declared it was lucky that the sword was not delivered when he needed its worth ($2.000) much more. The reporter was smuggled aboard the Three Friends at Fernandina. She was built in 1895, and was well adapted for filibustering—127 feet long with a beam of 24 feet, 6 inches, and a draft of 11 feet. She had a displacement of 157 tons and was powered by a 700 horsepower engine capable of 15 knots. Her speed and strength aroused the suspicion of the Spanish Government whose fears were soon justified when on March 15, she took fifty Cubans from Florida to the island, making many other trips before the declaration of war with Spain. The Spanish Navy maintained a blockade of Cuba and any vessel caught trying to land arms was blown out of the water. If captured, members of the crew were shot.

In spite of the danger involved, a number of vessels, including the Dauntless, La Gonda, Commodore. and Paul Jones, operated from the port of Fernandina and neighboring waters. Once the La Gonda narrowly escaped capture when the report of her outlawed cargo was accidently sent to Mr. Baltzell, Fernandina's collector of Customs. Her captain threw ammunition and huge banana knives overboard rather than lose his ship.

The Paul Jones was more fortunate. On her way from Fernandina with arms she was signalled by the U.S.S. Vesuvius to come alongside. The Paul Jones replied that the sea was too rough. "Keep circling until the water is calmer," replied the warship. The circles were made, wider and wider, until dusk came, when the Paul Jones put out all lights and headed for the open sea. The Dauntless was almost as famous as the Three Friends. Her crew was white, but her captain was a Negro, Jim Floyd, who made eight or ten successful trips to Cuba. At last the U.S.S. Maine was sent to Havana to put a check on the filibustering and it was while on this duty that she was blown up in the harbor at Havana, precipitating war with Spain.

After the war was declared in 1898, unfinished Fort Clinch was prepared for occupancy and 10,000 volunteers encamped in its vicinity. The tempo of Fernandina was thereby enlivened. By 1900 the port was busy shipping lumber, cotton, naval stores, and phosphate, but as had happened so many times before, Fernandina's prosperity was short-lived. New railroads diverted shipping to Jacksonville and Savannah. The fourteen consuls took down their insignia and departed to busier ports and Fernandina was left to make her living from the resources of the immediate vicinity.

In 1913-14 shrimp and oyster canneries, fish fertilizer plants, and a large phosphate elevator lined the waterfront. The fishing fleets gave animation to the harbor, but the town slept under its overhanging moss. In the twenty years thereafter the town's population had grown to only 3,434 people. There were only seventy more white residents than Negroes. Among the latter were many fishermen and employees of the canneries.

Then in 1936 came the Container Corporation of America, and erected its $6,000,000 plant for making Kraft paper and boxes. In 1937 the Rayonier Corporation also built a mill here for the making of rayon pulp from pine trees. Fernadina was chosen for its many natural advantages. Besides the fine harbor, and network of waterways, 10,000,000 acres of the most rapidly growing timber in the world is available within a radius of 150 miles. The United States Forest Service reports this area will produce at a rate of one-half to one and one-half cords per year per acre without reducing the supply of timber. On the contrary, cutting at this rate will improve the original stand. By selective cutting of pine the forests can be kept continually productive.

Another water resource is hidden 500 to 1,000 feet underground, for the town is in an area of artesian water suited to the manufacture of paper pulp. Water is used in vast quantities for washing pulp and is indeed the raw product necessary in the greatest amounts for operation.

The coming of the mills by 1938 had a profound effect on the community. Where many other enterprises have stripped the country of its resources, this industry replaces the natural resources and is bringing new income to city and county residents. As elsewhere in the South, the social pattern is being changed as the inhabitants are released from a dependence upon cotton, tobacco and truck farming. Timber farming offers the possibility of a steady source of income.

An estimated forty-five per cent increase in Fernandina's population occurred in the two-year period between 1935-37. Building permits for August, 1937, totaled $6,308,900. A temporary housing shortage developed, however, and the mayor broadcast an appeal through newspapers, asking people not to come to the town until the new structures were completed. Fernandina, for at least the sixth time has been revived, but for the first time, industrial development is the cause.

CHAPTER XVII

DUVAL COUNTY

By Ruby Leach Carson

NO ONE DISPUTES Jacksonville's right to be known as the "Gateway Into Florida". It would be just as factual to refer to her county, Duval, as the "Gateway into History". The first (although not permanent) settlement of Protestants on soil that is now continental United States was made in the area now known as Duval County. The massacre which destroyed most of these settlers also was an historic "first"—the first struggle between European nations on land within the present boundaries of the United States.

Through the years of its colonial, territorial and statehood history, events have been important beyond the time and place of their happening, with outside pressures often directing these events. The location of the 545,280 acres which now constitute Duval County gave it an early economic preeminence. Its deep water port for sea-going vessels and its position at the entrance of the great St. Johns River made early industry possible and also invited the new wealth needed when the back country was still primitive.

The culture and charm of the Old South, which developed during territorial days and early statehood, was not lost but absorbed by newcomers of varying cultural backgrounds. Nor did the calamities such as wars, plagues and fires cause any real retrogression, for during its vicissitudes Duval County developed its outstanding leadership—a leadership which, down through the decades, has helped the whole State of Florida. It has made of Jacksonville a wonderland of progress and a modern city of skyscrapers, expressways, and beautiful residential sections.

The county's 1960 population of 455,411 provides a romantic contrast to those few Frenchmen who in 1562 were the first to bring this area into the pages of Florida history, forty-nine years after Ponce de Leon had discovered the peninsula of Florida and claimed it for Spain.

Congressman Charles Bennett of Jacksonville, in his chapter on "Fort Caroline", and Dr. J. E. Dovell of the University of Florida in his chapter on this period, have presented much of the background of Duval County's history. They have discussed the contest and warfare between France and Spain over their respective claims on Florida. England had coveted Florida and she finally realized her ambition by resorting to a sly and spectacular coup. In 1762 she made a surprise attack on Havana and captured it. Spain considered Havana her most valuable colony because it was her gateway to her Spanish-American empire. She agreed, therefore, to give Florida to England in exchange for her beloved Havana, and so the twenty-year British occupation of Florida began. East Florida's first boom started under its first English governor, James Grant, who issued a general proclamation praising the soil and climate of Florida and inviting settlers to come.

"Cowford", Jacksonville's First Name

Twenty-five miles from the mouth of the St. Johns River there was a narrow place where cows in the early days were driven into the water. This ford was called Wacca Pilatka by the Indians and translated into "Cowford" by the English. Two years after the British took possession they developed the Indian Trail from below St. Augustine to the Cowford and on to Georgia and called it the King's

Highway. Historian T. Frederick Davis claimed that the line of the ford across the river was Ferry Street in South Jacksonville to the foot of Liberty Street.

In line with the English plan to study and develop Florida's natural resources, a noted botanist, William Bartram, was sent to Florida. Fifteen years previously he had visited the state with his father, John Bartram, botanist to the King of England. In March, 1774, Bartram left Savannah for his second trip through Florida and his trip down the St. Johns is described in his book. Scholars are inclined to remark that Bartram's book was one of the best results of the British occupation. He wrote of leaving Fort George and of camping out before reaching Cowford.

His travels took him across the peninsula and into Pensacola. Thus for Bartram, too, the Duval area was a gateway into Florida. His book, "Travels Through North America", was published first in London in 1792 and later in America.

After the Revolutionary War began in 1776, the Duval area began to enjoy the results of a diligent English economy. The natural resources were being developed there and elsewhere and settlements were made for a hundred miles on each side of St. Augustine. During the Revolutionary War the settlers made money by shipping skins, hides, orange juice, rice, sugar, tobacco, molasses, cotton and indigo. For an account of the economic activity in Florida during the colonial period read Chapter One of J. E. Dovell's "History of Banking in Florida".

At the outbreak of the war a large number of Tories moved into Florida where they could remain loyal to England. Many of them developed plantations along the St. Johns and Nassau Rivers and some lived at St. Johns Bluff, the site of Fort Caroline. East Florida was never captured during the war, but Pensacola was captured on May 8, 1781, by Spanish forces after Spain entered on the side of the thirteen colonies. West Florida remained under Spanish rule until it became American territory forty years later. The Revolutionary War ended in 1781.

At the Treaty of Peace in 1783 England gave East and West Florida to Spain, much to the distress of the English settlers who had cultivated their lands. The Spanish announced that only those who were willing to become Catholics would be allowed to stay, so many of the white settlers departed.

Spain again owned the land she had previously held for 250 years. Now, however, this once-great empire-building nation would be unable to take proper care of Florida. She was so busy with wars in Europe in 1783 that she could not spare enough soldiers to make life safe for the new settlers; nor was life to be safe for the United States citizens in states next to the Floridas since the Indians were to be permitted by the Spanish to make raids into American territory for scalps and cattle.

The English had departed, but they had proved for the first time how Florida could produce prosperity when its soil, seaports and timber were used diligently and with thought. This new economy would bring Florida's Gateway City into existence.

Second Spanish Occupation

The time came now for the United States to be the nation casting covetous eyes upon the Florida peninsula. The United States claimed that losses had been sustained by its citizens from Spanish cruisers and these wrongs had not been redressed. Hubert Bruce Fuller, in his "Purchase of Florida", wrote that in 1804 James Monroe had "proceeded to Madrid to press negotiations with the Spanish ministry for the sale of Florida, the settlement of the spoliation claims, and determination of boundaries".

In a letter written May 25, 1805, to Madison, who was then Secretary of State, Monroe gave bold advice which Fuller describes as belligerent. "Take possession of both of the Floridas and the whole country west of the Mississippi to the Rio

Bravo unless it be thought better to rest at the Colorado; though we think the broader the ground the better."

Fuller explained how all the boundaries at that time were uncertain. He said that when Jefferson (who was President at the time Monroe went as diplomatic agent to Spain to negotiate for the purchase of Florida), had opened in 1803 the negotiations with Napoleon for the purchase of the Louisiana territory, "it was not the province of Louisiana, but rather New Orleans and the Floridas that he wished to secure. The fact that Spain had not ceded the Floridas (to France) was only later known to the United States. The correspondence of Jefferson," continued Fuller, "clearly shows that his idea was that by securing New Orleans and the Floridas the United States would possess a well rounded national domain east of the Mississippi." It was in 1803 that Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States for $15,000,000.

In the summer of 1804 the report of a clash between Spain and the United States in the territory in dispute had reached Europe, and Thomas Pinckney and Monroe were in Madrid making propositions for a treaty. In the following October Pinckney wrote Madison to be firm in the matter, and that Spain would "give way immediately". It was a short time after this that Pinckney was given leave to return home and Monroe remained in Spain.

Because border troubles resulting from Spain's failure to defend Florida properly had involved the Duval area, the difficulties and problems and diplomatic errors of the second Spanish occupation have a place in Duval County's history. Historian Fuller said: "The special mission ended the latter part of May, 1805, by the total rejection in the highest tone by Spain of every proposition made and she refused to ratify the convention of 1802."

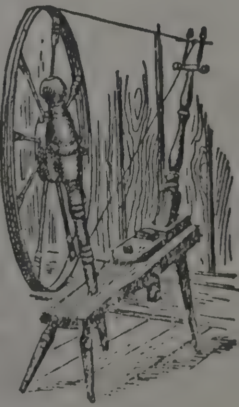
The Three Republics

Pirates and smugglers along Florida's northeast border were not the only dangers threatening the United States. James Madison was president in the year 1811 when the War of 1812 seemed a certainty and the United States feared that England might take Florida. At a secret session of Congress he appointed General George Matthews and Colonel John McKee as secret commissioners to proceed to Florida to negotiate with the Governor for the possession of Florida by the United States. As a part of his instructions, President Madison included this sentence:

"If, in the execution of any part of these instructions, you should need a military force, the same will be afforded you upon your application to the commanding officer of the troops of the United States. . . . ."

Naturally, the Spanish governor refused to surrender the Floridas. In March, 1812, some frontiersmen of Georgia and Florida assembled as "patriots" and organized themselves into what they called the "Republic of Florida". For their president, or director, they elected General John Houston McIntosh, a prominent land owner in the area. The Patriots' white flag was decorated with a soldier with bayonet charged and a motto, which read: "Salus Populi—Suprema lex". Colonel Ashley, as military chief, organized an army. When the Patriots came down the St. Mary's River in boats to take Fernandina on Amelia Island they found the fort was held by only ten soldiers. The four American gunboats sent by General Matthews certainly were not needed.

"Cowford" now comes into the picture. The day following the surrender of the Fort, General McIntosh sent Colonel Ashley with 300 men to Cowford, and from there a detachment was sent to seize the notorious slave trader, Zephaniah Kingsley, who at the time was at his plantation a few miles up the river. Although Kingsley had made a fortune in slave trading, or rather "smuggling", he had been successful as a planter, also. His residence on Fort George Island, and his one-time slave cabins, may be seen today by visitors and tourists.



Ashley gave Kingsley an opportunity to avoid imprisonment by joining the Patriots and giving them aid, which Kingsley agreed to do. The Patriots along with 100 regular United States troops were en route to St. Augustine when the army of the Patriots deposed Colonel Ashley by vote, and elected William Craig. Concerning Craig, Historian Gold said he had a plantation of 2,425 acres on the St. Johns and was later, in 1815, to be owner of 250 acres at the Cove of St. Nicholas, which is now South Jacksonville.

Of course, the Spanish complained to Washington about the capture of Spanish territory while the two nations were at peace, and the embarrassed President Madison could only reply that Matthews had gone too far.

Craig did not approve of a St. Augustine attack at that time and proceeded to establish a camp at New Hope. Their experiences included a raid by a company of escaped negro slaves and a subsequent offer of help from the Seminole chief, Bowlegs. Craig's refusal to accept the help was resented by the Indians who used it as an excuse for a later raid on planters in the Duval area. North of Duval, Fernandina was to see two more up-start republics rise and fall . . . The Green Cross Republic and the Republic of Mexico. The former was instigated by a Scotch adventurer, Gregor McGregor, who remained about three months; and the latter was the military coup of a pirate, Luis Aury, who was driven out by American troops in 1817.

Dr. Rembert W. Patrick in his "Florida Fiasco" wrote: "The prosperity of Florida was detrimental to the cause of General Matthews; few rich men were willing to break with the Spanish government . . . . Economics kept them loyal. Slave runners and smugglers favored Spain, for annexation of Florida by the United States would stop their profitable activities." Patrick also stated that "the reputations of Madison and Monroe were tarnished by their part in the East Florida revolution".

First Seminole War

In 1818 the First Seminole War was on and General Andrew Jackson's invasion and occupation of Pensacola caused an international diplomatic furor, since the United States and Spain were not at war. While these events did not take place in the Duval area, they were among the troubles which led to the purchase of Florida from Spain by the United States.

On October 24, 1819, the King of Spain ratified the treaty for the purchase, but it had required considerable pressure and doubtful ethics in high places. James Monroe, the fifth president of the United States, was represented in the negotiations by his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, who was to become the nation's sixth president. General Jackson who had forced the issue by an invasion made with the Government's secret approval but open disavowal, was to become a national idol and seventh president of the United States. No cash was involved in the exchange but it was agreed that the claims of United States citizens against Spain to the amount of five million dollars be cancelled. While historians disagree on the fairness of this, Florida's contemporary historian, Patrick, wrote that "the United States acquired the Floridas by fair negotiation".

Duval County Is Formed

In July, 1821, East and West Florida were formally received from Spain and General Andrew Jackson was appointed military governor of Florida. He immediately divided the territory into two counties, with Escambia County west of the Suwannee River and St. Johns County east.

General Jackson left Florida in October of that year and it was not until March, 1822, that Congress set up a civil government for the new territory. The first civil governor was a colorful Kentucky lawyer who had been serving in East Florida

as a federal judge, William P. Duval. When the Legislative Council at its first meeting in 1822 divided Florida into four counties, the one established in East Florida took the name of its governor, and so Duval County came into existence.

Early Jacksonville

A month before the County of Duval was created by the Legislative Council, a survey for a town on the site of Cowford was platted by its three big landowners of that time . . . Isaiah David Hart, Zachariah Hogans and John Brady. Before them, the first settler on the present site of Jacksonville had been Robert Pritchard, who had lived across from Cowford in 1791. After his death in 1804, his widow, Eleanor, married a physician who was important in his day . . . Dr. James Hall, described by Historian Webster Merritt, M. D., in his history of medicine in Duval County, as being "in all likelihood the first bona fide physician to practice medicine in Florida for an extended length of time".

Most important of the three men who first platted Jacksonville was Isaiah D. Hart, who came to "Cow Ford" in 1821. According to James C. Craig, whose biography of Hart is found in Volume III of the Jacksonville Historical Society's "Papers", Hart had first come to Florida with his father in 1800, and in 1812 he and his brother were fighting with the Patriots for the so-called Republic of Florida. With his brother, Daniel C. Hart, he had purchased eighteen acres of land at "Cow Ford" in 1821 from Hogans for $72.00, to be paid in cattle.

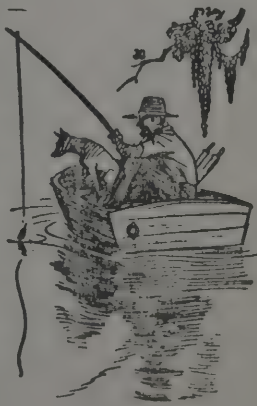
Hogans had settled there before Hart and Brady. Esgate's "History of Jacksonville" reveals that Hogans had married the widow of Turnel (or Purnal) Taylor, another settler, and that he had lived in 1816 in a cabin on what would later be Forsyth and Hogans Streets. John Brady had purchased the tract east of Hogans, and was operating a ferry from the foot of Liberty Street. These three men, Hart, Hogans and Brady, accepted John Warren's suggestion that the new town be named Jacksonville, in honor of Florida's first Governor, General Andrew Jackson.

According to Craig's biography the idea for a town at this location was Hart's. "With the influx of settlers," wrote Craig, "Hart conceived the idea of laying out a town and discussed the subject with Brady and Hogans. Hogans balked at the idea but when he saw the others favored it, he joined in the movement . . . . Thus Jacksonville was born and the man who created it lived to see it a bustling community of more than 2,000 persons. At one time or another Hart owned all of the land in the downtown area and most of what is now Springfield . . . A plank road was built as far as his plantation in 1851. This was part of the plan to build a plank road to Alligator (Lake City), which was abandoned when the first roalroad was completed."

After nearly forty years of service in getting the town launched, Hart died in October, 1861. He had been postmaster for ten years, commissioner of pilotage, clerk of the federal court, a real estate promoter and operator of a boarding house on Bay and Market Streets. Five years after his death, Hart's heirs deeded to the City of Jacksonville the site of Hemming Park.

Although there was no courthouse, the first county court was held on December 16, 1822, and was presided over by four justices of the peace: Thomas Reynolds, William G. Dawson, Rigdon Brown and Britton Knight. The first clerk was George Gibbs, the first sheriff was James Dell and the first deputy sheriff was Daniel C. Hart.

John L. Doggett was one of the 1821 settlers who took an active part in affairs, as his descendants in Duval County have done to this day. He was granted a franchise to operate a ferry on the St. Johns at Jacksonville in 1824, which was the year he became Jacksonville's first postmaster. He was in the lumber and mercantile business before he turned to the practice of law in 1826. He was a judge



of the County Court and a member and one-time President of the Legislative Council before his death in 1844.

In 1830 there were less than 300 persons living in Jacksonville, although the county population was 1,970. In 1832 the town was incorporated. Historian Gold wrote that the need for money to complete the Duval County Courthouse (which had been started) was so great in 1834 that they resorted to an Act of the Legislative Council for permission to raise money by lottery. The Act included the statement that the Courthouse would be used also for an academy.

Another sign of coming progress was the granting of a charter in 1835 for the Bank of Jacksonville with a capital stock of $75,000.00. Two years later the charter was amended to increase the stock to $100,000.00.

Early churches incorporated were: the Protestant Episcopal Church of Jacksonville and the Presbyterian Church at Mandarin, in 1839; the Methodists in 1840 and the First Baptist Church in 1841.

The Legislative Council started a public school system in 1839. Joseph Finegan, who would later serve the Confederacy as general, established a sawmill at Mayport.

Early physicians mentioned by Dr. Merritt in his "A Century of Medicine in Jacksonville and Duval County" include Dr. A. S. Baldwin, who came from New York in 1838 and who, as a member of the 1853 legislature, was able to help in getting a charter for the first railroad into Jacksonville. In 1860 the town of Thigpen was renamed in his honor and called Baldwin.

The Second Seminole War

After Andrew Jackson became President of the United States in 1829, the state approved his recommendation that the Florida Seminoles should be removed to lands which were set aside for them in the West. The resultant Second Seminole War was a typically Indian type war, with the Seminole resisting mainly by making raids as they retreated down the peninsula. The actual fighting began in 1835 when the Seminoles ambushed Major Dade and his command as they were marching from Fort Brooke (Tampa) to Fort King (Ocala). The Historian Davis gives a good account of the raids experienced in Duval County. The close of the war in 1842 revealed one good that resulted from the seven years of attacks and counter-attacks. The United States troops had opened up the unexplored parts of the peninsula with trails, and towns later were developed on the site of the forts and supply houses established by the Army. In other ways, however, the war was a great set-back to Florida's development.

Early Statehood

As a result of a popular vote, a convention met at St. Joseph on December 3, 1838, to write Florida's first State Constitution with which the Territory would make formal application to Congress for Statehood status. Since Florida wished to be admitted as a salve state, Congress held back recognition until Iowa could be admitted as a free state to balance it. Florida on March 3, 1845, emerged from a territory into the Nation's twenty-seventh State.

Duval County is said to have enjoyed prosperity during the years between the Second Seminole War and the War Between the States. In 1850 the city's population of 500 was unable to care for all of the tourists who needed places to stay. The county's population then was 4,539. At this time the regular weekly schedule of a steamboat between Jacksonville and Savannah had begun, and it was in the summer of that year that Jacksonville experienced its first epidemic of disease —dengue fever. Jacksonville's Richard P. Daniel, a medical student at the time, wrote his graduation thesis of 1851 on the subject: "Dengue As It Appeared in Jacksonville in 1850." It is mentioned by Dr. Merritt, whose history of medicine

in Jacksonville and Duval County has been cited. Dr. Merritt lists subsequent epidemics here as follows: Malaria in the 1850's, smallpox in 1852, scarlet fever and smallpox in 1854, yellow fever in 1857, smallpox in 1866 and 1883, and yellow fever in 1877 and 1888.

Early Physicians

Besides Dr. Baldwin, early physicians mentioned by Dr. Merritt are Dr. J. D. Pelot, who came to Duval County in 1840; and Dr. Charles Byrne, who came in 1848. Dr. Byrne erected a block of buildings in downtown Jacksonville in the 1850's and became editor of the Democratic newspaper, *The Florida News,* in 1851.

Early Newspapers

Jacksonville's other newspaper at the time was the *Florida Republican,* which supported the Whig political faction and which was edited by Columbus Drew. Duval County's first newspaper was said to be the *Jacksonville Courier,* published by Currier and Co. of Boston for a few years, beginning in 1834. In 1870 the *Florida Courier* was established as a Republican paper, then sold in 1872 to Harrison W. Clark, who changed its politics to the Democratic color before it went out of business.

Industries

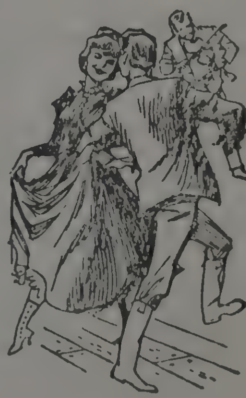
Industries in Jacksonville in 1853, as listed in Dovell's history, included a tannery, two foundries, a watch maker, lock and gun smith, blacksmiths and other artisans. Note was made of the Bank of St. Johns which was founded in Jacksonville in 1858. Jacksonville's first railroad was completed as far as Lake City on March 13, 1860. It was the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad.

Before statehood, Florida had seven governors. Governor Duval, the second governor but the first civil governor, was to enjoy another unique honor. No other governor in Florida has ever served through twelve consecutive years. When Florida entered the War Between the States, she had had eleven American governors, and Governor John Milton had begun his ill-fated four-year term.

The War and Reconstruction

The War Between the States caused more tension in Jacksonville than eleswhere in Florida, since it had become a Gateway City. On January 10, 1861, the Secession Convention at Tallahassee passed the Articles of Secession and on the following April 18th, Florida joined the Confederacy. Governor Milton sent the Jacksonville Light Infantry, which had early offered its services, to Mayport to set up Fort Steele, named in honor of its commander, Dr. Holmes Steele. A company called the Milton Artillery was organized to defend Jacksonville and the river. A year later, Aristides Doggett, son of the first John L. Doggett, was commander of the Jacksonville Light Infantry. Several Duval companies were formed that year, including the Second Florida Infantry, composed of ten companies from over the State. They were mustered at the Brick Church by Major W. T. Stockton, who later became a colonel. Captain Edward L'Engle was his assistant quartermaster. When Brigadier General John G. Grayson came to Florida in September, 1861, to command the Confederate forces, he sent the Secretary of War a statement about the lack of defenses in Florida.

There were four invasions of Jacksonville by the Union forces during the War Between the States. The first was in March, 1862, when the invaders evacuated the city less than a month after taking it. The second occupation was on October 5 of the same year when the Union soldiers burned the town. The third occupation was made in March, 1863, when northern troops came for Negro recruits and brought with them two regiments of Negroes besides other reinforcements, all under Colonel



Thomas W. Higginson's command. The fourth and final invasion was made on January 13, 1864.

Details of these invasions are described by Dr. E. C. Nance in Chapter 12, "Florida in the Civil War."

With General Lee's surrender at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, and with the cessation of hostilities, the war was over. There is a Confederate Monument in Hemming Park in Jacksonville. It is a 62 foot granite shaft presented to the city by Charles C. Hemming, a St. Augustine man who had spent his early life in Jacksonville. During the War he had served as a private with the Jacksonville Light Infantry. The monument was unveiled on June 16th, 1898, during the Spanish-American War. The following year as an expression of gratitude, the park was named for him. (The land for the park had been given to Jacksonville by the heirs of Isaiah Hart in 1866.)

The two Confederate heroes whose bronze busts adorn the monument were Florida men—General E. Kirby-Smith of St. Augustine and General J. J. Dickison who, with his men, had guarded Florida's interior during the War. Dickison and his men ranged over wide areas on horseback, driving away the Federals and stopping raids on salt works and cattle.

The inscription on a bronze plaque on the East side of the monument will end this outline of the part Duval County played in the War Between the States:

"To the soldiers of Florida. This shaft is by a comrade, raised in testimony of his love, recalling deeds immortal, heroism unsurpassed.

"With ranks unbroken, ragged, starved and decimated, the Southern soldier, for duty's sake, undaunted stood to the front of battle until no light remained to illuminate the field of courage, save the lustre of his chivalry and courage."

During the next twelve years, while Florida suffered from the indignation of the Carpetbag Rule, Duval County residents went to work solving the problems brought by the emancipation of the slaves and loss and destruction of property. There was a lack of United States money and Confederacy money was declared useless. As the complexities of the Reconstruction Era are discussed elsewhere in this volume, by Dr. E. C. Nance, only the part which Duval County played in the ensuing political struggles will be touched upon here.

Banks

J. E. Dovell's chapter on private banking during this period outlines the business revival. He listed these banks and their dates of establishment in Jacksonville: D. G. Ambler, 1868; Frank Dibble, 1869; Creely and Paine, 1872; and W. B. Barnett and Sons, 1877.

Merritt wrote that General Robert E. Lee's visit to Jacksonville in 1870 "was a social event without parallel. His welcoming committee included: Attorneys J. J. Daniel, J. P. Sanderson, L. I. Fleming, Dr. G. Troup Maxwell, city physician, and H. T. Baya, a grocer."

Signs of progress during this era, mentioned by Merritt, were: A Board of Trade, founded in 1866; opening of the St. James Hotel, January 1, 1869; plans of the same year for another hotel, which would be the town's seventh; the arrival in 1870 of the city's (and also Florida's) first steam fire engine, and the erection in 1870, by M. M. Drew, of the best ice house south of New York. The census that year, for Jacksonville showed a population of nearly 7,000.

Just as Duval County was to lead the movement in a later decade for the establishment of a State Board of Health, so in 1873 the county's Medical Society began working toward the formation of the Florida Medical Association. It was founded on January 14th, 1874, at a meeting held at the home of Dr. A. S. Baldwin. During this decade the Duval County and St. Luke's Hospitals also were founded.

At this time, the Republican National Committee wanted republicanism estab-

lished in Florida and, as Cash wrote in his "History of the Democratic Party in Florida," the Committee "wanted to be sure it was the most ultra-radical, south-hating brand possible." First, Thomas W. Osborn, who headed the Freedman's Bureau in Florida, and later Daniel Richards and William U. Saunders, a Negro, were sent to organize lodges. They told the Negroes who joined their secret societies that to vote for a southern man to hold an office would be voting themselves back into slavery. This group naturally were at odds with the Conservative Republicans.

It was the Conservative Republican group who gave Florida in 1872 its first native Duval County man for Governor. He was Ossian Bingley Hart, son of Isaiah David Hart, a founder of Jacksonville. Governor Hart was born in 1821, practiced law in Jacksonville and later in Key West and Tampa. Although he was reared on his father's plantation on the St. Johns River, he openly objected to secession. In 1868 he was appointed associate justice of the Supreme Court in Florida by the carpetbag governor Harrison Reed, who was also a citizen but not a native of Jacksonville.

Hart was 51 years of age when nominated for Governor to run against William D. Bloxham of Tallahassee. After Hart's death in 1874, the Lieutenant Governor, Marcellus L. Stearns, was Acting Governor until the election of 1876, which resulted in the overthrow of Carpetbag Rule in Florida.

Era of Drew and Bloxham

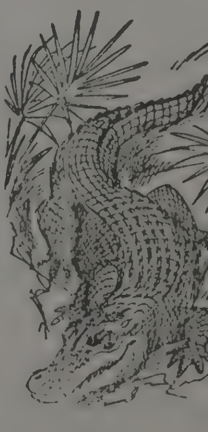
The Hayes-Tilden presidential election dispute of 1876 resulted in the withdrawal of federal troops from Florida and the inauguration of a Democratic Governor, George Franklin Drew, a wealthy sawmill operator at Ellaville, on the Suwanee River. The Democratic Party was now back in power. Two Duval County negroes who had been delegates at the Constitutional Convention of 1868 were J. C. Gibbs, and son, T. V. Gibbs. The elder Gibbs served as Secretary of State under Governor Reed and a Superintendent of Public Instruction under Governor Hart. Another Duval County negro, E. C. Sammis served in the State Senate in 1885. Josiah T. Walls, negro, was elected to Congress in 1872, thus representing Duval County, although he was a citizen of Aalchua county.

Historians agree that the Drew administration brought satisfying achievements. The floating debt of $250,000 left by the Republicans was reduced to $30,000 and the bonded debt to the State was reduced $50,000. Increased confidence in the investment market toward Florida securities resulted in the rise of Florida six-percent bonds from eighty cents to par, with seven percent bonds going to $1.06.

In Jacksonville, during the Drew administration, the influx of tourists became greater and more hotels were built. The Duval High School was organized in 1876, according to Esgate's history. It first occupied Trinity Chapel and the following year moved into the brick building which the Board of Public Instruction erected for it at Liberty and Church Streets. Governor Drew later became a Jacksonville citizen and died there on September 26, 1900.

Famous Writers Come To Florida

Well-known writers were in Duval during the late seventies and the eighties. In 1875 the Georgia Poet, Sidney Lanier, came to write a book on Florida for the Atlantic Coast Line Railway. In 1881 John Temple Graves, (father of the modern writer of that name), came to Jacksonville to become editor of the *Florida Union,* which had begun publication before the end of the war. It was then purchased by two men who were National and State chairmen of the Republican Executive Committee and was sold again to become a Democratic organ when Graves joined its staff. Two years later Graves and Harrison W. Clark became owners of the year-old paper, the *Evening Herald.*



The first Bloxham Administration (1881-1885) started an era of railroad building which was of great economic importance to the Gateway City. When William D. Bloxham was inaugurated governor of Florida in 1881 the State had only 537 miles of railroad. Four years later, when he left office, another thousand miles had been built and more under construction. The Republicans had left a million dollar lein against state-owned swamp and overflowed lands which the Government had given to Florida in 1855 to use for internal improvements. Both Governor Stearns and Governor Drew had tried to sell some of this land for money to relieve this indebtedness, but failed. Governor Bloxham succeeded when he made his historic sale of four million acres of the land to Hamilton Disston of Philadelphia for one million dollars.

Bloxham's first arrangement with Disston, which was accepted by the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund, was "for the drainage and reclamation of the lands overflowed by the waters of and adjacent to Lake Okeechobee and the Kissimmee River." The contract for the sale of land to Disston followed almost immediately. Now the Trustees held a clear title to the remaining nine million acres which they could use for internal improvements, such as railroads.

The railroad boom was on, and by the end of the century, 3,500 miles of railroad were built in Florida. The railroad "giants" to emerge were Henry M. Flagler of the Florida East Coast Railroad, Henry B. Plant whose South Florida Railway became the Atlantic Coast Line, William D. Chipley of the Louisville and Nashville, and John S. Williams of the Seaboard Air Line. The Gateway City began developing into a railroad terminal which would, by 1960, despite air and bus travel, see sixty long trains a day pass in and out of its boundaries.

Henry M. Flagler brought his bride, (the former Ida Shourds), to Jacksonville in December, 1883, and they stopped at the St. James Hotel. In 1885 the Flaglers returned in his private railroad car and spent a week at the St. James before traveling on the newly constructed Jacksonville, St. Augustine and Halifax River Railway to St. Augustine. Flagler's biographer, Walter Martin, gave 1885 as the year Flagler decided to build the Ponce de Leon Hotel in St. Augustine, and the other developments followed after that. Florida East Coast records show that a decade later, on April 4, 1896, the Jacksonville, St. Augustine and Halifax River Railway Company was deeded to the Flagler interests; and that the Jacksonville Bridge Company and the Florida Coast and Gulf Railway Company also were Flagler organizations.

When Telephones Were New

According to Historian Frederick T. Davis, the first telephone in Jacksonville and probably in the State of Florida was put in operation on January 18, 1878. It was a private line connecting the office of A. M. Beck at Bay and Pine Streets with the Inland Navigation Company at the foot of Laura Street.

By 1885, telephones were still so rare that Jacksonville had only 170 and Tallahassee had none at all.

Governors Perry, Fleming and Mitchell

During the first three years of Governor Edward E. Perry's administration as Governor of Florida, 1885 through 1887, tourism and other industries were bringing prosperity into Duval County. A successful sub-tropical exposition was held in Jacksonville during the spring months. Outlying areas were developing. Mandarin, famous as being the home of Harriet Beecher Stowe, (author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin"), in 1885 had a population of 1,200. The town had daily steamer schedules. Homes were being built in the suburbs of Brooklyn, Springfield, East Jacksonville, Wyoming and Oakland. New Berlin had a population of 100.

Yellow Fever In 1888

In 1888, however, disaster struck Jacksonville in the form of a yellow fever epidemic. The first case was reported on July 28, and by August 9th nine more had been reported. The Duval County Board of Health then announced that the disease was assuming epidemic proportions. Historian Merritt wrote that "carriages, drays and wagons laden with people streamed toward the depot and the docks while every outgoing train and steamer was crowded beyond capacity . . . As an example of the hysteria which prevailed, the people of Waycross refused to let the Jacksonville residents pass through their town even in locked railroad cars at a high rate of speed."

As an auxiliary committee to work with recognized authorities, the Jacksonville Auxiliary Sanitary Association was formed on August 12 to help the city solve the problems presented by the epidemic. This organization was planned at a joint meeting of the Board of Trade, Board of Health, City Council and County Commissioners, held only the day before, in the Board of Trade rooms. Colonel J. J. Daniel was elected president of the Association, with P. McQuaid his vice-president. The other officers elected were: Charles S. Adams, secretary; Dr. J. M. Fairlie, corresponding secretary; Henry A. L'Engle, treasurer. C. G. Elliott was a member of the committee on claims.

One month and two days later, the fever began taking victims from the group of men who were working so hard to save the lives of others. Under the date line September 14, the Association's executive committee report carried this item: "Hon. H. A. L'Engle, late State Treasurer of Florida, and a prominent citizen, who had devoted his every moment, for the previous month, to the work of the committee on Sanitation, of which he was chairman, and as Treasurer of the Association, died at noon. Universal sorrow and grief was expressed at his death. Louis I. Fleming, one of the most notable lawyers in the State, and senior member of the law firm of Fleming & Daniel, died at noon. The number of cases for the twenty-four hours ending at six o'clock was forty-one; deaths, twelve. It was a veritable 'black Friday,' as among the deaths were numbered some of the best and widest known business men of the city."

On September 22, Charles G. Elliott was among the dead, and his place on the Executive Committee was taken by Peter Jones.

The President of the Association was the next vicitm. He died on October 2 before the Association was two months old. Col. J. J. Daniel's death "called forth expressions of sympathy from all parts of the country as a loss, not only to the city, but the State and the entire South," declared the Committee's report. Two weeks later, on October 16, the Association's corresponding secretary, Dr. James M. Fairlie, died of the yellow fever. His wife had died a few days previously. Dr. Fairlie had been secretary for the Board of Trade also.

When Edwin Martin, editor of the Jacksonville *Times-Union,* died of the yellow fever on October 7, he was the second victim in the city's newspaper fraternity. The other was M. R. Bowden. Martin died at ten o'clock in the morning and by noon, according to the record, "all the remaining active newspaper men, reporters, editors and correspondents of foreign papers, formed an orgaization for the purpose of assisting each other in cases of sickness during the epidemic, and to take necessary steps to help the families of those of the fraternity who had lost their lives during the epidemic. F. W. Hawthorne, editor of the *Times-Union,* was elected president; W. R. Carter, of the *Metropolis,* vice-president; C. W. DaCosta, of the *Florida Dispatch,* treasurer, and S. A. Adams, correspondent of the *Savannah Morning News* and *New York World,* secretary. The name adopted was the 'Jacksonville Press Club.' "

The name of Key West's Dr. J. Y. Porter runs like a golden thread through the daily records kept by the Association. On October 2 he was authorized to take

charge of the fumigating Staff, and throughout the epidemic he was in charge of Government Relief Measures. The much-loved local physician, Dr. W. L. Baldwin, died on September 3.

Because it was not known then that yellow fever is an infection due to a virus transmitted by Aedes mosquitoes, the people in stricken areas resorted to fantastic and desperate methods of combatting the disease. Some thought bacteria could be "concussed" by the firing of cannon.

Under the August 14 dateline the Association's record said that at seven o'clock in the evening the first experiment in concussion was begun. Three guns were used and fifty rounds of ammunition fired. Under the August 16 report the following paragraph appeared: "By this time the general topic of conversation on the streets and at the firesides was regarding the results of the concussion theory; what the microbes were, and how they were killed. On Wednesday night a detachment of Wilson's Battery had one of its cannon out in front of the battery, poining up the street. A colored man was walking down the street at the time, but he failed to see the gun until within about thirty feet of it. It was suddenly discharged, throwing a shower of sand in his face, when he was heard to exclaim: 'Great Lord, how thick they falls!' "

Several days later the report made this comment on the "concussion" experiments: "The 'City of Jacksonville' brought down four cannon from Tocoi, which had been sent there from St. Augustine, with a large amount of powder and blank cartridges. This made seven pieces of artillery in the city, but for want of experienced men, only five were in daily use. Two hundred shots were fired on the evening of the 17th, the cannonading being confined to the eastern portions of the city."

The clean-up campaign that was launched included the cleaning of streets and yards and the scattering of lime and other disinfectants. Outgoing mail was fumigated.

The introduction to the Association's printed "Report" shows that during the epidemic there was, besides the sick, "a population of some 16,000 souls left in the city, 14,000 of whom were without resources and without employment, by reason of the utter demoralizaion of business and the flight of employers." The financial report indicated the boundless generosity of the American people, said the writer. The treasurer's account showed that $506,145.29 had been received during the epidemic and that "total disbursements" had come to $481,392.45. Historian Merritt wrote that by fall of 1888, Jacksonville had become a desolate spot and that the census showed that the population had been reduced from approximately 20,000 to about 14,000, of whom only 4,000 were white. When camps of refuge were established outside the city later in the fall, the people were urged to go there. By December 15, the refugees were permitted to return to Jacksonville, for the epidemic was over.

The "Report" of the Jacksonville Auxiliary Sanitary Association which has been quoted in the foregoing paragraphs about the yellow fever epidemic of 1888 was edited by Charles S. Adams, the secretary, and printed in Jacksonville in 1889. It lists the names of the 430 persons who had died by December 5. A yellowed copy with its original paper cover and its 284 pages of reports plus sixty-three pages of supplementary information, is a prized possession of the Florida State Board of Health Library.

Birth of State Board of Health

Because of Jacksonville's plight, all of Florida was clamoring for the establishment of a State Board of Health. As Merritt aptly put it, this epidemic "brought the state board of health issue squarely to a head. The newly elected Governor, Francis Philip Fleming, was a native son of Duval County and a lineal descendant of colonial Florida's distinguished Francis P. Fatio, Sr. He had been born at Panama Park in 1841, reared on a plantation, and educated by tutors. When the War Be-

tween the States ended, Fleming was a first lieutenant in the Confederacy. After the war he had distinguished himself as an advocate and was nominated and elected as Governor of Florida in the 1888 election.

One of Governor Fleming's first acts after taking office early in 1889 was to call a special session of the legislature for the purpose of establishing a State Board of Health. The Act passed on February 20th, and the Governor appointed the board members. When these men met later they elected a noted Jacksonville physician, Dr. R. P. Daniel as president and Dr. J. Y. Porter of Key West as State Health Officer. Best of all, from Jacksonville's viewpoint, was the fact that the Board selected Jacksonville for the Board's State headquarters. The 1960 State Health Officer, Wilson T. Sowder, M.D., began directing the public health program in Florida in 1945.

"The Jacksonville Fire"

Jacksonville's next misfortune was the historic fire of May 3rd, 1901, which destroyed fifteen million dollars worth of property, including twenty-three churches and ten hotels. T. Frederick Davis in his "History of Jacksonville" devoted nearly ten pages to this disaster. He said that 8,677 resided in the burned district and were made temporarily homeless. Only seven lives were lost. The fire started about 12:30 p.m. from sparks from a negro shanty located near the Cleaveland Fibre Factory, which had particles of fibre drying on its platform. The fire then spread from house to house. By 3 p.m. the Windsor Hotel was in a blaze, and a few minutes later the St. James Hotel was burning. "House after house succumbed," reported the Florida *Times-Union and Citizen*. "No effort was made to save buildings now. Everyone knew that to save any building in the track of the fury was impossible, and on and on it sped. Churches, public buildings and shops were destroyed."

Davis wrote that, "Kindly, brave, heroic deeds were done on every hand. Fainting women and terrified children were rescued from burning buildings by men whose all, except the clothes they wore, was even then being consumed."

The Jacksonville Relief Association, organized the day after the fire, set up eleven commissaries in various parts of the city for the distribution of supplies. Twelve thousand tents were supplied by the government and the rebuilding of Jacksonville began. By the end of the year, said Davis, the number of building permits for buildings in the burned area represented nearly one-half the number of buildings destroyed by fire. Mayor J. E. T. Bowden, in a public speech, said that a greater city would arise from its ashes. His prophecy proved true.

Jacksonville had been developing between 1893 and 1897, while Henry Lawrence Mitchell was Governor of Florida. During these years there was steady increase in transportation facilities both for railroads and steamship navigation. John G. Christopher and others persuaded the government to give financial aid in the improvement of the St. Johns Harbor.

During the last four years of the nineteenth century, while William D. Bloxham served a second term as Governor, Duval County was made aware of some of Cuba's problems, both before and after American intervention, in her revolt against Spanish rule.

The Spanish-American War

For three years before the United States declared war on Spain and the Spanish-American war began in 1898, several filibustering ships took on contraband cargoes in Florida waters and ran the Cuban blockade, delivering not only provisions but Cuban refugees and arms to the troubled island.

The most famous of these ships was a St. Johns River tugboat called "The Three Friends," commanded by Napoleon Bonaparte Broward and owned by Broward and his brother Montcalm Broward and their friend, George A. Decottes. They were the three friends for whom the boat was named. The Browards were natives of

Duval County. Napoleon Broward had been a sea captain and sheriff of Duval before he engaged in these filibustering expeditions, and later he was to be Governor of Florida. His sympathy for the distraught Cubans and his courage while running the Cuban blockade made him a hero in Florida.

Jacksonville, like Key West and Tampa, had become a center of activity for the Cuban Revolutionary Party, which had headquarters in New York. Most of the New York Junta's committees were in Florida. A Cuban in Jacksonville whose name became famous throughout Florida was Senor Jose Huau, (pronounced Wow). He was a cigar maker and the rear of his place of business on Jacksonville's Bay and Main Streets was the meeting place of the Jacksonville committee. Other Jacksonville men interested in the cause were: J. M. Barra, a Jacksonville attorney who represented the Browards: W. A. Bisbee, owner of *The Dauntless,* another filibustering ship which had a negro captain, and a Captain Dynamite Johnny O'Brien, who was shifted from one vessel to another. The Commodore, the La-Gonda and the Paul Jones also were filibustering ships. The railroad official who managed the "railroading" of the Cubans and supplies to their ports of departure was Alphonso Fritot.

In his campaign booklet of 1904, which Broward wrote for use in his race for the governorship, he described the first of the eight trips made by *The Three Friends.* His difficulties then included bringing together Cuban officers who were being watched in Tampa by Pinkerton detectives; getting arms and ammunition from a warehouse at Cedar Keys, and loading of sixty-five men who were hiding in a schooner in the Keys.

When the cargo was to go out from the Jacksonville area, *The Three Friends* would usually take on its load outside the three-mile limit, for the revenue cutter *Boutwell* watched too closely in the Jacksonville harbor.

The following conversation took place after Broward's election to the governorship and while he attended a conference in Memphis. He was approached by Theodore Roosevelt, who said, "Governor, have you still got the *Three Friends*?"

"Yes," said Broward.

"Well," said Roosevelt, "you ought to be mighty proud of her. If it had not been for *The Three Friends,* you would not be governor now."

"You ought to be proud of her yourself," Governor Broward replied to the former Spanish-American War hero. "If it had not been for *The Three Friends* you would not be President of the United States now."

Of course, the filibustering had stopped when war was declared on April 26, 1898, more than two months after the sinking by the Spanish of the American battleship, *Maine.* Governor Bloxham had called upon the officers of the state troops to recruit their companies. Three companies in Duval had volunteered for service. They were the Jacksonville Light Infantry, the Jacksonville Rifles and the Wilson's Battery.

Records showed that 30,000 troops had been camped in Duval at one time. In March, 1898, General J. M. Wilson, Chief of U. S. Engineers, made a military inspection and decided to fortify St. Johns Bluff. Big guns were hauled to the top of a "tram road" by use of power. In July the channel between the St. Johns Bluff and the mouth of the river was mined. The war ended with the signing of the treaty of peace at Paris, December 10th, 1898, but the battery at St. Johns Bluff was not dismantled until October, 1899. A month earlier the channel had been cleared of the mines.

When the State Democratic Convention met at Jacksonville in 1900 it favored "the prompt carrying out of the pledges made to the people of Cuba". Its resolutions included a hearty endorsement of the administration of out-going Governor Bloxham and it recommended appointment of a committee to prepare a law for the holding of primary elections. J. M. Barrs of Jacksonville was one of the three men recommended for this committee. When this was passed by the legislature the fol-

lowing year it displaced the convention system of nominating candidates for public office and it was one of the important achievements of Florida's eighteenth governor, William Sherman Jennings.

The Jennings Administration

The political leanings of Jennings as he campaigned for office were described by Samuel Proctor in his book, "Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, Florida's Fighting Democrat".

"Although prior to 1900 Jennings had not been recognized in Florida as strongly anti-corporation and anti-railroad," said Proctor, "he directed his campaign along liberal lines, and there was growing evidence that he would be Florida's most progressive governor since the Reconstruction Period. In a speech at Jasper, Florida, September 13, 1900, Jennings denounced the trusts, claiming they were 'sapping the lifeblood of the country and should be speedily suppressed or controlled by the Government.' Jennings favored free textbooks for school children."

While Broward campaigned for Jennings' election, he campagined for himself also, since he had been nominated to represent Duval County in the State Legislature. The other nominee for the Legislature from Duval was John C. L'Engle. Broward was supported by the Straightout faction, a liberal group in the democratic party which emerged when there was division of opinion within the party in 1891 and 1892. The corporate interests in the State, after having helped bring prosperity into Florida in the eighties with the capitol and railroads so much needed at the time, later brought discredit upon themselves by further demands for land grants and by abolishing, in 1887, the law establishing a Railroad Commission. In 1897, the Railroad Commission was reestablished, but the law creating it went into effect without Governor Bloxham's signature.

The liberal group in Duval who were anti-corporation and anti-railroad in their political thinking called themselves the Straightouts. On the Straightouts' ticket in 1892, Broward had been elected sheriff of Duval County; and in the 1900 campaign for the legislature, both he and L'Engle were victorious.

Contemporaries of the period claim that Broward got a pledge from Governor Jennings that he would not convey any more of the state-owned lands to the railroads, but save it for the people. Jennings stood firm to his pledge, refused to convey the lands, and eventually won in the Courts the lawsuits that resulted from his stand.

Journalism in Jacksonville reflected the factionalism in politics which appeared in the nineties. Cash wrote: "One of the ablest of these factional editors was Cassius E. Merrill, editor of the *Florida Standard,* a newspaper published in Jacksonville in the early 1890's. The Democratic Party in Duval County was at this time divided into two factions, who opposed each other very bitterly. The faction favored by Merrill had among its leaders such men as James T. Taliaferro, J. E. T. Bowden, Porcher L'Engle, W. McL. Dacy, and Pleasant A. Holt. The *Times-Union,* then published by the Stockton brothers, was the organ of the other faction, which had among its leaders John N. C. Stockton, Frank W. Pope, J. M. Barrs, A. W. Cockrell, Cromwell Gibbons, Duncan U. Fletcher and Napoleon B. Broward."

On September 9, 1897, the *Times-Union* changed when it merged with the conservative *Daily Florida Citizen,* and for the next few years was known as the *Times-Union and Citizen.* It was called the *Florida Times-Union* in 1904 when it opposed Broward's candidacy for the governorship. In that year Jacksonville's other newspaper the *Jacksonville Metropolis,* was neutral until after the primary, and then favored Broward's opponent, Col. Robert W. Davis.

Before Broward tried to seek the office himself, he approached several prominent Floridians, asking them to make the race on an anti-corporation platform and on a platform which would oppose the granting of more lands to railroads. Only when

he failed to find another candidate thus inclined did Broward decide to make the race himself.

"Then the money interests and subsidized newspapers and the railroads took the position that the Everglades was of no value to anybody and therefore not worth fighting about," said one of Broward's relatives, "and from that circumstance arose Broward's idea of drainage."

Broward's campaign managers, according to Broward's biographer, Samuel Proctor, were often hard pushed to answer the thrusts and attacks that came from every direction. Managing the campaign were two Jacksonville attorneys, William James Bryan and Nathan P. Bryan, distant cousins of Broward.

"They were skilled politicians, however," wrote Proctor, "and they turned many of the assaults to their own advantage. For instance, when the conservative forces organized a Davis-for-Governor Club in the Tampa area and sought to enlist as members those Spaniards who resented Broward because of his filibustering activities prior to the Spanish-American War, the Bryan brothers hastily formed a much stronger and more vocal Broward Club with Cubans from Ybor City as members. Similar tactics and counter-maneuvers were brilliantly employed by the Bryans throughout the campaign."

The best brief summary of the campaign was written in 1931 and published during December of that year by the *Marianna Florida*. The article was unsigned but its context shows that its author had helped with the publicity involved in getting Broward elected and describes another amusing counter-attack. It is presented here with the permission of the Newspaper's present owner.

When Broward Became Governor

"It was at this juncture that William James Bryan, a brilliant young lawyer of Jacksonville approached him and said, 'Captain Broward, I have faith in you. You ought to be Governor, and I will undertake to manage your campaign. I have recently secured a very handsome fee in winning a case in court and it is all yours for your campaign.'

"It was then that Will Bryan came to the writer to solicit his aid in Broward's campaign, which was cheerfully and freely given for many weeks.

"Night after night Bryan and the writer toiled in Broward's campaign. Reports from all over the state were most encouraging, but the money Bryan had donated had all been spent. Earnest solicitations for funds brought meager returns.

"In the office were thousands of pieces of literature with no stamps with which to send them out. The Bob Davis campaign was fortified with many speakers, and thousands of letters in behalf of Davis were going out daily. The Davis headquarters had more than 100 paid attaches. Broward's headquarters had only Will Bryan and the writer and they were alone at headquarters—both hearing good news from all over the state—both volunteers in the service, and in spite of the great campaign fund back of the Davis campaign.

"One night when all was gloomy in Broward's campaign headquarters, and not one mesely dime stirring even for stamps, the writer in his loneliness strayed below to The Flagstaff, a pre-prohibition enterprise, where liquid cheer was dispensed. Here he met Cromwell Gibbons, brilliant Jacksonville lawyer, and attorney for the Florida Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association. In discussing finances Gibbons told the writer: 'Our association met tonight and contributed $25,000 to the Bob Davis campaign fund.'

"The writer rushed up to Broward's headquarters to tell this sad news to Will Bryan. Bryan, always an optimist, looked gloomy for a few minutes and then arose and said:

"'I have it. We'll whip them to a frazzle. We'll organize this minute a Florida State Temperance League. I'm president and you are secretary. We don't need a

treasurer, but will as soon as people hear of our organization. I'll get the money for stamps from J. M. Barrs and we will send out immediately a letter to every minister of the Gospel in Florida, telling what the Wholesale Liquor Dealers have done for Davis, and asking for funds for Broward.'

"The writer prepared the letter, which was multigraphed and sent it to 600 ministers throughout Florida. We worked all night long.

"A whole week passed and not a response was received. But one day the colored mail-carrier came in and said: 'Can you tell me where the State Temperance League is located?' He was informed: 'You are now in the office of that important organization.'

" 'Well,' replied the mail carrier, 'I have a hundred letters for you at the post office.'

"The appeal sent out carried no signature—just State Temperance League was signed. The writer didn't have the nerve to sign his name as Secretary in those hectic days when the name Volstead was unknown.

"Will Bryan rushed to the post office, which was in the same block and convinced the postmaster that he was president of the newly-formed State Temperance League. He returned with many, many letters, all containing checks. The pastors had taken up collections. From that batch alone more than $400 was received. Every day more money came in—it came in abundance, and was sufficient to place advertising in many papers. Speakers were sent out through the state for Broward. We paid off the stenographers. Primary day was at hand. We were busy firing telegrams all over the state that Broward would win—and he did win, making as good and as great a governor as any state ever had. His election was due to the enormous vote he received in West Florida which was at that time intensely 'dry.'

"Broward's victory was celebrated in good fashion. He had won over the fattest political pocketbook in the history of the state. He defeated a man regarded as unbeatable, and a most lovable Democratic character.

"William James Bryan was a brother of Judge Nathan P. Bryan, later Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth District, and rated as among the nation's most able lawyers. Will Bryan was the happiest man in Florida. He was but 30 years of age, then, but unequaled in Florida in oratory. He was, as his brother Nathan, the embodiment of honor and unswerving Democracy.

"When Broward became Governor, United States Senator S. R. Mallory died and Broward appointed young Bryan to this high post. He went to the Senate and was the youngest man ever to sit in that body as a member, except the illustrious Henry Clay of Kentucky, who was a few days younger when he took his seat. Will Bryan, however, in a few weeks contracted typhoid fever in Washington and died. Theodore Roosevelt, then President, declared him the 'brightest man for his age' he ever knew.

"Roosevelt became strongly attached to Will Bryan and when he died all Florida was in mourning. Governor Broward, at Bryan's death, appointed to the U. S. Senate, W. H. Milton of Marianna. At a subsequent primary the brother of Will Bryan, Nathan P. Bryan, defeated W. A. Blount of Pensacola and served one term in the Senate.

"Judge Nathan P. Bryan was a close personal and political friend of Woodrow Wilson, who elevated him to the United States Appelate Bench which position he still holds.

"Broward himself dethroned James P. Taliaferro as United States Senator after an exciting campaign, but died before he could take office. It was at the death of Broward that Nathan P. Bryan was brought into the Senatorial contest, and won.

"Thus Florida gave two of its youngest democrats, both from one family, to become United States Senators, and they were both statesmen."

The foregoing account of events during the Broward administration, by one who had participated, failed to mention that Governor Broward had made an unsuc-

cessful try to the United States Senate in 1908. To mention this event is to introduce another Duval County statesman, Duncan U. Fletcher.

Senators Fletcher and Bryan

Duncan U. Fletcher, Jacksonville attorney, was the candidate who defeated Governor Broward in 1908, when Broward's interim Senatorial appointee, William H. Milton, had decided not to try to succeed himself in office. Broward's term as Governor was ending and he felt free to make the race. Fletcher had been active in Duval County affairs since 1893, when he represented Duval in the State Legislature. He was elected to be the first president of the Jacksonville Bar Association at its organization meeting in 1897, and in 1903 he was elected Mayor of Jacksonville. When Fletcher defeated Broward in 1908, he began twenty-seven years of distinguished service in the United States Senate. Among other achievements, he was co-author of the Federal Farm Loan Act and chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the Senate.

At the time Fletcher was elected, Florida's other U. S. Senator was J. P. Taliaferro who two years later campaigned to succeed himself. It was in that off-season election of 1910 that Governor Broward died before he could take office, and in the special election held to fill the vacancy, Nathan P. Bryan was elected. Bryan campaigned for a second term in 1916, but by then political issues had been changed by one Sidney J. Catts of West Florida who had become a turbulent element.

When Catts became Governor of Florida in 1916, the administrations of Governor Albert W. Gilchrist and Governor Park Trammell had preceded him. Catts divided the Democratic Party on issues other than "corporation" and "anti-corporation" as he rode into office on a prohibition and anti-Catholic wave. Cash wrote that the election of Catts in 1916 hinged on no issues characteristic of the Party since Reconstruction days. The best account of the campaign and of the Catts administration is written by Cash, who was a member of the Legislature during both sessions. In his description of the Catts' campaign for election, Cash wrote: "A reaction against the conditions that led to the election of Catts and the defeat of Bryan was partly responsible for the election of Cary A. Hardee as Governor, and the re-election of Duncan U. Fletcher as United States Senator in 1920. . . . News had been spreading that Postmaster P. A. Dignan of Jacksonville, a Catholic, had received his appointment through the influence of Senator Bryan, and that the latter was trying to boost Catholic influence in Florida. Unprejudiced people knew better. . . . The writer heard Senator Bryan say in a political speech in 1916 that at the time he had Dignan appointed he did not know what his religion was, and that it would not have made any difference if he had."

World War I

Duval County had World War I problems to think about at this time for War was declared on April 6, 1917, and by summer young men were being drafted for service. Liberty Loan groups began working to sell their quota of bonds. The press featured the presence of Secretary of the Treasury, William G. McAdoo, in Jacksonville to help with one of the drives. The Government selected the site for Camp Joseph B. Johnston at Black Point in September, 1917, and by October 19th, the first troops arrived there for training. Davis wrote that the greatest number of men at Camp Johnston at any one time was about 27,000. Ship-building was an important part of Duval's contribution during the War. "By the summer of 1918," wrote Davis, "the work had reached a stage where it was not considered an unusual occurrence for a new ship to slide from the ways into the St. Johns River."

Demobilization began at Camp Johnston a month after the Armistice, and the property later was sold; but the ship-building industry continued. Duval County, like the rest of the nation, was stricken with the influenza epidemic which took a

great death toll. Gold's history of Jacksonville carries the official report of the City Health Officer, Dr. William W. MacDonell. The epidemic started in September, 1918, and continued into 1920, during which time nearly 30,000 persons were infected with the disease. Duval County suffered a share of the death toll of the War, also. Of the 4,942 men who were in the service from this county, 157 were killed. The Memorial to the fallen heroes of this War is located in Memorial Park, a beautiful area overlooking a wide bend in the St. Johns River. The sculptured figure is a winged Youth rising from the chaos of the Old World, and it was made by St. Augustine's noted sculptor, C. Adrian Pillars. The movement to raise money for this memorial was started by the Rotary Club the day after the Armistice was signed. The names of Florida's 1200 dead are sealed in its cornerstone.

Mayors Martin and Alsop

During these years of war and epidemic, Jacksonville people kept their colorful Mayor, John W. Martin, in office from 1917 until 1923. He was elected Governor of Florida in 1924 on a campaign platform of good roads. Martin was the fifth Duval citizen to be elected Governor of Florida. The others were Reed, Hart, Fleming and Broward.

Boom

The boom was beginning to develop in Duval County as elsewhere in Florida in the early twenties, and so were civic and social activities. While Martin was Mayor, the Jacksonville Community Service was organized in 1921; and the Duval County Welfare Board, as an arm of the Government of Duval County, was formed in 1923. One of the guiding spirits of the County Welfare Board was Richard P. Daniel, who was president in 1928. He became noted for his efforts in Duval County in behalf of the underprivileged, regardless of race, creed or color. When the modern Duval County Hospital was built, a wing was added as a memorial to him, so that he could enjoy the honor while still living, and it was called the Daniel Memorial Unit. By 1923, Martin's tenure of office was over and he was campaiging for the governorship.

Alsop Elected Mayor

John T. Alsop was elected Mayor of Jacksonville for the first time in 1923 and he was kept in office for fourteen years. Later, from 1941 to 1945, he again served, making eighteen years in all. No other Mayor of this city had been returned to office so often. The city's civic and cultural groups continued to organize. In 1924, the Lions Club and the Community Chest were formed. In 1925, the Jacksonville Branch of the National League of American Penwomen appeared, and in 1926 came the American Association of University Women. In 1927, Major General Summerall, Chief of Staff of the Regular Army, came to Jacksonville, where Governor Martin met him to make the presentation of a sabre, gift of the State Legislature.

When President and Mrs. Coolidge came to Jacksonville by train on January 8, 1927, Mayor and Mrs. Alsop met them. This type of hospitality was typical of the Mayor. Ask the average old-timer in Jacksonville why Mayor Alsop was such a successful municipal leader, and you are likely to be told: "Because Mayor Alsop was really Mr. Jacksonville."

During the four-year break in Alsop's term of service, George C. Blume was elected Mayor (1937-1941); and after Alsop went out of office again in 1945, Frank Whitehead was elected. Alsop died in May, 1958.

Scott M. Loftin

Another Duval County attorney was brought into national and state history on May 26, 1936. Scott M. Loftin was appointed to the U.S. Senate to fill out the

term of U.S. Senator Park Trammell, who died in office. But Duval County lost a U.S. Senator only three months later when Senator Duncan U. Fletcher died in July, 1936. A primary was called to select the Democratic nominees to replace Trammell and Fletcher. Claude Pepper was the only candidate to seek Fletcher's place, so he received the nomination. Charles O. Andrews of Orlando replaced Senator Trammell.

Loftin's appointment to the Senate to fill out Trammell's term was made by Governor Dave Scholtz, a Daytona Beach attorney who had succeeded Doyle E. Carlton Sr., as Governor. Some of Loftin's achievements, to which Governor Sholtz gave recognition, were: Election as President of the American Bar Association, an appointment by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1935 to revise the rules of practice and procedure in the Federal courts, and membership on the United States Attorney-General's Advisory Committee on Crime. In his earlier years, Loftin had practiced law in Jacksonville and in 1917 had become attorney for the Flagler interests in Florida. In 1931, he was appointed co-receiver of the Florida East Coast Railway. His name headed the law firm of Loftin, Stokes and Calkins in Jacksonville, where he lived; and in Miami.

Depression of The 1930's

One notable achievement which became Florida's as a result of the national depression of the thirties was the Federal Writers' Project, which resulted in the finding and recording of historical source material which would have become unavailable if neglected much longer.

Duval County was fortunate in this project, in that Jacksonville was made the State Headquarters and that a native professional historian, Mrs. Carita Doggett Corse, was available to take full charge. With Duval County the State's Gateway into History, what place could have been more appropriate? And with Mrs. Corse the descendant of several of the earliest settlers (such as John L. Doggett, the city's first postmaster) a director with an advantageous historical background was found. Her book, "Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida" was published in 1919; and her "The Key to The Golden Islands," in 1931.

Another benefit to Duval County during the depression decade was the coming of Alfred I. duPont, who had decided as early as 1926 to make his official residence in the Gateway City. He built a residence a few miles from Jacksonville on the St. Johns River. Historian Dovell in his "La Florida" described duPont's gradual evolvement in Florida banks. The bank failures which ended Florida's boom in 1929 caused depositors in Jacksonville banks to begin withdrawing their money. At this time, Wrote Dovell, "duPont publicly announced that he had placed fifteen million dollars at the disposal of the Florida National and stopped the run on the bank." After that, duPont interests opened banks at Lakeland, Bartow, Orlando, Daytona Beach, St. Petersburg and Miami.

A real blessing came to Duval County in 1934, when Jacksonville Universtiy was born. The institution received its charter on April 16th of that year under the name of William J. Porter University, thus honoring a man who had been active in bringing it into existence. The first meeting held for making plans for a University for this area had been held in the office of Porter, who was Judge of the Duval County Criminal Court of Record. On the original Board of Directors were Judge Porter, Thomas W. Benson, Dean Boggs, Kenneth A. Friedman and Miss Mary Corbin, secretary of the Jacksonville Law School. There was also an Advisory Board of twenty members.

Judge Porter was made the first President. The first dean was Dr. Barkley Rosser, a Duval County resident who had received his Ph. D. degree in mathematics at Princeton University. A history of this beautiful university is to be found in volume two of this work.

World War II

World War II brought increased activity in the air and on the sea in the Duval County area. The Cecil Field Naval Air Station, located on Normandy Boulevard about sixteen miles southwest of Jacksonville, was a Naval Auxiliary Air Station in 1941, but after World War II began it served as a training base. It was named in honor of Commander Henry Barton Cecil who was killed in the crash of the dirigible Akron. After World War II it was de-activated three times during the post-war cut-back, according to information given out by the Station's Service Information Officer, Lt. (j.g.) Barbara Kelley. In January, 1951, explained this officer, the Station was incorporated into the Woods plan for the development of the Navy's peace-time aeronautical Shore Establishment. It was designed a Master Jet Base. This is really important to Jacksonville, since there is only one other Master Jet Base on the east coast of the United States. On June 30, 1952, the Station became a Naval Air Stadium and since has increased both personnel-wise and technically. It covers 7,000 acres.

The Naval Air Station Jacksonville (commonly called NAS Jax) was in operation when World War II began because it was commissioned on October 15, 1940. It covers 3,400 acres on the west bank of the St. Johns River, just south of the city limits. This station and the Cecil Field Naval Air Station and the Naval Auxiliary Air Station at Mayport comprise the Jacksonville Navy Complex. The NAS Jax is the industrial hub of the Complex, according to Service Information Officer A. H. Planey's current report, which shows that the annual military payroll at NAS Jax is $49,400,000 and the civilian payroll is $25,100,000. About 5,000 civilians are employed here by the Navy. The NAS Jax provides support to fleet units stationed or deployed in the Jacksonville area and it is also a port of entry to the United States. It is one of the three major fleet operating bases on the nation's east coast, as well as being headquarters for sixty percent of the fleet air striking force in the Atlantic area, from pole to pole.

The official report identifies NAS Jax as one of the Navy's most active airports, with an average of 500 landings and departures a day. It is a major supply point for governmental agencies not only in Florida but in portions of neighboring states. NAS Jax is also a major overhaul point for both jet and helicopter aircraft. The seven seperate commands of NAS Jax are: Naval Air Station, Jacksonville; Fleet Air Jacksonville, Naval Air Technical Training Center, Fleet Air Wing Eleven, the U.S. Naval Hospital, the Naval Air Reserve Training Unit, and the Naval Air Bases Sixth Naval District.

U.S. Naval Station Mayport was planned in 1939 as an aircraft carrier basin on Ribault Bay and in 1941 the Mayport land area surrounding this bay was purchased by the government and development started. That same year, however, Congress decided to postpone this plan and to develop the area for crash boat and patrol boat training. By 1942, when the War started, the field comprised 698 acres on which a landing field and taxiway, a dispensary building and other structures were completed by June, 1943. The following month the status of the station was changed to that of a Sea Frontier Base, according to Service Information Officer George T. Bryan, whose report shows that some recruits were trained there during the first years of the war. In 1943 the Mayport station was occupied by 600 officers and men, its largest number. During World War II the station was used also as a fueling station for submarines and was the home port for a minesweeping group.

Chief Bryan's report shows that the Mayport station was commissioned officially a U.S. Naval Auxiliary Air Station on April 1, 1944, and that in May of 1946 it was decommissioned and placed in a "caretaker" status. It was turned over to the Coast Guard until May 31, 1948, when it was reopened by the Navy, still in the "caretaker" status, and was a practice field for aircraft field carrier landings. During the following years there were dredging and construction projects and an icrease

in acreage. By 1955 it again became a Naval Auxiliary Air Station and represented an investment of nearly $10,000,000. President Eisenhower visited Mayport in 1957. That was the year plans were made which resulted in another $10,000,000 worth of improvements.

Officially, Mayport's mission is " . . . to provide an appropriate, logistic support for the operating forces of the Navy and for dependent activities and other commands as assigned." Duval County boosters are proud of the report that during the past years Mayport has been host to the majority of the fast attack carriers of the Atlantic Fleet and to ships of many friendly nations.

Governor Fuller Warren

Before serving as a Navy armed guard officer in World War II, Jacksonville's Attorney Fuller Warren had served three terms on the City Council (1931-37), and had been elected to the State Legislature in 1939. While in the Navy, he crossed the Atlantic twenty times; and after the War, he returned to his practice of law in Jacksonville. Governor Warren was born in Blountstown, Florida, but had moved to Jacksonville to practice law in 1929. His love for politics was apparent in his University days, for while a student at the University of Florida he campaigned for a seat in the House of Representatives at Tallahassee and was elected. That was in 1927, when he was only 21 years of age. He was noted for his talent for public speaking, and his three books—"Eruptions of Eloquence," "Speaking of Speaking" and "How to Win in Politics." He was elected Governor of Florida in 1948 and served from 1949 to 1953. Fuller Warren was Jacksonville's sixth citizen to win this honor. After serving as Governor he did not return to Jacksonville, but established a law practice in Miami. During Warren's administration a seperate Florida Park Service was created for the protection and development of parks and historic memorials. So diligently did Warren cooperate with former Governor Millard Caldwell and Senators Claude Pepper and Spessard Holland in working for their plan of improvements for water control, that the necessary legislation was passed in the first legislative session of the Warren administration. The flood control work began in central and Southern Florida the following summer.

The Fuller Warren Bridge in Jacksonville was finished during Governor Warren's administration, but the story about it must wait until the magic growth of Duval County's outlying areas has been considered.

Suburbs and Roads

The development of Duval County's early pathways and settlements into the beautiful suburbs of modern times presents an exciting study in contrasts. Jacksonville began looking toward the need for better public roads and bridges in 1905, when Duval County's Senator Telfair Stockton and Representatives H. H. Buckman and S. H. Melton sponsored an Act which resulted in a Board of Road Commissioners. This Act gave the Board full control of the location, construction and maintenance of all public roads and bridges in Duval County. The Board's nine members were to be elected by the people. The County Commissioners were given power to call an election for a bond issue providing the bonded indebtedness of the County should not exceed ten percent of the assessed valuation. Better roads were needed as surburban developments continued.

Two years after this, in 1907, South Jacksonville was incorporated into a municipality, with S. M. Scruggs as its first Mayor. At the same time Pablo Beach was incorporated with H. M. Shockley the first Mayor. Pablo Beach, which in 1884 was known as Ruby Beach, was changed in 1925 to Jacksonville Beach.

Mentioning suburbs which Jacksonville has absorbed, James C. Craig's account in Volume III of the Jacksonville Historical Society's Papers shows that back in 1887 a number of towns were consolidated into the City of Jacksonville. He men-

tioned: LaVilla, Fairfield, East Jacksonville, Hansontown and Burbridge's Addition, Brooklyn, Riverside, Springfield, Oakland and Campbellton. Later Jacksonville took in Murray Hill and South Jacksonville, as well as Avondale, Ortega, Brentwood, Panama Park and Norwood.

Craig related the Ortega story which goes back to one Abraham Jones who had been a follower of General Oglethorpe and was given an English patent for 2,000 acres in 1770. This was Ortega's first permanent tenant. After Jones death in 1873, Craig said that according to legend the most notorious and most colorful bandit of the era, Dan McGirth, used the land for burying his stolen treasure while he used Jones' home for a hide-out. In 1906 the development of this section was taken over by John N.C. Stockton, who organized the Ortega Company. Ortega was platted in 1909, and in 1910, Ortega Farms was developed. After John N. C. Stockton's death, Gilchrist B. Stockton became president of the Ortega Company. While Gilchrist served from 1930 to 1933 as United States Minister to Austria, William T. Stockton took charge. But neither the Stocktons nor anyone else, wrote Craig, "has ever admitted unearthing buried treasure . . . old English gold, Spanish coins or any other valuables . . . in Ortega, although many have dug."

So persistent have been the legends of the pirates and adventurers of colonial days, that even a highway has been given a name suggestive of those times. Highway AIA hugs the Atlantic coast as it extends north from St. Augustine and passes through the Jacksonville Beaches. It becomes romantic after crossing Fort George Inlet by taking the name Buccaneer Trail as it proceeds across Nassau Sound and Amelia Island to Fernandina. The Jacksonville engineer who directed the making of the roads (not the bridges) of Buccaneer Trail for the State Road Department was Robert Angas. It was completed in 1949. Robert Angas's father, William Moore Angas, came to Jacksonville in 1896 as an agent for the Land Mortgage Bank of Florida, an English company interested in the development of Riverside.

The term "Jacksonville Beaches" now includes Jacksonville Beach, Neptune Beach and Atlantic Beach, which are on the Atlantic Ocean, and Mayport on the St. Johns River. Ponte Vedra, which is not in Duval County, also is included in this group.

Duval County's airport terminal for the commercial air lines is the Thomas C. Imeson Airport, located outside Jacksonville city limits. It serves six air lines—Delta, Eastern, National, Capital, Northeast and Southern. During the year 1959 the Imeson Airport emplaned 436,658 passengers. It is the largest of the three airports owned and operated by the city. The other two, Craig and Herlong, are used for private flying.

Jacksonville is noted for its beautiful parks and for its facilities for all forms of recreation available in Florida climate. The city has a Gun Club, two municipal golf courses, an Outboard Club, 38 recreational acres and four municipal swimming pools supervised by the Jacksonville Recreational Department.

In 1960, Duval County was operating 104 public schools, at which the average daily attendance was 95,069. Nine years ago, during the year 1938-39, the average daily attendance was 33,255. These figures, supplied by Dr. Garth H. Akridge, director of research for the schools, show the rate of Jacksonville's growth. Mostly, however, the county's growth has been indicated by its need for an expressway system, not only because of tourism but because of its growing importance as an industrial and distributing center for the southeast.

The Jacksonville Expressway System

The Jacksonville Expressway System is regarded as a spectacular achievement, so great is the relief it has brought to the traffic congestion which had troubled the Gateway City, and so enchanting are the vistas which the Expressway reveals of city, river and suburbs. The System is referred to as a highway development of

"tremendous magnitude" by J. E. Dovell in the "Florida Handbook" compiled by Allen Morris. Other southern cities, planning similar projects, send experts to interview Arthur N. Sollee, executive director of the Jacksonville Expressway Authority.

Sollee was no stranger to the highway needs of Duval County when he was made executive director of this project in 1956. At that time he had just retired after working for seventeen years as county engineer and zoning director for Duval County. And before that, Sollee had learned about road building at the University of Florida.

On June 11, 1956, the *Savannah Morning News* published a lengthy interview with Sollee about the problems involved in developing expressway. The staff writer, Nathaniel Polster, concluded with this tribute: "To one Savannah visitor, Sollee personified the spirit needed for expressway success: Knowledge, bedrock honesty, an ability to take a political bludgeoning in public and come back smiling, armed with the facts and a quick tongue, dedication and the humility to learn from the lowliest of men, if that man has an idea."

Sollee, however, has disclaimed credit and claimed that the chairman of the Authority, Lucius A. Buck, is its guiding spirit. "Although he works on it without pay, he gives it as much time as he gives to his own profession," said Sollee. "Chairman Buck is a tax attorney. The other four members of the Authority also work without pay and deserve credit." Their names will be mentioned in the following history of this development, prepared by Director Sollee:

"The Expressway System in Duval County is the outgrowth and expansion of the original conception of connecting links through Jacksonville of the Interstate Highway System which plan of integrated system of highways was defined in the Federal Highway Act of 1944 as the Interregional Highway System. Now it is known as the 'National System of Interstate and Defense Highways.'

"A joint resolution addressed and presented to the State Road Department of Florida on June 11, 1945, by various civic bodies of Jacksonville and City and County officials actually triggered the road and bridge studies which led to the publishing of voluminous feasibility reports by the State Road Department, Traffic Engineers and the Board of County Commissioners.

"After countless public hearings and the presentation of a proposed system of roads, bridges and interchanges to practically every civic organization in Duval County, the plan of the Board of County Commissioners to include a bridge across the St. Johns River from Jacksonville to the Arlington area along with a connecting link to U.S. 1, Phillips Highway near Greeland, was included with the State's Interstate road plan to form the Jacksonville-Duval County Expressway System.

"With all in agreement as to what facilities should be included in the proposed Expressway System, and with all engineering, legal work and method of financing completed, revenue bonds in the amount of $28,000,000 were sold by the Florida State Improvement Commission in 1950 to finance in part the great undertaking which total cost was estimated to be $41,818,000. Of this amount, the State Road Department had agreed to contribute $13,818,000. In order to sell the bonds the Board of County Commissioners had to pledge as security eighty percent of the surplus two cents gasoline tax.

"During the next three years, the Matthews Bridge across the St. Johns River was constructed with connecting roads to Main street in Jacksonville and to U.S. 1 (Phillips Highway) at Greenland in the County. Also, the Fuller Warren Bridge was completed with only short connecting streets to San Marco Boulevard on the south side and to Park Street in the Riverside area of Jacksonville. A short stretch of Haines Street was built from Beaver Street North to Eighth Street.

"Due to the inability of the State to provide all of the funds as pledged, only a few short sections of the Expressway as originally planned were built during the next few years.

"As it became very apparent to the people of Duval County that the State Road Department could build only the planned Jacksonville Expressway piece by piece with no time limit set on its completion, machinery was set in motion by local interests to formulate some plan whereby the construction of the Expressway could be expedited and completed without having to wait over an indefinite period. Spearheaded by Duval County Senator Fletcher Morgan, during the 1955 session of the State Legislature, an act was passed known as the 'Jacksonville Expressway Authority Law' creating the Jacksonville Expressway Authority. The governing body of the Authority was to consist of five members, of which three members were to be citizens of Duval County and to be appointed by the Governor: the fourth member to be the ex-officio Chairman of the Board of County Commissioners of Duval County Florida, and the fifth member to be the member of the State Road Department from the Second Congressional District.

"Within a few months after the enactment of the law creating the Authority, and after the appointment of the three members by the Governor, Lucius A. Buck, Chairman of the Authority, called for an organizational meeting on Friday, August 12, 1955. This meeting was attended by Chairman Buck, James H. O'Reilly, Secretary; I. J. Pemberton, Chairman C. Ray Greene of the Board of County Commissioners, and Earl P. Powers of the State Road Department.

"During the next twenty months, all of the efforts of the Authority were devoted to the correlating of the following: Designing and Traffic Engineers' reports, agreements between the Board of County Commissioners, State Road Department and the Authority, and financial feasibility reports. After having reached agreements with all interested parties the Authority published its Official Statement in connection with the sale of its authorized $70,000,000 Expressway Revenue Bonds, which were sold on April 9, 1957, and delivered to various investment firms on May 1, 1957. After providing funds for the retirement of the currently outstanding 1950 bonds, financing expenses and bond discount, there remained approximately $41,123,740 as the Authority's contribution to the Expressway System which total cost had been estimated by the Consulting Engineers as $58,244,740. The State Road Department had agreed to grant $17,121,000 as its share in the program.

"With financing assured, the Authority set target dates for the completion of the various segments and with few exceptions most of the jobs were finished by the contractors in far less time than had heretofore been thought possible. By the end of 1960 all of the planned sections of the Interstate System of the Expressway will have been opened.

"Due to the fact that the Jacksonville Expressway System included so much of the approved 'interstate system' and had matching funds immediately available, the Authority was in a position to be the recipient of approximately an additional $5,000,000 of Federal monies. This in turn released Bond funds for much needed and essential improvements and additions to contributing revenue sections.

"Scheduled for completion during 1960 and 1961 are the remaining sections of the Expressway System known as the Contributing Revenue Producing Projects to differentiate from the Primary Revenue Producing Projects that were completed first.

"Including the monies expended under the original $28,000,000 Bond Issue, contributions by the State Road Department (largely federal funds) and funds realized from the 1957 bonds, the total cost of the entire Jacksonville Expressway System of forty-five miles of roads and three toll bridges approximates $100,000,000.

"Consulting engineers for the Authority are Reynolds, Smith and Hills. W. C. Drenning is the Authority's chief engineer."

Economic High Lights

Among those who benefit from the Expressway System are the eighteen motor freight carriers operating out of and through Jacksonville and giving overnight

service to almost every town in Florida. The Jacksonville Area Chamber of Commerce economic survey shows that specialized carriers operate under the Interstate Commerce Commission or the Florida Railroad and Public Utilities Commission to provide service in Jacksonville. These include three tank truck carriers, five carriers for contract automobile and truck transport service and over twenty haulers and carriers of household good, machinery and other equipment.

Because of its natural harbor with a thirty-four foot channel to the Atlantic, Jacksonville's transportation services include steamship and barge service, thus providing a gateway between the southeastern United States and the world ports. The port facilities include private and public piers, transit sheds, warehouses and facilities for repairing vessels.

Jacksonville's industrial growth is promoted by the Committee of One Hundred of the Jacksonville Area Chamber of Commerce. The expense involved in this promotion is covered by funds the City appropriates through its Electric Utilities Department . . . for the City of Jacksonville owns its own electrical light plant. According to the 1958-59 Municipal Yearbook, this plant is a veritable gold mine for making money. It helps the entire governmental operation financially and in 1958-59 contributed a "whopping" $8,614,340 to the General Fund for the reduction of taxes.

Jacksonville has not experienced labor troubles, but has been proud of its good management-labor relations.

The City government operates under the Mayor-Commissioner-Council system which is similar in its functions to the state government. The Municipal Yearbook describes it thus:

"The Mayor-Commissioner sits as the city's chief executive, with authority to recommend legislation and also with veto power over the Council, as does the Governor with the Legislature. He is also the permanent chairman of the City Commission, the administrative body, just as the Governor is chairman of the cabinet, made up of other elective officers, all of them supervising the administrative functions of the state.

"Nine members compose the Council, the lawmaking body, which also makes up the budget, appropriating all of the funds. The Commission administers the various departments on money made available under the council's budget.

"While the Mayor-Commissioner has veto power over the Council, that body also has power of impeachment over all .elective officials. In addition, the Council has power of confirmation over most Commission appointments.

"This form of government provides an almost perfect system of checks and balances, which results in efficient governmental operations. The Mayor-Commissioner is also Commissioner of Public Safety, having supervision of the Police and Fire Departments, the Signal Bureau and the Building and Plumbing Inspection Departments, as well as the Office of Housing Director."

Some Duval County "Firsts"

The first tobacco taken from America to England came from Duval County, Florida. This fact is revealed in a monograph published by the Tobacco Institute, Inc., at Washington, D. C. It includes this statement: "When the English Sea Captain, Sir John Hawkins, returned from his exploration of Florida in 1565, his crew brought tobacco seeds into England. The first tobacco from America . . . came from the area De Leon called 'land of flowers'." (Sir John Hawkins had arrived at Fort Caroline on August 4, 1565.)

Duval County's first hospital, St. Luke's Hospital, opened on March 11, 1873, as the result of the efforts of three women, Mrs. Aristides L. Doggett, Mrs. Alexander Mitchell and Mrs. Theodore Hartridge. These women formed a Relief Association of Jacksonville which raised funds for the hospital by giving a fair. The public

sympathy had been aroused by the fact that there were no hospital rooms available for sick northerners who came down for the winter. The year before, in 1872, two of them had died on the streets of Jacksonville. Hospitals were not popular in that day and time for they were regarded more or less as "pest houses," so it took real leaders to make a success of the project. A footnote in Webster Merritt's "A Century of Medicine" says that the Duval County Hospital was founded about the same time, but by that information he indicated that St. Luke's was first. Other hospitals in Duval County at present are Riverside, Baptist, St. Vincent, Hope Haven, Jacksonville Convalescent Home and the Brewster Hospital for Negroes.

Hope Haven Hospital is Duval County's first children's hospital. When it was founded in 1926 by the Duval County Tuberculosis Association it was merely a "Preventorium." By the time it was moved into its present location on Atlantic Boulevard in 1940 it had become a hospital for crippled and undernourished children. The Hope Haven Foundation's initial gift of $40,000 from the estate of Robert Glendinning for the construction of the new hospital was more than matched by public subscription. Hope Haven now has a replacement value of $140,000.00 It serves fourteen counties in northeast Florida and south Georgia.

The first radio station for Jacksonville was Station WJAX, "Wonderful Jacksonville," which went on the air November 26, 1925. By 1959 there were twelve other radio stations as well as two commercial television stations and one educational TV.

The first woman to be honored by being elected President of the Florida Historical Association in the hundred years of the Society's existence is Miss Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville historian. She was elected at the Society's centennial meeting in St. Augustine on April 14, 1956.

Florida was the first name to be applied to the whole area that is now the United States proper; and the late Herbert Corse, Jacksonville engineer, was the first to publicize the fact with documentary proof. In his monograph, "The Continent of Florida," published by the Florida State Chamber of Commerce, Corse showed that not only the Spanish but the French and English applied the name "Florida" to this area. He mentioned also a 1740 German map which showed the word "Florida" printed across the whole Mississippi Valley.

The year 1960 is the first year the Jacksonville Free Public Library System passed the 700,000 figure in its circulation. Since 1945 its circulation has increased from 469,683 to 737,473, and borrowers have increased from 23,516 to 42,971. Book holdings at this time totaled 324,380 and included an excellent Florida collection, Government documents, genealogy and films. The Library System in Jacksonville consists of the main library, six branch libraries and one Bookmobile. Harry Brinton, Director of Libraries for the City, has announced that architects are working plans for one additional branch and new quarters for one of the existing branches. In addition, he said, an architect has been named to draw up plans and cost estimates for a new Main Downtown Library to be located in an excellent site in the business and shopping district.

The Edgewood Avenue Christian Church is the first church in Jacksonville to be located in such a manner that it can serve the spiritual needs of a national home for the aged of its own denomination. This home for senior citizens, the Florida Christian Home, is sponsored by the National Benevolent Association of the Christian Church. It is available as a home for the aged not only from Florida but from the Southeastern portion of the United States. The estate of the Florida Christian Home is in such close proximity to the Edgewood Avenue Christian Church that most of its guests have membership there. The Reverend John Bartram Nance, minister of the Church, says the Florida Christian Home always has between eighty and a hundred guests and that the church membership is about 400. The Florida Christian Home was founded in 1921 when it took over the building

and grounds of the Florida Military Academy. The Edgewood Avenue Christian Church was organized in 1922.

The 1960 Census and Progress

Although the 1960 population figures showed that Duval County is still Florida's second largest county, Tampa had replaced Jacksonville as the State's second largest city. Duval County's census figures were 455,411 for 1960. (Ten years previously, in 1950, Duval's population had been 304,029). Hillsborough County's population for 1960 was only 397,788. The Tampa population, however, surpassed Jacksonville's with figures of 270,710 to 199,265.

The Florida Times-Union said that Jacksonville's officials attributed the city's loss partially to the movement of families from within the city limits to suburban areas. This movement was the result partially to the moving of city dwelling units to make way for the Expressway system, industrial projects and governmental programs.

Jacksonville was the only Florida city mentioned in May, 1960, when the Rand McNally business trend bulletin listed the top ten cities in the United States in business. In listing Jacksonville as one of the top ten cities in the nation in business it showed an increase of nine percent over the previous year.

Not only in business, but in other ways growth is indicated in Duval County. The Jacksonville Ministerial Alliance now has an approximate membership of 250. Its 1960-elected president is Rev. Roland Richmann, pastor of the Trinity Lutheran Church. Its executive secretary is Rev. Robert Disler, partor of the Snyder Memorial M. E. Church, which is one of Jacksonville's oldest church buildings. It was erected in 1903. Jacksonville has the distinction of being state headquarters for the Florida Council of Churches, which was organized in 1947 with Mrs. J. M. Ederfield as executive secretary. Rev. Jack Davis was executive secretary in 1960.

Mayor Commissioner Haydon Burns

When Haydon Burns was elected Mayor of Jacksonville in 1949 he was only 37 years of age and was the second youngest man to hold this office. He was elected Mayor Commissioner in 1951 and re-elected in 1955 and was still in office in 1960 when he entered the gubernatorial primary unsuccessfully.

By profession, the Mayor is a public relations consultant. During World War II he was a Naval officer. Part of the time he was attached to the office of the Secretary of the Navy as an Aeronautical Salvage Specialist. After Burns was elected Mayor of Jacksonville he received several other honors. He served as President of the Florida League of Municipalities, as a member of the executive committee of the American Municipal Association, and as a Trustee and member of the executive committee of the United States Conference of Mayors. He received the annual Good Government reward.

Conclusion

To close a chronological outline of the founding and development of the area long accepted as the "Gateway Into Florida" is to rest serenely upon the claims made in the opening paragraphs of this brief history.

Events mentionel show that Duval County is Florida's "Gateway Into History". They show also that the county's various disasters and problems have developed leadership which sometimes helped the whole State. The same fortitude Duval citizens showed while struggling contumaciously against Carpetbag tyranny, they later showed time and again as they overcame set-backs to create the industrial capital of Florida and South Georgia.

PACKWOOD

CHAPTER XVIII

ST. JOHNS COUNTY AND ST. AUGUSTINE

By Dr. E. C. Nance

ST. JOHNS COUNTY, and its famous county seat, St. Augustine, have been subject of poets, feature writers, novelists and historians for four hundred years. St. Augustine, founded in 1565 by Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles, and named by him for Saint Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, upon whose feast day, August 28th, he sighted the coast, is older than St. Johns county which did not receive its name or designation as a county until July 21st, 1821, when General Andrew Jackson, military governor, divided East and West Florida into two counties, Escambia and St. Johns. St. Johns is the oldest county in Florida.

St. Augustine is the "oldest continuously settled city in the United States". It was founded forty-two years before the settlement of Jamestown and fifty-five years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock.

St. Johns County takes its name from historic St. Johns River, named by the Spaniards, "San Juan," so history tells us, for John the Baptist because the Spanish discovered the river on this Saint's natal day.

According to J. T. Van Campen, President of the St. Augustine Historical Society and author of an absorbing and up-to-date book (1959) entitled "St. Augustine, Capital of La Florida": "The St. Johns River was first called by the Spaniards San Mateo, and at a later date the name "San Juan", or St. Johns, appears. When the Spaniards captured Fort Caroline, they renamed it San Mateo because it was captured on St. Matthews Day." (See "The St. Johns" by Branch Cabell and A. J. Hanna.)

The county comprises 389,760 acres and is bordered on the north by Duval County, on the west by Clay and Putnam Counties and on the south by Flagler County. The east boundary is the Atlantic Ocean. The natural boundary to the west, for almost the entire length of the county, is the St. Johns River. This makes for a milder climate than that of other areas of this altitude. The temperature in the winter sometimes drops below freezing, but does not remain that low for any long length of time.

For readers interested in weather statistics, the average temperature in the county is 69.5 degrees. The average high is 80.7 degrees in July and an average of 57.1 degrees in January. The average rainfall is 48.25 inches. The heaviest rain comes in June, July, August, September and October. The average elevation of the county is 27 feet above sea level.

The population of the county, 30,034 in 1960, is comprised of 22,000 white and the rest non-white.

While St. Augustine, the county seat, is the largest center of population in the county, there are other important communities which contribute to its wealth and interest, such as Hastings, Bakersville, Elkton, Saybrook, Yelvington, Armstrong, St. Johns Park, Durbin and Hilden.

The city of St. Augustine is situated on the Atlantic Ocean and U. S. Highway No. 1, approximately 37 miles south of Jacksonville and 55 miles north of Daytona Beach.

Open any of the guidebooks and you will be introduced to rich and colorful

historical facts with which every state historian opens the door to his story of Florida. The following fourteen paragraphs from "A Visitor's Guide to Historical St. Augustine" illustrate my point:

"Stepping ashore with sword in hand, the Conquistador Ponce de Leon officially discovered Florida in 1513. With regularity, a few years later, Spanish fleets were sailing the Gulf Stream past Florida shores, bound homeward with fabulous treasure from the Spanish Main. Understandably, such traffic had irresistible appeal to adventurers from the less fortunate nations, and Spanish admirals knew the Florida coast would become a nest of poor, but optimistic corsairs. They were right.

"Some fifty years after Leon's discovery, a French colony found a likely spot on the St. Johns River. Spanish Admiral Pedro Menendez de Aviles was assigned to remove them. This task first called for establishing a base of operations in the wilderness, so the Spaniards disembarked at an Indian village called Seloy and forthwith set about fortifying the barn-like communal house there. With bare hands and whatever other tools they could find, they dug ditches and threw up earth ramparts. The settlement was established in formal ceremony on September 8, 1565. Appropriately, it was named St. Augustine, for Menendez had made his landfall on the feast day of the Saint.

"Meanwhile, the Frenchmen, being impatient as well as superior in numbers, sailed from their fort to the attack, but off St. Augustine a storm drove them southward to shipwreck. Through the same storm, Menendez marched to capture their weakened fort. Later he searched out the castaways, put most of them to the knife and thus sealed Spain's claim to the northern continent. Virtually all of the New World was now hers.

"But England was a powerful rival, and Sir Francis Drake (after plundering certain Caribbean towns) chanced upon St. Augustine in 1586. With an overwhelming force, he sacked and burned the town.

"Drake's raid, netting him a quantity of silver ducats and several bronze cannon, was only the beginning. Jamestown came in 1607, and the Carolina settlements were not long delayed. These colonies, based upon agriculture, Indian trade and shipping, throve in sharp contrast to Spanish St. Augustine, which remained hardly more than a military outpost subsidized by Mexico. On the other hand, the Spanish mission system, extended throughout the southeast by the Franciscans, brought hundreds of Indians to Christian faith and Spanish allegiance; so missionary and soldier alike hoped that Indians friendly to Spain would be unfriendly to Spain's enemies, making strong fortifications unnecessary.

"But this was unwarranted optimism. In 1868 pirates sacked St. Augustine again, and the Spaniards perforce determined to build an impregnable Castillo—a citadel of stone. Before the work could begin, the English had already (1670) founded Charleston, 200 miles away; and while the fort was abuilding, pirates were ravaging the coast and heathen Indians were destroying the missions.

"The baptism of fire for the new Castillo came during Queen Anne's War in 1702, when South Carolinians laid siege to it for two months. Other attacks followed. Each time the defenses held, but these were nonetheless trying times; the people were often hungry and naked; English and Indian raids drove women and children to sleep in the shadow of the fort walls; and Spain's Florida became little more than St. Augustine itself.

"The climax was delayed until 1740. Britain had been granted limited trade with Spanish colonies, and under such restrictions, smuggling became the rule rather than the exception. The Spanish coast guard boarded British merchantmen and on one occasion a Spanish officer sliced off the ear of Shipmaster Robert Jenkins. Jenkins exhibited the bottled ear before Parliament, the English merchants clamored for war, and the "War of Jenkins' Ear" began in 1739. A few months later, James Oglethorpe was marching south from the new colony of Georgia.

"With a thousand men he besieged the Castillo. For 27 days his batteries hurled

bombs and shot across the bay, but the Castillo held strong, while far to the south sailed Spanish ships, bringing belated supplies from Havana for the defenders. Past the British blockade the supply boats ran, and with their arrival the discouraged Englishmen raised the siege.

"Another war and ill luck in Cuba finally loosened Spain's grasp. The British captured Havana. For its return, Spain traded St. Augustine and all of Florida to Great Britain; and from the little city they had defended for 200 years, the Spaniards departed in a body.

"For twenty years (1763-1783) the English were here; building a vast plantation system that loaded cargoes of indigo, cotton, naval stores—yes, and orange juice, too—aboard great ships riding off the bar of St. Augustine. As the Revolution flamed to the north, Florida held faithfully to the Crown, and red-coated regiments tramped out of St. Augustine to fight the 'rebels.' Cartel ships brought many American patriots (including three signers of the Declaration of Independence) to prison at Tory St. Augustine.

"Florida was restored to Spain by the 1783 Treaty of Paris, but the houses at St. Augustine—now empty for the second time— filled slowly until the Governor offered land to any settlers who would swear allegiance to the Spanish Crown. Thereupon began an influx of Americans which no doubt hastened the cession of Florida to the United States in 1821.

"Still, the fighting days were not past, for the new settlers demanded removal of the Seminole Indians to the west. The Indians, naturally, refused to go. So, St. Augustine again became a military base—this time for the Indian War of 1835-1842. Dozens of dusky prisoners were herded into the Castillo, which was the scene for at least one thrilling escape.

"Meantime, St. Augustine was slowly gaining renown as a health resort. Emerson, Bryant and Lanier were early visitors here, and each sang the praises of the quaint little town. Primitive transportation was a serious obstacle to resort development, however, until Henry Flagler chanced to vacation here. Flagler's vision brought the great hotels of the 1880's, the extension of the railroad, and the opening of the entire Florida east coast."

The reader who is particularly interested in St. Augustine's important role in the dramatic history of Florida and our nation need only turn to the index of this work to discover the large number of times the name "St. Augustine" appears throughout the history of Florida.

Tourists by the thousands pass through St. Augustine and many winter and summer tourists spend weeks or months in this city, or on some of St. Johns county's many beautiful beaches.

Industry

The principal sources of income for St. Johns County derive from agriculture and commercial fishing. Florida crabs, shrimp and lobster are among the county's source of income from its long coast-line ocean waters. A year's production in commercial edible seafoods would average 2,000,000 pounds.

St. Johns county is noted for its profitable field crops of cabbage and Irish potatoes. There is also a large production of sweet potatoes, some sugar cane, forage crops and corn. All truck crops, including watermelons, are a part of the agricultural income of the county. In 1955-56 nearly 17,000 acres produced small fruits and vegetables. The county has approximately 400 farms with a total of 182,580 acres, with more available lands suitable to agricultural purposes. Approximately 120,000 acres are used as pasture lands for the raising of purebred beef and dairy cattle and hogs. Plums, pears, pecans, peaches, grapes, Japanese persimmons, grapefruit and oranges are also grown in the county. Also of great importance to the

county's economy are the commercial forest lands of 323,800 acres—35.5 per cent of the total land area of the county.

In 1958 the Department of Agriculture of the State of Florida published the following information on St. Johns county:

"The county's largest single industry is Florida East Coast Railway headquarters and general repair shops, which employs between one and two thousand persons, with an annual payroll of between four and five million dollars. Gladioli raising, on the increase with 600 acres planted in 1957, brings an annual return in excess of $1,000,000.

"Assessed valuation of St. Johns County was $33,226.693 in 1956. Retail sales totalled $25,884,000. Banking resources amounted to $27,984,000 in 1956, and total annual wages paid in the county in 1956 totalled $11,378,389. Effective buying income was $1,290 per capita and a total of $39,850,000 for the county in 1956."

Labor Conditions

Florida voters overwhelmingly approved in 1944 a Constitutional Amendment stating "The right of persons to work shall not be denied or abridged on account of membership or non-membership in any labor union, or labor organization." Labor organizations in St. Augustine are generally limited to construction and transportation. Railway unions cover most of the workers in that category; skilled trades and utilities workers have some membership in A.F. of L. groups. Total union membership outside railway organizations will probably not be over 200. Mass unionization, however, has never prevailed in St. Johns County and the bulk of the labor force is non-union.

The labor force in St. Johns County fluctuates between 6,000 and 7,000 workers, depending on the season. During the winter season, several types of job seekers come to find employment here, crews of service workers and individuals who usually follow these occupations come from hotels, motels, restaurants and recreational establishments closing for the winter in the north and apply for the same jobs here. Many skilled construction workers, such as painters, carpenters and masons, leave northern areas where their work is winter bound and seek similar employment here. The desire to live in Florida is almost universal, and this makes it extremely easy to recruit workers for industry in the state.

In St. Johns County, conditions have improved in recent years in regard to additional outlets for skilled labor forces. The establishment of the St. Johns River Junior College in this area means additional valuable training for hundreds of county residents who otherwise would not have had the opportunity for college training. The Florida School for the Deaf and Blind trains their students in several skills and trades before their graduation, and these include Printing and Linotype and Offiset work; shoe repair; cleaning and pressing; upholstery; woodworking; cooking; dressmaking; lathe and metal work; chair caning; arts and crafts and barbering.

The readers of this chapter will realize that statistics on any phase or any part of Florida become outdated quickly—so rapid is the growth and so varied is the progress of the State. The periodic reports of the Chambers of Commerce are outdated before they come from the press.

"U. S. Highway 1 extends the length of the county and Florida highways 13, 16, 207, 206 and A1A enter the county. Florida East Coast Railway provides rail transportation and Greyhound Lines provides bus service.

"There are excellent sailfish and tarpon waters here and St. Johns County is sometimes called the black drum capital of the world. Channel bass, bonito, sheepshead, and whiting are the leading salt-water fish caught in the county. Black bass and bream are the leading fresh-water fish. Dolphin, barracuda, Spanish mackerel, and king mackerel are also caught in the Atlantic Ocean. Deep-sea fishing boats are available in this important tourist fishing area."

Developments

EDUCATION: The Florida Normal and Industrial College for Negroes is located here. There are churches of all denominations, two golf courses, and two libraries. Lighthouse Park and Anastasia State Park are located in the county.

The school system of St. Johns County is currently undergoing an expansion program to keep pace with the growth of the area. Existing school plants include: St. Joseph Academy, (boarding school for girls, day students, co-ed); Catholic schools, 3 white and 1 negro; Public schools, 8 white and 5 negro; Colleges, 1 negro; 3 Kindergartens; 4 Nursery schools and in addition, St. Augustine is the site of the Florida State School for the Deaf and Blind, with an enrollment of some 600 students. Schools under construction (1960) in St. Johns County include a new elementary school and the new St. Augustine High School.

ART: St. Augustine has the largest Art Colony in the South with an active membership of over 450 artists. This growing art colony has its own association and art gallery, located on Marine Street, and conducts regular exhibits.

BANKS: The banks operating in 1958 were: The Hastings Exchange Bank, The Exchange Bank, Security Federal and the St. Augustine National. Their resources on January 1, 1958, totaled $62,120,045.13.

WATERWAYS: St. Augustine is situated on a peninsula of land only a short distance from the Atlantic Ocean. Waters of the Atlantic enter the area through the government dredged St. Augustine Inlet, adjacent to the Bayfront area of the city. These waters flow into the intra-coastal waterway which runs almost the entire length of the east coast of the United States. St. Augustine is situated on beautiful Matanzas Bay, and the waterway running to the north of St. Augustine is called the Tolomoto (or north) River, while to the south it is known as the Matanzas River. Branching off from this southern section of waterway, and running in a northerly direction west of St. Augustine is the San Sebastian River, a waterway used by the St. Augustine shrimp fleet to almost the full extent, terminating at the King Street bridge, which does not permit further passage.

The St. Augustine Inlet, the approach from the sea buoy, the Intra-coastal Waterway, Matanzas River and San Sebastian River all average a depth of ten to twelve feet at mean low tide. Currents in these waterways are noticeable, but are not prohibitive to navigation. All are used to their fullest extent at all times of the year. Tide fluctuations range six feet every six hours. In other words, the tide flows in from the Atlantic for six hours before reaching the slack high tide, then flows out for six hours before reaching the slack ebb. Both slack periods range about thirty minutes in length or duration.

GROUND-WATER RESOURCES: St. Johns County is on the eastern seaboard in the northern part of the Florida Peninsula. Beds of clay, marl, shell and sandy limestone of Pliocene, Pleistocene and recent age are exposed at the surface all over the county. They range from 25 to 140 feet in total thickness and are underlain by relatively impervious beds of clay, sand and limestone of Miocene or Pliocene age that range in thickness from 50 to 220 feet. A series of limestone beds several thousand feet thick underlines the Miocene or Pliocene clay. The uppermost unit of this limestone is the Ocala group of the Late Eocene Age.

Measurements of artesian pressure head show that the Piozometric surface fluctuates through a range of about five feet each year in most of the county, being high in the winter and low in the summer.

The area may be divided into four general and distinct topographic divisions, as follows: (1) an offshore bar that ranges in width from a few yards to a mile or more, along the eastern coast; (2) a lagoonal area about a mile wide immediately west of and parallel to the bar; (3) a ridge and swamp belt about five miles wide which parallels the coast line; (4) a gently sloping plain along the St. Johns River.

The ridges and swamps are relatively straight and narrow and form a distinct trellis drainage pattern. The plain that slopes gently to the St. Johns River is the largest division. It occupies nearly two-thirds of the county and has a dendritic drainage pattern. The altitude of the land ranges from about 65 feet in the ridge and swamp belt to sea level at the coast.

Ground water is subsurface water in that part of the zone of saturation in which all pore spaces are filled with water under pressure greater than atmospheric. Water in this zone moves more or less laterally under the influence of gravity to places of discharge, such as rivers, springs, wells or the ocean.

WATER SUPPLY: The St. Augustine area draws its water supply from artesian well fields which are 65 to 90 feet in depth and transmission lines to treatment plants are 3 to 4 feet underground.

BEACHES: St. Augustine's beaches are the equal of any in the world, and St. Augustine Beach is, at low tide, 503 feet wide and is known as the World's Widest Driving Beach. The bordering Atlantic Ocean offers safe bathing and beautiful wide beaches, on which one can drive his automobile at low tide for 18 miles.

Distance to beaches from St. Augustine are: St. Augustine Beach, 4 miles; Lighthouse Park, 1½ miles; Vilano Beach, 3 miles; Surfside, 3 miles; Usina's Beach, 5 miles; Ponte Vedra Beach, 25 miles; Summer Haven, 15 miles; and Marineland, 18 miles.

FORM OF GOVERNMENT: A City Manager-Commission form of government has been adopted.

GOLF COURSES: The County's two golf courses are the Ponce de Leon Golf Club, 4 miles north on U. S. #1, 18 hole course, 6545 yards, par 72; and the Ponte Vedra Country Club, 25 miles north on A1A, 18 hole course, 6605 yards, par 72.

HOSPITALS: The Flagler Hospital has 107 beds, 10 bassinets, and East Coast Hospital has 67 beds and 10 bassinets. Both hospitals are approved by the American College of Surgeons. Neither hospital has a training school for nurses.

LIBRARIES: The St. Augutine Public Library, Aviles Street, has 20,500 volumes. The Webb Memorial Library, 14 St. Francis Street, has one of the finest collections of research books on Florida and St. Augustine's early history, as has the St. Augustine Historical Society, 22 St. Francis Street. (See chapter on local historical societies, Vol. II.)

MOTOR FREIGHT: Lines operating out of and through St. Augustine provide almost every city in Florida with overnight truck service out of St. Augustine. They provide daily pickup and delivery service at hundreds of points in the country. Twelve additional motor freight carriers provide contact with the Jacksonville area.

AIRLINES: Located in St. Augustine is a travel agency that represents all certified domestic and international airlines and steamship companies. They also represent the Greyhound Bus Lines. Their services consist of making reservations and selling tickets for all companies represented, drawing up schedules for tours, packaged vacation trips, etc., and making hotel reservations throughout the world. With less than an hour's drive to Jacksonville, one can make airline connections with: Delta, C & S, Eastern, National, Northeast, Southern, and Capitol Airlines. Herbert B. Moller as agent for non-scheduled foreign carriers, provides air freight service into and out of Jacksonville. The Air Express Division of the Railway Express Agency handles air express shipments for the community. The St. Augustine airport is located four miles north of the city with suitable facilities for private aircraft. There is currently pending before the CAA an application for commercial feeder service into St. Augustine.

MUNICIPAL YACHT PIER: This is located in the downtown center of historical points of interest, on the south side of the Bridge of Lions. It operates from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. daily. The depth of the channel at the dock is 15 feet.

NEWSPAPERS: The City has one daily, The St. Augustine Record.

NURSING HOME: 189 San Marco Avenue, members of National Association of Registered Nursing Homes.

ORGANIZATIONS: Rotary Club, St. Augustine, St. Johns County Chamber of Commerce, Jaycees, Kiwanis, Lions, National Business and Professional Women, Civitan, American Legion, BPO Elks, Knights of Columbus, Moose, St. Augustine Shrine Club, Pilot Club, Masonic Lodge, Odd Fellows, Community Concert Association and numerous other garden, social, civic, and book clubs.

RADIO STATIONS: WFOY-CBS, operates on 250 watts at 1240 KCS. (UP) WSTN, an independent, operates on 1000 watts on 1420 KCS. (AP)

TELEVISION: Two commercial and one educational station are located in Jacksonville, WJXT Channel 4 and WFGA, Channel 12 are two commercial outlets, and WJCT, Channel 7 is the educational station.

PLANT SITES: Good plant sites are available in this area served by highway, railway and inland waterway transportation. Unskilled labor is relatively plentiful.

REAL ESTATE: Building permits issued in 1958 in the St. Augustine city limits totalled $824,177.00. Building permits are not required in the county but it is estimated that the value of building in the metropolitan area (i.e., within 10 mile radius of downtown St. Augustine) for 1958 was approximately $3,500,000.00.

RESTAURANTS: St. Augustine's restaurants range from the ultra modern to candle-lighted patios in the Old Spanish quarter. A number of these eating places are nationally famous for seafood specialties. The total number of restaurants in the county is 191, with seating capacity of 7,095.

REST HOMES: Resthaven, 187 Oneida Street, established by the Episcopal Church.

TRADE AREA: The retail area has a radius of 20 miles.

THEATRES: The Matanzas has a seating capacity of 1,250. Other theatres are: the Florida Theatre, Beach Drive-In and the San Marco Drive-In.

TOURIST ATTRACTIONS: The St. Augustine and St. Johns Chambers of Commerce, the tourist guides and guidebooks, invite tourists to visit such attractions as:

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument on Matanzas Bay; "the oldest standing fort in the United States."

The Fountain of Youth, "the spot where Florida's discoverer may have landed in search of the fountain of youth." Here one sees the statue of Juan Ponce de Leon whose search for the fountain of youth and his discovery of Florida in 1513 is recorded elsewhere in Vol. I of this history of East Coast Florida. Nearby one may see the Indian Burying Ground and the Indian Council House.

The Lightner Museum of Hobbies, given to the city of St. Augustine by O. C. Lightner of Chicago. Mr. Lightner's collection of hobbies are displayed in this museum originally built by Henry Flagler.

The Marine Studios, eighteen miles south of St. Augustine on A1A highway between Crescent Beach and Flagler Beach, is in Flagler County. Marine Studios attract thousands of visitors and is advertised as the "world's first oceanarium." One who visits Marineland leaves with interesting memories of a great collection of just about every creature that lives in the ocean.

Other attractions are: The Mission of Nombre de Dios, Moonshine Museum, Mystery House and the Oldest House. ("The Oldest House is NOT a private commercial enterprise. On the contrary, it is operated by the St. Augustine Historical Society in the public interest, and as such it ranks alongside the Castillo. All funds derived from it are used by the Society to further its program of historical research, preservation and interpretation, and to support its research library, one of the finest in the south. Were it not for the vast amount of work the Society has done in these

fields, the present program of restoration and preservation would scarcely be feasible; the Society over the years has collected and preserved the necessary records, and done much of the preliminary research work. Public patronage of the Oldest House has made this possible." J. T. Van Campen, President, St. Augustine Historical Society.)

Other attractions are: Old Jail, Old Spanish Treasury, Oldest Wooden School House, St. Augustine Alligator Farm, The Ripley Museum, The Shrine of Nuestra Senora de la Leche—"Shrine of American Motherhood," Ponce de Leon Hotel, Old Spanish Cemetery, Bridge of Lions, The Old Slave Market, The Llambias House, National Cemetery, Treasury Street, King's Bakery, The Old Post Office. ("The present post office occupies the site of the former governor's residence or government house. Its architectural style is based to some extent on a picture of the old Governor's residence during the English period."—J. T. Van Campen.)

Other attractions are: Prince Murat House, The City Building, Old Huguenot Cemetery, Old City Gates, Old Curiosity Shop, St. Joseph's Academy, The Sanchez House, Potter's Wax Museum, Villa Zorayda, Flagler Memorial Presbyterian Church, Cathedral of St. Augustine, St. Francis Barracks(State Arsenal), Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, "Oldest Episcopal Church in Florida," Zero Milestone, marking the beginning of the "Old Spanish Trail"—the first continental highway, Aviles Street, Cardova Building, The O'Reilly House, The Segui House (public library), Public Market (same as slave market), Plaza de la Constitution, Casa Arrivas, Oglethorpe Monument, St. Augustine Lighthouse, Spanish Outpost, Spanish Inn, Old Spanish Treasury, Patio House and Don Toledo House.

Significant Dates in the History of St. Augustine

1513—March 27, Florida discovered and named by Ponce de Leon. April 3, Ponce de Leon landed on site of St. Augustine.

1565—August 28th (St. Augustine's Day) Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles sighted Florida at Indian Village of Seloy, September 8th renamed it St. Augustine and claimed "the land of Florida" for Spain.

1565—September, massacre of shipwrecked French Protestants by Menendez near Matanzas Inlet.

1580—Coquina discovered on Anastasia Island by the Spanish.

1583—Convent of St. Francis founded in St. Augustine.

1586—May 8th, Sir Francis Drake attacked and burned St. Augustine.

1638-40—Apalache Indians captured and sent to St. Augustine to work on fortifications.

1668—Attack on St. Augustine by Robert Searles, British Buccaneer.

1672—Castillo de San Marcos begun.

1690—Beginning of first sea wall by the Spanish government.

1702—Moore's siege of St. Augustine.

1740—British General Oglethorpe of Georgia attacked St. Augustine, laid siege to the fort but failed to take it.

1740—First record of snow in St. Augustine.

1741-42—Fort Matanzas built as defense against attacks from the south.

1742—Second Oglethorpe attack on St. Augustine; second failure.

1756—Castillo de San Marcos officially completed.

1763—Florida ceded by Spain to England.

1767—Dr. Andrew Turnbull brought Minorcans to Florida plantations, near New Smyrna.

1777—Minorcans take refuge in St. Augustine.

1783—Florida re-ceded to Spain by Great Britain.

1791-97—Roman Catholic Church (consecrated as Cathedral 1870) built in St. Augustine.

1817—General Andrew Jackson invaded West Florida.

1821—July 10th, Stars and Stripes raised over Castillo de San Marcos, following cession of Florida from Spain.

1821—Religious freedom established; Protestant churches founded. (Trinity Protestant Episcopal, 1821; First Presbyterian—now Memorial Presbyterian—1824.)

1835—Freeze of 1835.

1835-42—Seminole Indian Wars.

1837—Osceola, Coacoochee, and other Seminoles imprisoned in fort.

1845—Florida became "a state of the American Nation."

1861—Castillo de San Marcos seized by Florida Confederate troops at beginning of the War Between the States.

1862—Castillo and city taken over by the Federal forces.

1885-88—Henry M. Flagler started renaissance of St. Augustine; Hotel Ponce de Leon opened January 10, 1888.

1887—Fire—burned Cathedral, Market, St. Augustine Hotel, etc.

1889—Flagler Memorial Church erected, corner of Valencia and Sevilla Streets, St. Augustine.

1894-95—Big freeze (Dec. 1894 and Feb. 1895) mercury down to 11 degrees; all of St. Augustine's orange trees were killed.

1912—Intra-coastal waterway opened to St. Augustine.

1913—Henry M. Flagler, generous patron of St. Augustine, laid to rest, May 23, in the mausoleum adjoining Memorial Church.

1914—Great fire, destroyed many early houses and landmarks.

1924—Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas made National Monuments.

1927—Bridge of Lions completed across Matanzas River.

1928—Zero Milestone, starting point of trans-continental "Old Spanish Trail," erected at St. Augustine.

1937—Royal Governor's Palace restored by Federal Government. (It is now U. S. Post Office and Customs House.)

1947—Lightner Museum of Hobbies established in Alcazar Hotel Building and presented to the City of St. Augustine.

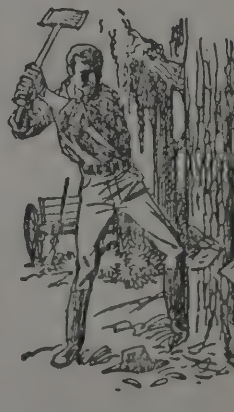
1950—April 3, statue of Don Juan Ponce de Leon, dedicated at Fountain of Youth Park, commemorating 437th anniversary of his discovery of Florida.

1950—September 8, St. Augustine celebrated 385th anniversary of its founding; "oldest city in the United States."

From "The Story of Old St. Augustine,"
By Howard Lee, St. Augustine.

See also "The Florida Handbook," (pages 93-99), published 1959, The Peninsular Publishing Company, Tallahassee; and "Florida—Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary," by Dr. J. E. Dovell.

The history of Florida began in this section and no historian could adequately tell the full story of early Florida without stressing the ancient history of St. Augustine. For almost 400 years, as we have already noted, St. Augustine has played a major role in the history of the state. The reader who desires a greater understanding of this role may read with profit the chapters of this work written by Dr. J. E. Dovell: "Discovery and Colonization," "The First Spanish Period," "The British period," "The Second Spanish Period," "American Territory," "Indian War on the East Coast," "Life and Labor—1821-1845," etc., and the chapters which cover the beginning of St. Augustine's modern history. "St. Augustine, Capital of La Florida," by J. T. Van Campen is a "must" on any reading list of books on St. Augustine.



The St. Augustine Restoration Plan

In 1965, St. Augustine will observe the 400th anniversary of the city's founding. At the suggestion of Governor LeRoy Collins a special advisory committee has been named by the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials to present a plan for the preservation and restoration of this erstwhile capital of "Spanish Florida."

Dr. Verne E. Chatelain has this to say about the study of such a plan:

"This study has been prepared to suggest a plan for the systematic preservation, restoration and use of the great historical resources of Spanish St. Augustine—where, nearly four centuries ago, there occurred the first premanent Euopean settlement in what is now the territory of the United States of America.

"The plan itself is the result of many years of effort by scholars, assisted by citizens of Florida as well as by other public-spirited friends—who, working together, have succeeded in discovering, in collecting and in interpreting substantial portions of the rich materials of this, the first, and one of the greatest, of all of the chapters of American history.

"When, in 1936, the St. Augustine Historical Program was inaugurated by the people of Florida, in cooperation with the Carnegie Institution of Washington, it was realized that the vast records of this early phase of history in the Western Hemisphere had, only to a limited degree, been explored and evaluated. There was need, therefore, to carry forward the investigations previously commenced by such students as Buckingham Smith, Woodbury Lowery, James A. Robertson, John Tate Lanning, and Herbert Bolton.

"It appeared logical at that time, also, to begin a meticulous examination of important sites, buildings and remains in St. Augustine and its environs—as a basis, when the time might be appropriate, for a full scale restoration program, and for the creation in this ancient city of a center of learning and culture, where all might come, scholars and laymen alike, to examine and to understand the physical conditions and the records of this story of the occupation and the development of Spanish Florida.

"Now the point has been reached where these investigations, both historical and archeological, are reasonably complete. And, thus, the propitious moment has come for the formulation and presentation of a Master Plan for St. Augustine, which, if skifully conceived, and if faithfully carried out, will serve perpetually to dramatize the great story of these—the earliest beginnings of American civilization."

Dr. Verne E. Chatelain,
Executive Secretary,
Special Advisory Committee
Florida Board of Parks and
Historic Memorials.

The reasons for the restoration plan are set forth in the following words in the original brochure on the St. Augustine Restoration Plan, which reads, in part:

"Before proceeding with suggestions for the St. Augustine Restoration Plan, it is perhaps well to state, as clearly and as briefly as possible, the primary reasons why this community should be the object of a thorough and, eventually, a full-scale historical program.

"St. Augustine, in 1965, will celebrate four hundred years of history as an American community of European origin. During all of that long period, although major changes in political jurisdiction have occurred, it has managed to survive and to adjust. Its existence has been continuous.

"No other community in this Nation can truthfully claim such antiquity."

The report pointed to the fact that famous early writers like William Bartram, William Cullen Bryant and Ralph Waldo Emerson visited St. Augustine and wrote about it.

" 'The town,' said Bartram, writing in 1765-66, 'is pleasantly situated.' And he noted that the streets were 'very narrow, about 15 foot, the principal street 27 foot; but some were only 12 feet wide, and the lanes crossing the streets near right angles, 6 or 7 feet.'

"The houses built by 'the governor, civil magistrates, and military officers. . . .' had, he said, 'pleasant covered balconies, supported by double beams fastened in the wall at convenient distance. The upper beam projects over the under one a foot, or more, which is a good support.' Houses as well as garden walls were constructed in most cases of 'oyster shells and mortar'; however, the best places, observed Bartram, were made 'of hewn shell stone' (coquina), and 'arches and pillars support the flat roofs.' And, he added, a few of the houses had 'chimnies' or 'glass windows.'

"William Cullen Bryant, the distiguished American writer of the nineteenth century, has left this impression of St. Augustine, which he gained on a personal visit there in the year 1843.

" 'At length we emerged upon a shrubby plain, and finally came in sight of this oldest city of the United States, seated among its trees on a sandy swell of land where it has stood for three hundred years. I was struck with its ancient and homely aspect, even at a distance, and could not help likening it to pictures which I had seen of Dutch towns, though it wanted a wind-mill or two to make the semblance perfect. We drove into a green square (the plaza) . . . . and thence through the narrow streets. . . . .'

" 'I have called the streets narrow. In few places they are wide enough to allow two carriages to pass abreast. I was told they were not originally intended for carriages, and that in the time when the town belonged to Spain, many of them were floored with an artificial stone composed of shells and mortar, which in this climate takes and keeps the hardness of rock, and that no other vehicle than a hand-barrow was allowed to pass over them. In some places you see remnants of this ancient pavement, but for the most part it has been ground into dust under the wheels of the carts and carriages, introduced by the new inhabitants (the Americans).'

" 'The old houses, built of a kind of stone which is seemingly a pure concretion of small shells, overhang the streets with their wooden balconies, and the gardens between the houses are fenced on the side of the street with high walls of stone. Peeping over these walls you see the branches of the pomegranate and of the orange tree, now fragrant with flowers, and, rising yet higher, the leaning boughs of the fig, with its broad luxuriant leaves. Occasionally you pass the ruins of houses—walls of stone, with arches and staircases of the same material, which once belonged to stately dwellings.'

"Bryant then continues, quoting the impressions of a friend of his, who had visited St. Augustine in 1831: 'Twelve years ago,' when he first visited there, 'it was a fine old Spanish town. A large proportion of the houses, which you now see roofed like barns were then flat-roofed, they were all shell-rock, and these modern wooden buildings were not yet erected. That old fort, which they are now repairing, to fit it to receive a garrison, was a sort of ruin, for the outworks had partly fallen and it stood unoccupied by the military, a venerable monument of the Spanish dominion. But the orange groves were the ornament and wealth of St. Augustine, and their produce maintained the inhabitants in comfort. Orange trees of the size and height of the pear tree, often rising higher than the roofs of the houses, embowered the town in perpetual verdure.'

"Like Bryant, the great Ralph Waldo Emerson, was an arden admirer of the ancient city—a fact which he frankly confessed on more than one occasion, for he was an invalid at St. Augustine and recovered his health there. Emerson has left us these words, from a beautiful poem:

" 'Farewell; and fair befall thee, gentle town!
The prayer of those who thank thee for their life,

The balsam of thine sky fragrant airs,
And ample hospitality hath been,
Be to thee ever as the rich perfume,
Of a good name, and pleasant memory."

The first report on the St. Augustine Restoration Plan was prepared and presented to Governor LeRoy Collins on December 9, 1958, by the following special Advisory Committee: Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus, Chairman, Gainesville; Roland Dean, Secretary, Winter Park; Karl A. Bickel, Sarasota; August Burghard, Ft. Lauderdale; J. D. Johnson, Pensacola; and Dr. Verne E. Chatelain, Executive Secretary, *Silver Springs, Maryland.*

The following served on the Florida Board of Parks and Memorials: Frank D. Upchurch, Chairman, St. Augustine; John Fite Robertson, Vice-Chairman, Sarasota; Howard Odom, Secretary, Marianna; Dr. Kathryn Abbey Hanna, Winter Park; and John D. Pennekamp, Miami.

A permanent commission was appointed in 1960, with H. E. Wolfe as Chairman.

Books on St. Augustine History

PART I

Since for its first 200 years the history of Florida largely centered in St. Augustine, most general histories of Florida contain much on St. Augustine.

Your attention is directed to *The Florida Historical Quarterly* which contains many articles on St. Augustine.

Abbey, Kathryn T., *Florida, Land of Change,* 1941.

Barcia, Andres de, *Chronological History of the Continent of Florida,* 1951. (Translated by A. Kerrigan)

Brevard, Caroline Mays, *A History of Florida from the Treaty of 1763 to Our Times.* Two volumes, 1924.

Dovell, J. E., *Florida: Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary.* Two volumes, 1952.

Patrick, Rembert W., *Florida Under Five Flags,* 1945.

PART II

All in this list contain some inaccurate material, according to the Florida Historical Society.

Averette, Annie, *The Unwritten History of Old St. Augustine*—N.D.

Brown, G. M., *Ponce de Leon Land and Florida War Record,* 6th edit. 1908.

Dewhurst, William W., *The History of St. Augustine, Florida, 1881-1886.*

Fairbanks, George R., *The History and Antiquities of the City of St. Augustine, Florida, 1858, 1868, 1881.*

Reynolds, Charles B., *Old St. Augustine,* 5th edit. 1891.

PART III

A selected list of titles dealing with the history of St. Augustine, drawn from recent publications.

Chatelain, Verne E., *The Defense of Spanish Florida: 1565-1763,* 1941.

Conner, Jeanette T. (Ed.), *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida,* 2 vols., 1925-1930.

Conner, Jeanette T. (Ed.), *Jean Ribault, The Whole and True Discoverer of Terra Florida,* 1927.

Conner, Jeanette T. (Trans.), *Pedro Menendez de Aviles,* 1923.

Curley, Michael J., *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas, 1783-1822,* 1940.

Florida Historical Records Survey, *Spanish Land Grants in Florida,* 5 vols., 1941.

Geiger, Maynard, *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida, 1573-1618,* 1937.

Hanna, A. J. and K. A., *Florida's Golden Sands,* 1950.

Lawson, Edward W., *The Discovery of Florida and Its Discoverer, Juan Ponce de Leon,* 1946.

Lockey, Joseph B., *East Florida, 1783-1785,* 1949.

Martin, John W., *Henry M. Flagler (1830-1913) Florida's East Coast is His Monument.*

Martin, Sidney Walter, *Florida During Territorial Days,* 1944.

Mowat, Charles L., *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784,* 1943.

Patrick Rembert W., Florida, Fiasco, 1954.

Siebert, Wilbur T., *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774, 1785, 2 vols.,* 1929.

Whitaker, Arthur P., *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas,* 1931.

Deland, Margaret, *Florida Days 1889.*

Volbreght, John L., *St. Augustine's Historical Heritage as Seen Today. St. Augustine Historical Society.*

Lee, Howard, *The Story of Old St. Augustine*, 1951.

Van Campen, John T., *St. Augustine, Capital of La Florida*, 1959. (Most recent scholary work on St. Augustine.)

Arnade, Charles W., *Florida on Trial*, 1959

Arnade, Charles W., *Siege of St. Augustine, 1702*, 1960.

CHAPTER XIX

FLAGLER COUNTY

FROM SUNTIME MAGAZINE

By Charles Waterman

History came early to Flagler County, moved away, then, after many decades, came Marineland, Cement and Farming.

ON ONE SIDE, Flagler county is resort. On the other side it is timber and farming. In between, there is industry and the inland waterway. Nothing overlaps. The transition is sudden and complete.

History moved along the Flagler coast, left it and returned, only to leave again. Less dramatically, a new history started with the turpentine stills and the farms, then the resort development and Marineland, later the cement plant and, this time, no one realized history was being made.

Most of the old Indian trails are gone now but surveyors can still find their traces. In some places, they were worn deep into the sand. There was one like that where Highway No. 11 crossed Little Haw Creek. The shell mounds are nearly all gone from the Flagler coast, too. Most of the Indian trails ran east and west. In winter, the Indians stayed near the coast; in summer they moved back toward the St. John's River. Indian trails are seldom called "roads." Probably the first road, little more than a trail, itself, was that made by the Spaniards around 1565 and still known as the King's Road.

At Matanzas inlet, about two miles north of the northern boundary of Flagler County, occurred the oft-related massacre of French by the Spaniards under Pedro Menendez.

Near the east coast of the county, the Roman Catholic order of Black Friars attempted to establish friendly relations with Indians early in the seventeenth century but were unsuccessful. They were replaced by the Jesuits who did better and there was some cultivation at that time. Other missions somewhat farther south were wiped out, together with most of the native Indians when there was an invasion of hostile Indians from the north about 1750. The invaders were said to be predominately Seminoles.

About 1817 or 1818, General Joseph Hernandez secured a grant of land from the Spanish government, covering the site of the Jesuit mission, St. Joseph. This grant, confirmed by Congress in 1825, was on the east side of the King's Road and about two miles west of where the East Coast Canal was to be constructed. At outbreak of the Indian war some ten years later, Hernandez moved his settlers to St. Augustine. His residence and plantation were burned. Hernandez was active in prosecuting the Indian war.

In 1812, James Russell and his family brought 100 slaves from the Bahamas. They came aboard a schooner which Russell traded to the Spanish for a 2,500 acre grant after long bargaining. The Spanish claimed the schooner's hull was rotting pine while Russell insisted it was of the finest mahogany. The land Russell finally acquired was located on what was to be the Flagler-Volusia County line. Most of it was in what was to be Flagler County but it extended into Volusia.

When Russell died three years later, his heirs sold the plantation to Major Charles Wilhelm Bulow of Charleston, S.C., who managed to acquire about 6,000 acres. At the same time, other plantations were being established along the Flagler coast but the Bulow establishment was to be largest and best known.

More than 300 slaves Bulow had brought from his holdings near Charleston were used in chopping a plantation from the jungle. He died three years later and was buried in the Huguenot Cemetery of St. Augustine.

A son of Charles Bulow, John J. Bulow, took over his father's estate shortly afterward. John J. Bulow never married. Much of the plantation history has been learned from John James Audubon, the naturalist, who spent some time with Bulow in 1831.

Planters of the region were on friendly terms with Indians and depended on them for much of their meat supply. Sugar cane on the Bulow plantation occupied some 1,500 acres and cotton about 1,000 acres. Indigo and rice were smaller crops. There was lumber, coquina rock and plenty of slave labor. Bulowville was a masterpiece of construction.

Young John Bulow lived the life of a feudal baron, enjoying all of the luxuries of his time and, when the Seminole War broke out in 1835 he did not sanction the government's actions. When Major Israel Putnam and his "Mosquito Roarers" approached the plantation, Bulow fired a small cannon to express his disapproval. They took him prisoner, turned his plantation into a fort and used $20,000 worth of baled cotton as breastworks.

Other planters had taken refuge at Bulowville. The soldiers made numerous forays against Indians—none of them highly successful. Finally, the "Roarers" took a bad beating in an engagement, said to have occurred at Dun-Lawton near Port Orange. Suffering from dysentery and yellow fever in addition to their wounds, the troops returned to Bulowville and then evacuated it, headed toward St. Augustine, taking the planters with them.

Historians believe the Indians assumed the planters had turned against them. At any rate, they fired Bulowville as soon as the evacuation was completed and it is believed the plantation burned January 31, 1836. It was never rebuilt. Young Bulow died in Paris before he was 27 and some said his death came from mistreatment he had suffered from the soldiers. His heirs tried to collect more than $80,000 in damage from the government but the suit was finally thrown out and they got nothing. The plantation era was at an end.

As in other parts of Florida, there was a long time between the Indian war and a new period of development. There were scattered settlers from time to time in the Flagler County area but little is known about them. In 1881, the Intracoastal Canal was begun by the Florida Coastline Canal Company. The part that crossed Flagler County was completed about 1906.

Utley J. White, a lumberman, started railroad building in Flagler County. His first venture was a tramway about twelve miles long from Rawlstown on the east bank of the St. John's to Dinner Island. White acquired a sawmill at DuPont just south of Bunnell and later extended his railway to serve it. In 1885, the line was extended to the Tomoka River. The road, called the St. John's and Halifax River Railroad, was purchased in 1890 by Henry M. Flagler, after whom Flagler County was named. There was rail transportation to Daytona Beach as early as 1886. After Flagler's purchase, the route finally became the Florida East Coast Railroad.

In the early eighties, only a handful of families lived within the borders of what was to be Flagler County. Their farms were very small, five or six acres for the most part. A 20-acre farm was rare. Potatoes were raised on a small scale but there was no mass production.

Flagler had a citrus era. It began along the coast on the old King's Road south of St. Joseph. A stagecoach relay station operated at a point known as Duke and the orange growers clustered near it. Some early residents claimed as many as 1500 people moved in, beginning about 1885, but the deadly freeze of 1895 ruined the groves and the growers left.

The freeze came as such a shock that many of the crushed settlers returned northward with hardly a backward look. Years later, there were stories of aban-

doned homes where the owners had not bothered to remove the furniture. There is the story of the man who looked out of his window on the fateful morning, saw his shattered trees and left with his family without washing the breakfast dishes or making the beds never to return. Abandoned homes and clearings went to ruin through inattention and more than fifty years later, the sour orange trees could be found growing wild. The citrus era had ended.

On the "interior," families came and went but there were a few whose descendants were to stay. There was W. E. Knight, Sr., who raised sheep in the southwest part of the county area and N. E. Roberts who raised oranges there. In the western part were B. W. Malphurs, Riley Malphurs and P. F. Pellicer, located near what was then Omega Dock and later to be St. John's Park. James C. Miller, James Burnsed and J. B. Johnston and their families were in the Black Point district, and James L. DuPont and E. A. Eatman were in the northeastern part of what was to be Flagler County. Near Espanola were George Durrance and Aldridge Hunter families.

Bunnell had its name before it was a town, or even a settlement. There was a mill that produced cypress shingles and it was operated by Alfred A. Bunnell from about 1896 to 1900. Bunnell wanted a railroad stop at his plant. He got the stop and the railway called it Bunnell for lack of another name. Bunnell moved to Miami but the name stayed.

Issac Moody came to Bunnell in 1898 when the turpentine business was getting under way and worked for a time for G. W. Deen. His brothers, George and Robert Moody, arrived in 1904. J. F. Lambert and "Ike" Moody opened a turpentine still at Bunnell and were to become the town's first developers. About 1907, the St. John's Park Development Company went into action and, before long, St. John's Park, west of Bunnell, was a boom town . . . There was several good-sized business houses including a well-stocked department store.

In the meantime, Ike Moody and Lambert started the Bunnell Development Company. Advertising that appeared in the north sounded much like that of a later day. Land was advertised for five dollars down and five dollars a month. Customers came but most of them were the wrong kind. Instead of coming to make homes, they had a dream of quick wealth in the wilderness and an early return to their northern cities. Most of them failed as farmers. So far, the right farming methods were unknown and the right crops had not been developed.

St. John's Park lost its new residents a few at a time. Forty years later, only a few houses remained of what had been a bustling town.

Moody and Lambert were determined to have a town. They laid out the site of Bunnell and on June 2, 1911, the legislature passed a special act of incorporation but there was a faulty description and it was two years later—June 28, 1913, before a corrected incorporation was approved. The faulty description would have included only one resident. Even when the boundaries had been corrected, there was scarcely a hundred souls in Bunnell.

Bunnell's first newspaper was opened by J. B. Boaz and its first issue was dated February 6, 1913. It had been preceded by the Bunnell Home Builder, a periodical devoted to development. The newspaper became a county institution and was serving the community forty years later as the Flagler Tribune, oldest concern in Flagler County. Records of an early council meeting show that a representative of the paper proposed publishing the adopted ordinances for $15. A bill that came before the council was for $15 a month to be paid to the Johnson Lumber and Supply Company for electricity to be used by twelve electric lights.

A Methodist church was the first religious institution in Bunnell and the first school for white children was a small one room structure built about 1908. A modern brick school building was erected in 1924.

Ocean City, a settlement that later lost its name was started about 1908 by W. A. Cookman, who built a house on the west bank of the canal about half a mile

north of where the drawbridge was later built in 1920. George Moody, recognized as founder of Flagler Beach, homesteaded a tract between the canal and the ocean in 1914. In 1923, he named the development Flagler Beach to please postal authorities who complained that Ocean City Beach was too long a name. George Moody operated a ferry on the canal before any bridge existed.

Agriculture was getting a solid foothold by the time of World War I. Early irish potatoes had come into their own and cabbage was recognized as a top crop for the section. Potatoes had been grown in small quantities since the first settlers but they had never developed the crop as they did from then on.

Potatoes were first shipped unwashed in barrels. When washed potatoes finally appeared on the market, they demanded a premium price. In a few years, all potatoes were washed for the market.

By then, turpentine, lumber and cross-ties and pulpwood were established as "backbone" industries. They continued to hold their place.

Issac Moody was president of the Bunnell State Bank, the first bank in the county, opening in 1910. J. F. Lambert was the first vice president.

Until 1916, there were no hard-surfaced roads in the district. The old King's Road was used by early automobiles with the addition of an interesting series of "automobile bridges" set at the side of the main road and for flood use only. Normally cars forded small streams but, during high water, they crossed on the "bridges" made of two parallel troughs.

St. John's County floated a $650,000 bond issue and built a 65-mile brick road, nine feet wide, from the northern St. John's County line, through St. Augustine and Hastings to Bunnell and east to a point a half mile west of the intracoastal waterway. This road, which was in service by 1916, met the John Anderson highway, a shell-surfaced road, that continued to Ormond. At that time, most of the latter-day Flagler County was a part of St. John's County. The southern part of Flagler was then part of Volusia County.

Issac Moody was a member of the St. John's County commission and had considerable influence in the state. Residents of the Bunnell area felt their needs were not sufficiently recognized and Moody went before the state legislature with the result that Flagler County was formed from parts of St. John's and Volusia Counties on July 1, 1917. Bunnell was named the county seat and later efforts to have the town's name changed to Flagler were unsuccessful as residents felt too much postal confusion would result. The new county had first been a part of the old Mosquito County and then Orange County before the formation of Volusia and St. John's. In becoming a new county, Flagler assumed part of the bonded indebtedness of both St. John's and Volusia Counties.

County business was first transacted in the upstairs section of an old concrete block building and a modern courthouse was built in 1926. E. W. Johnston, who had moved to Bunnell in 1909 and had served as a deputy sheriff and marshal, became the new county's first sheriff and was later to become county judge. His father, J. B. Johnston, came to the district about 1880 and E. W. Johnston was born not far from Bunnell.

Florida's boom years brought little change in Bunnell's outward appearance although there was land speculation "on paper." Wells were dug for a highly successful water system at a cost of $100,000. There was some added construction at Flagler Beach, which was incorporated under the old public assembly law in 1925. The Flagler Beach Hotel construction was started by George Moody and D. F. Fuquay. Moody sold his share before completion of the building. Numerous new residences appeared on the beach and some of the buildings started were never completed. Flagler Beach's famous pier was built in 1927 with a bond issue set up for $75,000. Actually, $40,000 was raised and spent on the 653 foot structure.

After the financial smashup, hardly any of the bonds were paid off until 1945 but the debt was virtually cleared up by 1953.

Bonds were sold in 1925 to build "Ocean Shore Boulevard." Construction started in 1926 on the Volusia and Flagler portions. St. John's County had built a highway south to Matanzas Inlet and the two were joined by the Matanzas Inlet toll bridge. In 1929 George Moody helped pass a bill in the legislature designating the road a "state highway for maintenance." In 1931 E. F. Warner had payment of the road bonds made a responsibility of the state. Designated as AIA, the name was officially changed to Ocean Trail in 1953.

The Bunnell State Bank survived a period when other Florida banks were closing in rapid succession and reopened after the bank closure at the beginning of the F. D. Roosevelt administration but ceased operations shortly afterward. Its ownership had been changed since its original organization. The county was without a bank until the Citizen's Bank of Bunnell opened January 27, 1938, with E. H. Ashcraft as president. Ashcraft was succeeded by Charles R. Creal, whose son, Charles E. Creal, succeeded following his father's death, becoming president late in 1952.

Following World War II, there was new building over the entire county and construction in Bunnell during the four years prior to 1953 was heavier than in any previous ten year period. Flagler Beach population leaped from 372 persons counted in the 1950 census to more than 700 in 1953.

Heavy industry came to the county when the Lehigh Portland Cement plant was built near the beach at a cost of $15,000,000 and began production in December of 1952. Employees (about 160) added to the population of Flagler communities but much of the beach growth came as a result of development of tourist facilities.

It took years of study and great expense to develop Flagler County's cattle industry. Small herds were present down through the years but met difficult problems in forage and breeding. There were numerous efforts at introduction of northern breeds and the whole development was badly set back by the cattle tick. Early raisers depended on open range and the branding iron. When open range disappeared, scientific development of grasses and careful breeding improved their quality. The Brahman's value was fully realized. After 1940, the industry grew steadily.

Marineland, ranking among the world's most famous attractions, opened in 1938 on the coast near the north county line and was incorporated as a town in 1939.

More than half of Flagler County became the property of outside pulpwood interests and controlled cutting has guaranteed a permanent industry. Lumber, pulpwood and turpentine have been firmly entrenched as products of the future as well as of the past. One lumber mill, the King Brothers Lumber Company, was operating in the north part of Bunnell in 1953.

With the post-war upswing, Flagler's farms were producing Irish potatoes, cabbages, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, corn, field peas, velvet beans, string beans and cucumbers. Palms for use by Catholic churches in Palm Sunday observances have been shipped in quantity. The coonty fern, which grows wild in hammock areas, has been exported to northern areas.

Commercial fishing has been only a minor industry in Flagler. Sports fishing along the coast as well as in the numerous fresh-water lakes and streams has had an increasing appeal for tourists. Highways serving the county include U.S. Highway No. 1, the Ocean Trail and Florida Highways 11, 20, 100 and 305.

As Flagler County looked forward at mid-century most of its population anticipated no rapid change. Those who had come to get rich quickly had left. The old indictment of "lots of residents and no home-makers" was being heard less and less.

From the beach on the east coast to the farms and forests of the western part of Flagler, there is a complete transition. Perhaps the beach development shows most dramatically but property there is being bought for use instead of for trading. Even the skeptics who have watched considerable coming and going in their com-

munity through half a century were willing to concede that everything looked permanent.

From: Suntime Magazine
Jacksonville, Florida
August 1, 1953

Modern Flagler County

Flagler County, an area of 322,560 acres, is situated on the upper east coast of Florida. The county is bounded on the north by St. John's County, on the west by Putnam County, on the south by Volusia County, and on the east by the Atlantic Ocean. Bunnell, the county seat, is 68 miles south of Jacksonville, 31 miles south of St. Augustine, and 24 miles north of Daytona Beach. Crescent Lake forms part of the county's west boundary.

A temperate climate characterizes the county, with weather varying from an average of 58.6 degrees in January to an average of 81.6 degrees in August for an annual average temperature of 70.7 degrees. Average rainfall is 50.74 inches with the heaviest rainfall in June, July, August and September. Elevation at Flagler Beach, on the ocean is 22 feet above sea level.

Agriculture and the tourist industry are the county's principal source of income. Irish potatoes, cabbage, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, corn, field peas, velvet beans, string beans, and cucumbers are among the most important crops. There were 100 farms and 168,039 acres devoted to farmlands in 1954. Dairy and beef cattle, hogs, and poultry are also raised here. Tung oil trees grow well in this area, and the growing of palms for shipment to northern florists for use in Palm Sunday decorations is another enterprise of great economic importance to the county.

Timber and naval stores are also important economic assets to the county; cross ties and barrel staves are produced here. Longleaf and slash pine and some cypress are the principal woods and 283,200 acres are devoted to commercial forest lands. Mineral resources include coquina, marl, ocher, and sand. Commercial fishing is only a minor industry. One of the largest cement plants in the country is located here.

Flagler Beach and Marineland are the principal tourist attractions, and many thousands of visitors come to the county each year to see the fish at Marineland and to enjoy the swimming, bathing, and sports fishing facilities at Flagler Beach. Many tourist accomodations are available here.

Bulow Ruins and Ribault State Park also attract many visitors. Building and population during the past two years have almost doubled at Flagler Beach, and the city and county are experiencing exceptional growth.

Assessed valuation of Flagler County in 1956 was $8,252,370. Bank resources totalled $2,813,000 during the same year, and retail sales amounted to $3,578,000. Annual wages paid in 1956 were $2,631,348. Effective buying income was $1,075 per capita and $4,514,000 for the county in 1956.

Many varieties of salt-water fish are caught in the Atlantic Ocean, the Intracoastal Waterway, and the Halifax and Matanzas rivers. Fresh-water bass, perch, bream and catfish are caught in Lake Crescent and the other lakes in the area. Quail, duck, and wild turkey are found in this section and unposted hunting grounds are available.

U.S. Highway 1 and Florida highways A1A, 11, 20 and 100, and 305 enter the county. Greyhound Lines provides bus service, and rail transportation is provided by Florida East Coast and Seaboard Airline Railway.

There are four elementary and secondary schools in the county. School enrollment in 1956-57 totaled 1,006. There is a county newspaper, the Flagler Tribune, published weekly at Bunnell. There are 12 churches and a library. The country's population in 1960 was 4,566.

CHAPTER XX

VOLUSIA COUNTY

By Ianthe Bond Hebel

VOLUSIA COUNTY LIES in central east Florida between the St. Johns River and the Atlantic Ocean. With its 1281 square mile area it is one of the larger counties of the State; established in 1854 as the thirtieth county. It was a part of St. Johns County in 1821; a part of Mosquito County until 1845, and was 190 miles long and 60 wide, with New Smyrna the county seat part of the time. It became Orange County in 1845, with Mellonville the county seat. In 1854, the part east of the St. Johns River was established as Volusia County, with Enterprise the County Seat. In 1879, a strip across the south portion, including the Titusville area was given Brevard County. In 1917, Flagler County was created out of parts of St. Johns and Volusia counties, including Lake Disston and the area in that section.

The origin of the name "Volusia" is clouded. Some say it comes from an early settler named Volus and not from one Veluchi, who is said to have had a trading post on the St. Johns. The following suggestion, although reasonable, has been challenged.

Major Joseph Woodruff of Camden County, Georgia, purchased a tract off the St. Johns in 1824, probably from the William Williams heirs. His plantation was named Spring Garden. A nearby lake is still Lake Woodruff. His brother acquired a tract six miles to the north and named his plantation "Volusia" according to Mrs. Joseph Woodruff in her reminiscences of 1834. Volusia is not a "coined" word—Webster states it is of Latin orgin, and gives the masculine form "Volusius." A look into Roman history which was much better known in the time of the Woodruffs than it is today, shows Lucius Volusius was a noble Roman—a tutor to Marcus Aurelius, one of the great Romans. The early maps place Volusia about a mile from the St. Johns River, not a likely place for a trading post.

The fifty families in this area in 1854 had settled on lands under the Armed Occupation Act of 1842. Several were near New Smyrna but the others were near Lake Beresford and the St. Johns River.

The first settlement, New Smyrna, 1767, was made during the British Period. It will be remembered that at the end of the French and Indian War (also known in Europe as the Seven Years War) Havana was held by the English. Spain exchanged Florida for Cuba, and most of the Spanish people left. The English brought in settlers who established fine plantations on the east coast and on the St. Johns.

The finest, the largest and the best known was the colony of 1500 persons, Greeks, Italians and Minorcans, brought over by Dr. Andrew Turnbull in 1767. He and his partners, Sir William Duncan and Sir Richard Temple, were given more than 100,000 acres.

Dr. Turnbull named the location New Smyrna for his wife's birthplace. The colonists were to labor seven years and then be given lands. Lack of funds and of support from Governor Tonyn and local difficulties at New Smyrna brought this venture to an end. The decimated colonists fled along the King's Road to St. Augustine where they appealed to the Governor for succor. The Minorcans were given land in the town and remained when Florida was returned to Spain in 1783 at the close of the Revolution. Dr. Turnbull with his family removed to Charleston,

S. C., in 1782 where he was a physician until his death in 1792. New Smyrna was abandoned for about thirty years.

Other British planters in this area were Robert Bissett, who was given lands on the Hillsborough River, south of New Smyrna. Sir Richard Oswald, British merchant and politician, was given 6,000 acres, south of the Tomoka, including what is now Tomoka State Park. His three plantations grew rice, indigo and cane. His sugar house, first in the area, showed this area was too far north for producing sugar.

North of the Tomoka, John Moultrie, Lieut. Governor of Florida, had fine and extensive plantations. His brother, James, Chief Justice of Florida, grew indigo, cotton and corn on the north and west bank of the Tomoka.

Over on the St. Johns, Lord Beresford had extensive holdings. A lake there still bears his name.

During the Revolution the British trading firm of Panton, Leslie & Forbes, which had been based at Savannah and dealing with the Indians for a thousand miles to the west, found it wise to transfer their base to Pensacola, where they continued in business after Florida was returned to Spain in 1783. During the Revolution the firm had a trading post at Garden Springs, which we know today as Ponce de Leon Springs. They would be the builders of the sugar works there, if they (the sugar works) were there before 1800. These plantations were flourishing when the Revolutionary War ended and Florida was returned to Spain in exchange for the Bahamas. All the English settlers left, and the plantations were abandoned.

In the 1790's the Spanish Government opened these lands for settlement on very favorable terms. About 1803, twenty families came over from the Bahamas and were given grants along the Halifax River. Most of these leaders were former Tories who had to leave their holdings in the Carolinas during the Revolution. They had had hard going in the Islands. They would grow sugar, cotton and corn here with their slaves. Others came from the Carolinas and Georgia. George Murray was given 600 acres south of New Smyrna. Ambrose Hull received a grant south of Spruce Creek. His fine plantation was devastated twice in Indian raids before 1810. Bonelly, Patrick Dean, Williams and Kerr were near. John Bunch, Mrs. Russell, Bethune, Samuel Williams and Mrs. Frances Kerr were to the North. Mainland Daytona Beach is located on the Williams and Kerr grants. Henry Yonge's grant is now Ormond Beach. James Darley was on the former Oswald property. George Anderson, John and Thomas Addison, John Bunch, Robert McHardy, Thomas Dummett, James Ormond and John Russell, all were developing their lands. Charles W. Bulow of South Carolina had purchased the Russell property. (Senator Russell of Georgia is a descendant of this family.) These plantations were flourishing when the Indian War began late in 1835. They were unprepared for the attacks by the Seminoles. A battle was fought at Dunlawton, but the settlers were driven back to their boats. By 1840 there wasn't a house left standing south of St. Augustine, where the planters had found refuge. The Bulow sugar works, the finest in the area were ruined, other buildings burned, slaves taken by the Indians and cattle seized. The Dummett Sugar Mill, the first built, was destroyed; the fine new Anderson Works at Dunlawton were lost and rebuilt some twelve years later and sugar was made there during the Civil War.

After the purchase of Florida by the United States in 1821, further development began. The titles to these Volusia lands were confirmed. In 1830, this area was a part of Orange County. The census of the year gave it a population of 733. In 1840 two companies of soldiers were listed as residents. In 1842 the American Congress passed "The Armed Occupation Act," and settlers occupied lands along the St. Johns and near New Smyrna.

Soon after the end of the War of 1812, the Swift Brothers of Falmouth and New Bedford, Mass., obtained from our Government some shipyards and a contract for live oak timber. They operated on both coasts of Florida for sixty years. They

were the founders of Oak Hill in south Volusia. It was originally Live Oak Hill. In later years their headquarters were at New Smyrna. They would arrive around November 1st, perhaps 500 men, their supplies and equipment, coming in their own schooners. They would leave by May 1, thus getting the men home for the summer's work on the farms or at fishing. Their camps were set up at several points on the waterway. Land had been bought on which they operated or the timber had been sold to them. First Avenue in Daytona Beach and Tomoka Avenue in Ormond were their roads on which hewn timbers were brought by ox teams to the river. Audubon, who visited the Halifax area in 1831-2, in his records mentioned seeing "a liveoaker schooner lying in the river at Live Oak Point." When the Civil War began the Swifts had a huge pile of timber at Live Oak Point awaiting shipment, as "high as a house and several miles long." This was hidden under earth and palmetto leaves but was burned during the bombardment of New Smyrna by Federal gun boats. The Swifts ceased operations during both the Indian and the Civil Wars. They returned to the Halifax area in 1868, and that year they sold the Kerr Place (that part of Daytona Beach north of Bay Street) to Alfred E. Johnson who built a house on the corner of First Avenue.

The Federal Census of 1860 gave Volusia County a population of 1,168, less than one person per square mile. There were four communities: Volusia and Enterprise on the St. Johns and Lake Monroe, and New Smyrna and Dunlawton on the coast. Enterprise and New Smyrna had had post offices since 1845.

Enterprise had been named, 1854, the first county seat of Volusia. In 1841 Major Cornelius Taylor, a Virginian, with five families and a number of single men homesteaded there and founded old Enterprise near Green Spring. They planted an orange grove, erected a saw mill, and operated the first steamboat on that part of the St. Johns River. After a daughter's death, Taylor went west. Dr. James D. Stark acquired the property and built a fine house near the grave Taylor had left.

Jacob Brock came about 1852, built a hotel, long known as the Brock House, and founded Enterprise on a shell bluff on Lake Monroe, a mile from Old Enterprise. He fathered the steam boat lines on the St. Johns. His "Geo. M. Bird" and "Carrie" long made two trips weekly between Jacksonville and Enterprise. Many prominent people found rest or recreation at the Brock House, and the fishing and hunting were fabulous. Gen. Grant came in 1879, Grover Cleveland, James G. Blaine and William Jennings Bryan, Joseph Jefferson and men of New York's Tammany Hall were guests.

The first court house was erected on Brock land. A finer court house and a jail, the two costing $10,000 were erected in 1871 on land given by Brock.

Count Frederick De Bary was a visitor before the Civil War. He had arrived in New York City in 1840 with $50.00 in his pocket. As American agent for Mumm's champagne he became wealthy. In 1868 he purchased a large sugar plantation from Oliver C. Arnett near Enterprise, and in 1870 erected a fine large house on his 7,000 acres. DeBary founded the DeBary Steamboat Line which brought the mails, and the many travelers who were winter visitors. All who came South in the 1870's and the 1880's took the St. Johns River trip. His boats brought his guests first from Savannah and later from Jacksonville. These guests were prominent people from New York, and even from Europe. They were treated like royalty; hunting and fishing filled their days, and it is said "wine flowed like water." The DeBary grove of over 4,000 trees was outstanding. The loss of the fruit crop in the Big freeze of 1894-5 was more than $15,000. In the late 1940's DeBary heirs sold the property which contained the largest stand of virgin pine left in the state. The new retirement town of DeBary has been built on the site. The mansion was given recently to the Florida Federation of Arts as their headquarters and an Art Center.

In 1885 Enterprise had three churches, the courthouse, and a population of 600. In 1888 there were 800 there. That year yellow fever was epidemic in Jacksonville

and in Enterprise. That year also the railroad, The J.T. & K.W., now the Atlantic Coast Line, reached Sanford, cutting down the flourishing river traffic. The county seat was moved to DeLand. People moved to other places, then the Big Freeze of 1894-5 destroyed the orange groves. Fine properties were abandoned. Only a very few of the fine homes have survived. The Brock House was torn down in 1935. All Saints Episcopal Church, one of the three built in the County in 1883 is still in use. The Methodists of Florida have long maintained a Children's Home on Lake Monroe just north of the site of the Brock House. The Home is well housed and a credit to the Church.

Other early Enterprise settlers were: John Sauls, there in 1854, married the daughter of J. H. Bodine, who was chairman of the Board of County Commissioners in 1883 and had a large family. William S. Thayer carried on a General Merchandise business in the town for years. Thayer was Clerk of the Circuit Court in 1870. Capt. William B. Watson, who came to Florida in 1840, long general manager of the DeBary Steamboat Lines until they were sold to the Clyde Line, married Emily, a daughter of Oliver C. Arnett, who established the plantation purchased by Frederick DeBary.

The St. Johns River was the early route into the area, so the early settlers came to the west side of the county. They found high productive land available which they cleared for farms and groves. Some had cattle that ran wild in the "flatwoods."

Seville

Beginning in the northwestern corner of the county we come first to Seville, only four miles from Lake George; settled in 1854. The early families were: the Prevatts, Bradshaws, Richardsons, Raulersons and Braddocks. James C. Robinson was the first mayor. Seville was incorporated in 1887, then having a population of 450. Today the products are oranges and plumosa fern.

Pierson, about five miles south of Seville, was named for the Pierson brothers, Peter, Nels and Carl, who homesteaded there in 1876. They later began the growing of plumosa fern, now the chief product. Population in 1945 was 650. The early families were the Cades, the Turnquists, Nelsons and Harpers.

Emporia was founded by a group from Pennsylvania. L. H. Eldridge, an early and prominent citizen, laid out the town in 1881. He was postmaster in 1885, when there were 100 families living within a four mile radius. Groves were planted and the area still produces much fine fruit.

Volusia is about four miles southeast, on the St. Johns River, and in the early days was a trading post. It was an important steamboat landing. Here in the late 70's and the early 80's boats debarked passengers for the towns on the coast, a one day trip. Nearby was Bluffton, one of the largest shell mounds on the St. Johns—it was composed of all snail shells, tiny and larger ones up to the size of a baseball. Nearby were ceremonial mounds and a burial mound. Indians had occupied the territory for many, many decades. The shell was sold to the County about 1950 and all used in road building. In the Seminole War a fort was built on this mound and troops used it as a base. At Volusia they crossed the St. Johns on their way to the Tampa area. Here, also for generations the early Indians crossed on their way from their fields in the interior to spend the winter on the coast where they lived on fish and oysters.

With the coming of the railroad and the end of the river traffic, Volusia became a quiet settlement with its orange groves, fishing camps and a sawmill. The Dillard family came there in the 1850's.

Barberville, is to the south. The Minshew family, the Barbers, Bellamys, Underhills, Cades, Hulls, Bryants, Odums, Dillards, and Reeds were early settlers. The community was settled in 1882 by John D. Barber.

DeLeon Springs is five miles south of Barberville. In the early days it was known as Garden Springs and was located on and surrounded by old English and Spanish

land grants. Even earlier it was an Indian village. Here, Panton, Leslie and Forbes had a trading post during Revolutionary days. They probably erected the old sugar works. The flow of the springs is 35 million gallons per day.

In the 1790's the Spring Garden area belonged to Gen. Samuel Williams, whose son, William inherited it, and whose heirs sold it in 1824 to Major Joseph Woodruff, who brought slaves in and began cultivating the plantation. After his death in 1828, it was purchased by Col. Orlando S. Rees, a wealthy Statesburg, South Carolina planter, who established a fine sugar plantation there. The naturalist, J. J. Audubon visited here in 1832. Like all the other fine plantations in Volusia County, Spring Garden was burned by the Seminoles in 1836 and the slaves were carried away. In 1854, Thomas Starke, father of the Starke at Enterprise, purchased the Rees holdings, paying eighty Negro women for it. He rebuilt and enlarged the old sugar mill, planted sugar, cotton and corn. Everything was destroyed by the Federals in 1864, in a raid along the St. Johns.

In 1869 Major George H. Norris of Batavia, N. Y., visited this area, acquiring some lands. It wasn't long before he had 7,500 acres and began its development. The mill at the Spring was again rebuilt in 1875 and is still standing, extensive groves were planted.

With the coming of the Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West Railway, the Springs, known as Garden Springs up to that time, became DeLeon Springs. The town, so named was platted by the DeLeon Springs Company. A pavillion was built on the top of Indian mound between the Springs and the railroad station. Picnic parties came from DeLand and the railroad ran excursions from other places. Extensive improvements were made in the early 1920's—a hotel was built, and much more has been done in recent years. Today the famous sulphur spring which still pours millions of gallons of water into the St. Johns via Lake Woodruff and Lake Dexter, is still an outstanding tourist attraction. The ruined sugar works and ancient Indian mound are reminders that this secion of Volusia had a long and interesting history.

Major George H. Norris purchased part of the Dupon and Gaudy Grants. He laid out Spring Garden Center, now Glenwood. Grand Avenue five miles long was to be lined with orange groves. His grove was the largest in the state. When the railroad reached this grove the route was diverted so that it passed by this fine grove. His brother, A. Hart Norris, attempted the culture of silk worms, planting many mulberry trees. Silk from this area was exhibited in 1885 at the World's Cotton Exhibition in New Orleans. The Norris brothers also platted Highland Park at the south end of Grand Avenue, where there were many fine groves, a fine hotel with a park, post office, wharf on the river and a railroad station. There were Norris groves at each end of Grand Avenue. Major Norris died at Christmas, 1887, and was buried in the grove beside his home at the north end of Grand Avenue. The early settlers here were the Bredows and the Buells, the Stones (Judge Issac Stone had been a consul in India) the Haynes and the Henrys, the Sprouls, the Luces and the Conrads. Charles DeLano, who had a fine grove, served in the State Senate 1883-89.

The Glenwood Church, usually headed by a Presbyterian minister either nearing retirement or very young, was erected in 1886. Bethel Church was a mile away. There is a cemetery there today but the Church has long since gone. With the loss of the fine groves in the Big Freeze of 1894-5 many abandoned their properties. The Highland Park Hotel and some homes were burned. Today Glenwood is quiet, quaint and charming and the newer residents enjoy life there.

Highland Park

Highland Park is a lost community, the roads so changed as to location that a former resident finds it difficult to locate even the spot he once knew so well. Here lived the Woods, the Erharts, the Ben Cooks, the Hazens and the Rutherfords. Here lived also Lue Jim Gong who developed the orange named for him, and

here the Hamlin orange originated on one of the old groves in Highland Park at the south end of Grand Avenue once owned by Mrs. Mary H. Payne. Arthur G. Hamlin, DeLand's early lawyer, 1883, had married her daughter.

DeLand

DeLand, the County seat since the election of 1888, was named for its founder H. A. DeLand, a saleratus manufacturer of Fairport, New York, who came up the St. Johns River in 1876, as did so many other winter visitors. He came ashore at Beresford. A drive through the tall pines over the high rolling land reminded him of his home in western New York. It seemed a home here would be healthful the year round. Capt. Vincent Kirk who came to Enterprise in 1874 had bought a homestead on what has long been East New York Avenue. Capt. John Rich came from Beaufort, South Carolina. He had served in the Union Army in the 144th N. Y. Volunteers. He built the first house in DeLand in 1875 on West New York Avenue between Clara and Delaware Avenues. His daughter, Clara, was the first child born in DeLand, 1876. His wife, Clara, was the daughter of Cyrenius H. Wright, formerly of Beaufort, who was the first Mayor of DeLand.

In March, 1876, Henry Addison DeLand purchased the homestead east of that of Capt. John Rich. While staying there nearby settlers came to visit. They wanted a post office nearer than the one at Beresford. The name proposed was DeLand. Letters went out, DeLand, Beresford Post Office. DeLand post office opened late in 1877. Mr. DeLand continued his Fairport business until 1880, after which he devoted his entire time to the upbuilding of DeLand. Late in 1876 a meeting was held to build a schoolhouse. Mr. DeLand reported it would cost $800 to $1,000. If built in ninety days he would contribute $400. In late March 1877 the building on Woodland Boulevard and Indiana Avenue, where Fountain's store has been since the early 1900's, was dedicated by Mr. DeLand's brothter-in-law, Rev. M. S. Leete. Seventy-five persons were present. Before 1890 this building was moved westward and for years housed the Fire Departmnt.

G. A. Dreka came from Maryland in 1878, aged 21, and with his brother-in-law J. K. Kilkoff, purchased the business of J. B. Jordan, and in 1882 moved to the corner of Woodland Boulevard and East New York Avenue, having erected a four story frame building, the upper floors housing the Hotel Carrollton. The general merchandise business was the oldest in the county and people came from afar to trade here. In 1908 the frame building was moved south on the Boulevard and DeLand's first fireproof building replaced it. In 1938 Dreka's was closed out. During the preceeding years, many who became successful in business in the city had their training at Dreka's. Mr. Dreka was long DeLand's leading citizen.

In 1883 Mr. DeLand established the DeLand Academy. Sessions were held in the Baptist Church erected that year, of which the principal of the school was also the pastor. In 1883 Mr. DeLand built on the corner of the Boulevard and Minnesota Avenue, DeLand Hall, the first of the buildings on the campus of Stetson University, so named in 1887.

Mr. DeLand's articles about Florida and DeLand in the newspepers of the North brought people in. They came for various reasons. The many orange groves, land purchased and planted and developed to a bearing age for $200 per acre, and the fine climate were the chief reasons.

Among those who came early was Eber W. Bond, of Willoughby, Ohio, who had been lumbering in Michigan. He with others obtained control of the Orange Ridge, DeLand and Atlantic R.R. in 1881. Opened in July, 1884, it connected DeLand with DeLand Landing on the St. Johns River at Crow's Bluff, operating narrow gauge, one engine, one passenger car, three flats and three box cars. In 1886 it became the DeLand and St. Johns River Railway, and operated until late in 1887. The Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West Railway, now the Atlantic Coast Line, reached DeLand Junction where it crossed the narrow gauge line late in 1886.

Mr. J. Y. Parce, a brother-in-law of Mr. DeLand, and proprietor of the Parceland Hotel on East New York and Amelia Avenues, where the Fish Memorial Hospital is today, once left the steamer at DeLand Landing, and while waiting for the train to leave, wandered about and fell from the wharf. A law suit followed in the Federal Court in Jacksonville and Mr. Parce was awarded $15,000. This wasn't paid, and Mr. Bond for a few years was not active in business in Florida. It is noticeable that there is very little mention of the Bond family in Miss Helen DeLand's "Story of DeLand and Lake Helen." The locomotive of Volusia's first railroad rested ten years beside the Junction and was then taken to Neoga, Florida, and used on the log road of the Bond and Bond Company, and a few years later it was taken to Lake Helen and used on the E. W. Bond Company log road until that business was closed out in 1920.

This early DeLand Railroad came up New York Avenue ending opposite the Rich homestead. In 1890 the line from DeLand to Beresford was acquired by the J. T. & K. W. and they came into DeLand on Ohio Avenue. A standard guage track was laid from Beresford. It was a great day for DeLand when the train arrived. The depot was across the street at New York Avenue, across from the Parceland, which about 1894 was purchased by John B. Stetson. When enlarged and improved it became the College Arms, justly popular among the winter visitors.

DeLand's other early hotel, first known as the DeLand Grove was owned by O. P. Terry, another brother-in-law of Mr. DeLand. It was a large frame building on West New York Avenue. It was sold to Alfred Putnam. Enlarged, it became the Putnam Inn. It burned in 1921, and the present concrete structure was erected in 1926.

Enterprise lost the County Seat in the election in 1888. This was another great day for DeLand. The Hotel Carrollton was covered with bunting. Mr. DeLand gave the site for a new courthouse. He, John B. Stetson, and Fred S. Goodrich, DeLand's early banker, entered into bond with the county commissioners in the sum of $15,000 for "erection of a large, safe and ample brick building for County Court House offices and other county purposes." Completed in 1890 it served the County until torn down and replaced in 1926-9 by the present structure which cost a half million. The old Court House in Enterprise was sold to the County School Board for $3,975 and long housed the Enterprise Public School. In 1890 DeLand had a population of about 2,000.

The County Jail on the corner of Rich and Florida Avenues, brick, was built before the Court House. A new and larger jail was erected on West New York Avenue across from the Court House in 1909. Later the old jail was torn down and the brick used in construction of the school administration building, placed in the center of the lot. This served until 1958.

DeLand's early physician was Dr. George W. Lancaster, who was also the first postmaster and the first druggist. His daughter, who died in 1959, married Dr. G. W. Fisher who carried on as a druggist across from Dreka's for many years. Dr. H. H. Gillen came in 1875. Dr. U. N. Mellette was active for years. Dr. G. A. Davis came here in 1896. He was president of Volusia County Medical Society in 1934. Dr. M. N. Voorhis, a dentist who first lived on Voorhis Avenue, had a son Virgil, the second child born in DeLand, also a dentist.

E. O. Painter first appears as the mail carrier, bringing it in from Cabbage Bluff. He came from Fairport, New York, and was later the editor and owner of the Florida Agriculturist. The E. O. Painter Printing Company is still in business in DeLand. He became interested in fertilizer, and in 1897 he established the E. O. Painter Fertilizer Company in Jacksonville. His wife was a sister of the wife of Isaac Stewart, a lawyer, who came to DeLand in 1885 from Kentucky. He was an orange grower, Judge of the Criminal Court and County Commissioner. His children Mary Stewart Howarth and Tom, both lawyers, carry on to this day.

Henry A. Tanner came in 1880, orange grower, liveryman and post master. Michael Davis, merchant, came in 1882, left for Tampa in 1913.

The Allens were here in 1875. J. F. Allen was an orange grower and furniture dealer. W. A. Allen arrived in 1886 and was druggist and postmaster. The Austins came in 1876. He was an orange grower and later president of the Old Settlers Association. Mrs. Austin was the secretary and historian for forty years.

W. W. Cleveland came in 1882 and was in the grocery business. The Codringtons headed by Col. C. C. Codrington, Governor General of Jamaica, driven out by a Negro rebellion, came in 1878 and was early editor of the Florida Agriculturist. His son, Christopher O., was editor of the DeLand News. Clayton C., son of Bedford and grandson of thte Colonel, was editor of DeLand Daily News, and President of the Associated Dailies of Florida.

James B. Jordan, arrived in 1875, a merchant, who had the first store in DeLand. He was later tax collector and clerk of Circuit Court. His son, Samuel D. Jordan was long Clerk of the Circuit Court.

Charles A. Miller, came in 1876, orange grower and hardware dealer. Asa D. McBride and wife came from New York state in the 80's, orange grower, dairyman, early president of the Volusia County Bank. His son, Elmer L. was the donor of the Volusia County Fair Grounds on West New York Avenue.

John B. Stetson arrived in 1886 from Philadelphia; active in the development of DeLand for twenty years. He had many orange groves, was owner of the Hotel College Arms, and patron of the University named for him. He built Stetson Hall, the second building on the campus. His home, just off South Spring Garden, was long the finest residence in the community.

Charles P. Wilcox came to DeLand in 1875 from New York, and operated the last saloon in the county. The fire of 1886 started in his place, and burned both sides of the Boulevard between New York Avenue and Indiana Avenue.

Silas B. Wright came in 1881 with his parents. He was a lawyer and dealt in insurance and real estate. He was Grand Master of the Grand Masonic Lodge of the Masons of Florida, High Priest of Royal Arch Masons and Grand Commander Knights Templar, State of Florida. His grave in Oakdale Cemetery is marked by a very impressive monument. He was one of DeLand's most outstanding citizens.

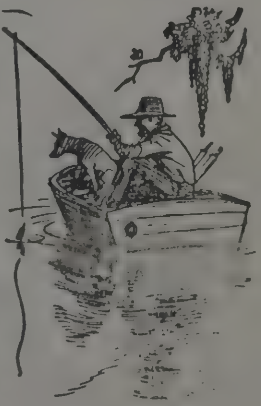
Rev. C. F. A. Bielby and wife arrived in 1883. He was early rector of St. Barnabas Church and State Senator from Volusia County, 1889-91.

H. V. Bracey and wife came from Mecklenburg, Virginia, to Beresford in 1869. An orange grower, he lived on the St. Johns until 1891 when he came to Rich Avenue and practiced dentistry.

The Bushnells came in 1884. The son, Roswell S., a grocer, was for years director of the Volusia County Military Band.

James E. Alexander, an orange grower by Lake Winnemissett, was twice State Representative and later State Senator.

The Fish family came early to Spring Garden. A home was built in DeLand in 1890. The father, George, was the engineer on the branch railroad into DeLand. The younger son, Bert, was first the principal of the DeLand School and then became County School Superintendent. While filling that office, he studied law at Stetson, graduating with the first class in 1902. Later he was Judge of the Criminal Court, 1910-18, appointed minister to Egypt, 1933, and later to Portugal where he died in 1943. His body was brought home on a battleship. In his will be left funds to establish hospitals in DeLand, New Smyrna and Sanford.



Earl W. Brown came to DeLand in 1908 at the age of eighteen, attended Stetson for two years, and has been active in the development of the area. He is one of the organizers of the local Chamber of Commerce; he was its secretary and manager in the early years. He was DeLand's first City Manager, and has

been Mayor for eight years. For years he was secretary of the Volusia County Fair. Its success for years was due to his management, and it was considered one of the finest county fairs in the South. He has worked for years for the development of parks and good roads. He is responsible for the parks in DeLand and vicinity. It is only fitting that the fine park on South Alabama Avenue, near the Stadium, has been named for him. In 1959 he was named Chairman of Region I for the $6,000,000 Stetson University Fund Drive. He is chairman of the Stephen Foster Memorial Commission; truly a live wire and a most outstanding citizen.

The Bond Lumber Company

To the East of Highland Park Eber W. Bond, a prominent leader from Willoughby, Ohio, mayor, bank president, manufacturer, who had been engaged in the lumber business about Cadillac, Michigan, in the 1870's, had become interested in the area around DeLand. He with Capt. John Rich set up a saw mill there, northeast of the new settlement. He homesteaded to the east of Highland Park, and by 1880 had set up a saw mill there and had a fine orange grove. The Bond Lumber Company, was established in 1880; and the co-partners were Frank E. Bond, E. W. Bond's eldest son, and Jacob B. Conrad. The two had been together in a Michigan mill. Almost ten years later a bigger mill was set up on the railroad north of Glenwood. A log road ran out east beyond Spring Garden, and west down to the river. Here the mill operated until 1926. Mr. Bond had died in 1906 and Mr. Conrad in 1915. The mill burned in 1914, was rebuilt and burned again the night before operations were to be resumed. The Bond Lumber Company also operated sawmills at Maytown and Kalamazoo on the branch line of the A.C.L. between Enterprise and Titusville for years, and established yards at DeLand, Daytona, New Smyrna, West Palm Beach and Miami.

Samsula is laid out on 35,000 acres purchased from the Bond Lumber Company in 1909 at $1.25 per acre. The Company was finally liquidated Jan. 1, 1953. The Bond-Howell Company was established in 1912 at New Smyrna by Maynard M. and R. M. Bond, and Thaddeus L. Howell. It is the only survivor of what was once Volusia County's biggest business.

Beresford

Beresford gets its name from Lord Beresford, who had a thriving indigo plantation here during the English Occupation of Florida, which he had to abandon when the Spanish returned at the close of the Revolution. In the early 1800's this area was given by the Spanish Governor to Francis P. Fatio who began its development. Fatio sold it in 1851 to John W. Stark who put his slaves on it and continued its improvement. A part of his holdings were sold to Andrew H. Alexander, 1829-1917, who came into this area in 1866. He planted a fine grove, operated a general store, built a wharf on the lake known as Alexander's Landing which was a regular stopping place for St. Johns River streamers. H. A. DeLand landed here on his first visit and found a post office. Alexander was sheriff 1866-1870, and then served in the Legislature. His sons, Neal, ("Mac"), and Frank J. both operated fine large orange groves.

Samuel Lowrie, County Judge for 1890 until his death in 1892, was a merchant here. Benjamin F. Colcord who had been a shoe manufacturer in Danvers, Mass. arrived in 1875, became an orange grower, merchant and the postmaster. He married Annie S. Kirk, daughter of Vincent Kirk who built the first house in in DeLand and died there in 1885. This was DeLand's first marriage.

Orange City

Orange City is located six miles south of DeLand on U. S. Route 17. It is about one mile square and two and a half miles from the St. Johns River and

Blue Springs. The first settler was Lewis P. Thursby, 1826-1891, who bought a claim at Blue Springs in 1851. Here he had a fine grove and left a family whose descendants still live there. His son, Ben, was for years a County Commissioner whose son Rodney was Mayor of Orange City, and later sheriff (in 1958).

Orange City began with a group, organized in Eau Claire, Wisconsin in 1874 by Dr. Seth French, who had resided in the South while serving in the Union Army. This group bought between four and five thousand acres at $1.25 each and arrived in February, 1875. Dr. French was a State Senator from 1879-1883. He was also State Commissioner of Immigration in 1879. He spent his last years in Sanford.

J. C. Stillman, William Holly, who set out the first orange grove, J. C. Thorpe, Charles Smith, George H. Parker, W. H. Taylor, J. D. Ross, Denniss Freeman, and others came with French. Nearby areas were occupied by J. F. Allan, H. A. Palmer, John Ditson, Geo. F. Colby, Rev. J. T. Lewton whose child was the first born in Orange City. The town was incorporated in 1882. The first school was built in 1876. The Methodist Church was organized in 1877, the Congregational Church in 1882. The Orange City Times began publication in 1880. The Village Improvement Association was organized on May 15, 1894. It is the 4th oldest women's group in the State. The town put on a shotgun quarantine in 1888 during the epidemic of Yellow Fever. The Hugh H. DeYarmans opened their house for travelers in 1876. With additions this became the Orange City Inn, and is now a retirement and rest home.

The first Volusia County railroad was built in 1881 from Blue Springs to Orange City, distance two miles, and with car drawn by a mule. It developed later into the Atlantic and Western, which began at Orange City Junction, with connection there with the J. T. and K. W. in 1887, and continuing to New Smyrna. This road was abandoned in the 1920's.

The Union Library was started in 1877, chartered in 1885, and is now located in the Dickinson Memorial Library Building in the center of town.

Miss Melissa Dickinson, a cousin of Susan B. Anthony, retired as Secretary of her brother Alfred's Dickinson Seed Company of Chicago in 1889. Miss Dickinson began then to spend her winters in Orange City. Her brother followed her and they soon became the first family, establishing a beautiful home (since burned) and became actively interested in the cultural activities, especially the library. In 1919 Mr. Dickinson gave a fine building on a half block on the main street as a memorial to his sister. It was to house the Library, the Women's clubs and some other groups. He had already deeded to the V. I. A. Orange City's only park, and later he gave the ground where the shuffle board courts are now placed.

The Orange City Bank was one of the three that came through the dark days of 1883. It was headed by Edward B. Alling, still considered the town's first citizen. For forty-five years he has given of his strength, time and money to every worthwhile cause, was Mayor for four terms, and on the Library Board for more than thirty years.

At nearby Blue Springs the boats landed the early settlers. The first Cassadaga group arrived late one weekend. The women and children slept on the floor inside the small shelter there. The next morning a man appeared with an ox team and a load of firewood for the river boat. He was hired to convey the baggage to their land and the entire party followed on foot to find shelter in Orange City till cabins could be erected in what we have long called Cassadaga.

Blue Springs is said to have the largest flow of any in the St. Johns River basin, forming a stream 150 feet wide and six feet deep. It has always been a popular picnic spot.

Orange City water is considered very fine. It is bottled and sold in a wide area.

Lake Helen

Lake Helen, six miles east of Orange City, is located on the Atlantic and Western R. R. which operated from 1886 until about 1926. Here in the 1850's lived: James H. Prevatt who in 1868 was the County Judge. He was also a merchant. Prevatt died in 1883. Pioneers were Ichabod Daugherty, the Longs, the Fyals, and James H. Chandler. The latter came from South Carolina in 1854, and was County Judge from 1855 to 1866, 1870, 1880-1884. He was one of the two Methodist preachers in the County in the census of 1860.

The community was known as the Prevatt Settlement until 1884, when H. A. DeLand purchased, from the early settlers, their lands and that year laid out a town, Lake Helen, named for his daughter, Helen. A fine hotel was named the Harlan House, for his son. Berlin H. Wright was associated with Mr. DeLand in founding the town, and erected the first home there. Mr. Wright was an astronomer, and compiled Almanac data for many years. The Harlan House was a popular winter home for tubercular people in its setting of many tall pines. It burned in 1922. About the town were many fine orange groves and there had been a sawmill there in the early days. About 1900, E. W. Bond returned to business in Volusia County and established here the E. W. Bond Company mill, a fine modern plant. By 1920 all available timber was cut and the mill dismantled. In 1906 Mr. Bond had built the Bond Sandstone and Brick Company here and placed his youngest son, Robert M. Bond in charge. The machinery came from Germany and the brick was the first of that kind made in this area. The Carnegie Library at Stetson University is built of this brick as is the Palatka City Hall, the A. C. L. and F. E. C. terminal station in Jacksonville, and the Daytona Plaza Hotel.

The town was incorporated in 1889, and J. P. Mace was the first mayor, and for thirty years either councilman, commissioner or mayor. The Willard Hopkins family came in 1888. Hopkins gave money to build Hopkin's Hall and endowed the library. The Peltons were another prominent early family. Arthur Pelton was one of the first aldermen; Charles B. was a merchant, liveryman and postmaster.

The first church, the Congregational, was organized in April, 1886; the building on Euclid Avenue opened in April 1889. The Rev. Mason Noble served until 1892. His daughter Rose was long a beloved teacher in the County.

A Baptist church came in 1892. The church, also on Euclid Avenue, was dedicated that year. The Methodist Church was founded in 1923 with 59 members. It is on Lakeview Avenue. There are also five Negro churches.

Cassadaga, the Spiritualist Camp is nearby. In 1875, George P. Colby came from Minnesota and took up a homestead on a lake later known as Lake Colby. T. D. Giddings of Eau Claire, Wisconsin, settled a half mile away. Both were Spiritualists. Colby gave thirty-five acres and the village of Cassadaga was formed. The Southern Cassadaga Spiritualist Camp Meeting Association was created in 1893 by E. W. Bond with T. J. Skidmore of Lily Dale, New York, and others.

Story of Ormond Beach

Long known as Ormond and named for James Ormond, who came from the Bahamas in 1807, obtained a Spanish Grant of land and became a prominent planter.

North of the Tomoka Basin where the Tomoka joins the Halifax River are the Dummitt, Addison, McHardy, Ormond and Bunch Grants, part of which have been known since 1880 as the Harwood Tract. It was in the early 1880's that Norman B. Harwood of Minneapolis, Minn. purchased these old grants and formed the Harwood Plantation. He planned a great cattle ranch. There were many conflicting stories about his death in 1885. The vast estate went back

to the wilderness. Much of it was acquired by Elliott B. Smoak, who in 1925 controlled 1800 head of cattle there. In recent years his acreage was acquired by the Lehigh Company who now have enough rock underground to supply the huge cement plant in Flagler County for the next thousand years.

The fine old oaks about the site of the old Ormond Home are interesting. One, the Ormond, or Harwood, or the Fairchild Oak, is one of the largest trees in the State. The Lehigh Company has placed a fine marker on a very large coquina boulder nearby. The McHardy area immediately south has many ruins.

The remains of the Dummitt sugar mill are a mile south on the old Dixie Highway. This was the first of the sugar mills and was erected in 1825. It seems the coquina wall still standing antedates Dummitt's time. Some consider it was once the Mission of San Antonio de Anacape.

The Addison plantation borders Tomoka Basin on the west. Here is the Addison Block House. This, like the other plantations, was devastated by the Indians in 1836.

Present day Ormond, Mainland section, lies on the Henry Yonge Grant. Ruins of the plantation sugar works are to be seen as one goes out Tomoka Road.

The finest of the plantations in this area was the one farthest north, the Bulow, first granted to John Russell who came from the Bahamas about 1815 and traded a schooner for this land. In 1821 his heirs sold it to Charles W. Bulow of Charleston, S. C., who developed the finest plantation in the area. He brought in 200 slaves, built a fine house on Bulow Creek. The Sugar Works ruins show the finest masonry. Here Audubon was entertained when he visited the Halifax area. All was lost in the Indian War late in 1835. Today the Bulow Ruins are in a State Park. A museum shows the history of the old plantation.

The Bulow and Yonge areas were acquired by the Swift Brothers, who were taking out live oak timber for ship building between the years 1840 and 1870. For a time they were the only people here.

After the Civil War the Bostrom brothers, John Andrew and Charles, came. John Andrew had sailed the seven seas since he had left his birthplace, Gottland, Sweden. He visited St. Augustine and became interested in the fine orange groves, got a small boat and explored the East Coast, going as far as Jupiter Inlet. He settled on a homestead on the east side of the Halifax River, now in Ormond Beach. Charles and their sisters followed. They developed one of the finest groves along the East Coast. John also built boats which found ready sale. They were ten years building their home, bringing lumber by boat from Jacksonville, or Savannah. Matthias Day, who visited the area in 1870 was welcomed by the Bostroms. He mentioned the fine garden, the Sassafras tea and the comfortable bed.

Late in 1873 Philip Corbin, of the Corbin Lock Co. of New Britain, Conn., sent three men to Florida to select a site for a colony for a group of their employees. They were Daniel Wilson, George H. Millard and Lucius Summers. They came by ox team from St. Augustine over early trails and down the beach to a trail cut across the peninsula by the Bostroms, and following this they arrived at the Bostrom home. They explained their purpose. They were shown the Yonge Grant, the DunLawton (Port Orange) Plantation, the Heriot Grant, the part of Daytona north of Bay Street. They chose and bought 810 acres of the Yonge property and some adjoining Government land, all located on the West bank of the Halifax River. The town site was named New Britain. The three men returned in March, 1874, and cleared the land some 300 feet back from the river front. This was divided into twelve lots, each family head drawing for his allotment. The pioneers, besides the three already named, were Philip Corbin, James E. Francis, E. M. Penfield, A. A. Hull, Chester Penfield, Frank Penfield, Geo. N. Bingham, W. G. McNary and Mrs. McNary's sisters, Ruth

and Eliza Dix. In 1937, Mrs. James Francis, Burton McNary and his sister Alice were the only living survivors of this group.

Samuel Dow came in 1875, liked the country and asked his cousin, John Anderson of Portland, Maine, to join him. The two soon purchased the site where the Hotel Ormond was built later. Joseph D. Price came from Kentucky in 1876. Orange groves were planted, and other settlers came.

In 1880 the name was changed to Ormond and the town incorporated. The Union Church was built. The St. Johns and Halifax Railway arrived in 1886. The Hotel Ormond with seventy rooms, built by Anderson and Price opened its doors January 1, 1888. A bridge had been built across the Halifax River, the first along the stream.

The hotel was sold to H. M. Flagler in 1890 and enlarged. It was operated by Anderson and Price until their deaths in 1911.

The Village Improvement Association, organized in 1891, became the Women's Club in 1958. The Club House, built in 1915, was a memorial to Anderson and Price. St. James Episcopal Church was organized in 1892 and the church built that year.

The first house was erected in 1874 by Daniel Wilson of lumber brought from Jacksonville. It was called the Colony House, because families lived there with the Wilsons until their own houses could be built. Mr. Wilson was the first postmaster. The house still stands on South Beach Street and Tomoka Avenue. Wilson's family arrived in 1875 by way of Volusia Landing on the St. Johns. It was a two day journey in a two wheeled cart across country. The first marriage in Ormond, 1878, was that of the Wilson's daughter, Emily, to Loomis Day who had come south with the Wilsons. The Day's daughter was the first child born in Ormond. The Day home was built south of the Wilsons. "The Wilson House" became the home of U. J. White who built the St. Johns and Halifax Railway, and later the home of the John G. Bordens (a son of Gail Borden).

In the winter of 1875-6 James E. Francis opened the first store. This became the first department store on the Halifax River. His home, across the street, still stands. He also had several fine orange groves.

The first school opened in 1879 in a dwelling at Lincoln and Ridgewood Avenues. Later Mr. Corbin gave the site for the present school on Corbin Ave.

The four freezes of the 1890's destroyed most of the orange groves. Many lost their livelihood and some sought a living elsewhere.

The seven families of the Tomoka Settlement, west of the town, had arrived there in the 1850's from Georgia: the Cones, the Winns, J. A. Davis, John Groover, William Hull, W. A. Bennett and Harper families. They had a post office and a school. They planted oranges, raised cattle and cane, provided for their own needs, even making their own shoes. The hunting and fishing were good. After the Big Freeze of 1894-5 they moved into West Ormond and found work on the estates along the waterfront.

The Hotel Ormond had welcomed many wealthy people, who, charmed by the climate, the quietness and the beauty found in Ormond, built some fine homes. It became known as "Millionaire's Colony". George Shiras, an associate Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, and George, Jr. had river front homes, south of the Hotel. The Casements, built by Mr. Huntington, was purchased in 1917 by John D. Rockefeller and enlarged and improved, and was his home for his last twenty years. It was later a girl's Junior College and is now a retirement center. One of the older places on the river in Ormond was the Wardwell property, purchased years ago by Mr. and Mrs. Oakes Ames. It was long their winter home. Dr. Ames was Professor of Botany at Harvard. Here he grew his prize orchids in an unpretentious greenhouse. Mrs. Ames collaborated

with him in writing and illustrating their book on orchids. Today the Ames family owns seven old homes there.

Other fine homes: the Irons estate (in the Japanese manner), the Andrew B. Wallace, the Lindsay colonial, now the home of Mrs. Eileen Butts, the Joseph D. Price residence, the Joseph R. Ellicott home where Mrs. Ellicott founded the Garden Club of the Halifax Country many years ago.

James Carnell, born in Leicester, England, in 1849, came to New Britain in 1875; was married in 1879 to Caroline Kitchell, the second marriage there. He had a fine orange grove west of the railroad. After the freeze he organized the Carnell Preserving Co., which continued for 25 years making guava jelly, citrus marmalade and preserving tropical fruits, ending in 1925. He was on the city council for years and served as Mayor, and was Postmaster for eight years. He was a leading Mason in the state and the Lodge in Miami was named for him. There were three sons: Fred A., who was Postmaster 1927-35, succeeded by his wife who served until 1951; Stanley C., a plumber, and Darrell P. a realtor, a member of the Board of Managers and promoter of the water plant, drainage and paving for the community.

Number Nine, opposite Tomoka Basin was the home of the Chauncey A. Bacons who came in 1876, built a palmetto shanty, cleaned out an old well, put in orange trees until they had 400 acres and a mile of river front. The place contained many rare plants and trees. Mrs. Bacon began making jellies and jams which were eagerly purchased by the guests of Hotel Ormond. Number Nine was purchased in 1911 by Fredinand B. Nordman who enlarged and continued the production of preserved citrus fruits, jellies and marmalades, manufacturing 22 varieties, now shipped to northern and even European markets.

At the head of the Halifax River on a peninsula between Smith and Bulow creeks on an extensive oyster shell mound, once the site of an Indian village, Leonard B. Knos, after traveling about Florida looking for a site for an orange grove, purchased part of the old Bulow plantation in 1879. Here, with G. Fred Beade as partner they rebudded the wild oranges they found growing there and built their homes. The property is long known as Mound Grove. It has suffered little from frosts. The first King oranges sent north from Florida came from this grove.

Ormond Beach War Memorial

Shortly after World War II, Malcolm Fraser, an internationally known artist presented a collection of his paintings to Ormond Beach. These convey a very significant spiritual message, noted for their coloring and the message they give. Through the cooperation of city and county officials an entire city block on East Granada was given for a memorial and a fire proof gallery was added to the building already there where the Fraser paintings are now installed. The gardens were designed by Henry Stockmans, natural growth retained, many rare plants added. Woodland trails, pools and a tiny brook are features of this four acres which have received a national award. The azaleas are noteworthy in the spring. Mrs. Fraser has presented a bronze copy of her famous peacock fountain to the garden in memory of her husband.

Hillside cemetery on Seton Trail of East Granada Avenue is a beautiful resting place. Begun in 1894 with the burial of the mother of James E. Francis, Andrew Bostrom gave the land, and the Hillside Cemetery Association was formed.

In 1889 the Hotel Coquina was built by a stock company, with Mr. Constantine of New York City the chief stockholder. James P. Vining was installed as Clerk. Later the Coquina was purchased by John Anderson who renamed it Bretton Inn. After Mr. Anderson's death Mr. Vining purchased the hotel from the estate. After 1916 Mr. Vining replaced the building with a stucco structure

of Moorish design, and changed the name to Hotel Coquina. Mr. Vining died before its completion.

The North Peninsula

Some development started in this area during the Florida boom of the 1920's when some investors such as D. F. Fuquay and the late E. L. King bought extensive ocean to river tracts. But activities did not start in earnest until 1951 when Fred Wettenburg and William Kinsella started the Ormond-by-the-Sea Housing Development which proved to be popular. The first retirement homes were built in 1953, usually one bedroom, masonry cubes, but zoning regulations now require larger houses and streets paved in advance. At first thirty homes a month were built, but now only eight or ten and they are much better than the first houses constructed.

It became apparent that some control would be needed to regulate the rapid growth within the nine mile long, half mile wide, strip of land between the river and ocean, just north of Ormond Beach. The State Legislature of May, 1955, created the North Peninsula Zoning District, and minimum building standards were established by the five man zoning board, the first being elected in August, 1955. As more and more houses were built and more families moved in, the population was boosted. Present unofficial estimates (1960) indicate more than four thousand people are living there today.

Ellinor Village is south of Ormond Beach, built in 1949 by Merrill Ellinor and his brother. Here are 650 villas and apartments, a shopping center and amusement attractions. It has entertained a million guests and is a popular year round resort.

To the south of Mainland Ormond, Walter G. Hardesty, of Akron, Ohio, acquired a large tract of land in 1912 and began the development of Rio Vista. His home on the river was one of the finest built in this area. The Riviera Hotel built by him on U. S. 1, was the newest of our hotels. Many nice homes were built. As this was south of Ormond there were no city taxes to pay.

Ortona Park, south of Ellinor Village, long known as the Whitehair Tract, is between the Halifax River and the ocean. Almost a third is in Ormond Beach, the rest in Daytona Beach, reaching from Marvin Road almost to Boylston Ave. This was the largest undeveloped area. In 1957 the land was cleared, graded, streets and homes built, and plans were made for the largest convention hotel in the State. A huge, thirty acre shopping center is under construction in late 1959. The developers of this shopping center are the Pepper brothers, Leonard and Milton of Tallahassee, sons of Harry Pepper who got his start in Daytona in the junk business. A high school site has been reserved.

To the south lies Ortona, a section developed by Simpson and Pope from Hartford, Conn. Mr. Simpson had looked Florida over searching for the best site for his development which began before the first World War. The area is still a choice residential district and ends on Golf Boulevard.

The first settler in this area was Major James N. Russell, born 1830, who served in Co. G., 5th Ga. Cavalry. He homesteaded here in 1882 opposite 19th St., in Holly Hill, and became the pioneer nurseryman. His grapes and citrus fruits were fine. He later served Seabreeze as treasurer. His grandson, Frank Russell, is a tugboat captain on the Halifax River and has been prominent in Boy Scout work for many years. The family is said to be descended from the John Russell who was the first owner of Bulowville, and is related aslo to Georgia's Senator Russell.

Seabreeze

In 1873, John W. Smith came from Canada seeking a more healthful climate for an ailing daughter. He took up a homestead on the Halifax naming it Memento. It lay between the Harvey Street and the Butler Boulevard of today, and extended

east of Pinewood Cemetery which he gave to the community, the ailing daughter being the first buried there.

In 1884, D. D. Rogers, a civil engineer who had lived in Daytona since 1873, purchased from the State forty-seven acres on the Ocean Front, extending from north of the Seaside Inn of today south to Harvey Street and west to Pinewood Cemetery. He platted the area and named it Seabreeze. The cross peninsula road became Seabreeze Avenue. In 1886 a postoffice was established, located in the Wm. Kitchell home, on this street and near the river. It was first named Halifax. It became the Seabreeze postoffice in 1890 and J. W. Smith the postmaster conducted it in his home.

About 1880 Charles A. Ballough took up a homestead of 152 acres north of the Smith property, reaching from the Halifax river to the ocean, platted it and named it East Daytona. He opened the first coquina quarry in Volusia County. For years he did all the local stone work, being associated with S. H. Gove, the leading architect and builder. They built Ridgewood Hotel and many of the fine homes. Mr. Ballough built the first bridge from the Mainland to Palm Avenue in 1900, and its successor in 1922. It is fitting that the Mainland approach to this bridge is still called Ballough Road.

Early in 1895 Col. C. C. Post and his wife, Helen Wilmans Post, came to their area again. They had been entranced with the climate and the possibilities here as a health resort. They now formed a partnership with Mr. Ballough for further development. They purchased the land to the north, including what was known as Ebbett's Field. The Brooklyn Dodgers spent several winters there. The street to the south was named University Avenue. Here Mrs. Post hoped to erect a school of Metaphysics. In the Fabulous Twenties, links for a golf course were placed here. It is now Sun Acres, a choice residential area.

A hotel, The Colonnades, was built just off Palm Avenue and near the river on what is now Halifax Avenue. Palm Avenue became Ocean Boulevard and in 1939 Seabreeze Avenue. It was graded, walks and road paved with marl. Mrs. Post sat in her carriage directing all the work on the street. Concrete urns filled with geraniums and vines separated the palms and oleanders that lined the passages across the peninsula. The first Post home, with new additions, is now the Shalimar Hotel. A pavilion and an ocean pier extending out 1,200 feet were built on the dune to the south of Ocean Boulevard.

The block where the Princess Issena was built in 1908, of which Mrs. Post's daughter, Mrs. Ada Powers, was to be the manager, had been set aside on the original plat for the College of Metaphysical Research, which was never built. The hotel Clarendon, now the "Daytona Plaza", was built across Ocean Boulevard. Mrs. Post gave the name "City Beautiful" to the area, although the mail came to Halifax, Seabreeze, Florida.

Mrs. Post, born Helen Wilmans, was a college graduate who had married young, gone to California, brought up three children, and then became a newspaper woman. She contributed to Bret Hartet's "Overland Monthly" and was then called to Chicago to write for the Chicago Express, then important in the labor movement. In Chicago she started her first paper "The Women's World" and became the founder of the School of Mental Science, teaching of the latent powers within each individual for health, success and happiness, through application of the mind and the will, according to the fundamental laws of harmony. In Chicago she met Mr. Post, a newspaper man, and they were married. A few years later they came to East Daytona, beginning its development, advertising it extensively in the north.

In 1900 the Posts built the Peninsula Bridge, also a fine new home on the River. After their deaths in 1907, with additions it became the Halifax Bellevue, and is now, 1959, slated for demolition. The Wilmans Opera House was built also in 1900 on Ocean Boulevard at Peninsula. Here an International Confer-

ence of the Mental Scientists was held early in 1901. Mrs. Post had continued her work as head of the Mental Science Movement. To expound and demonstrate its principles was her absorbing purpose. She was a writer, a teacher, and the publisher, and so evolved a system of healing as Helen Wilmans. The first floor of the Opera House became a publishing house. Chas. F. Burgman, whose wife was Mrs. Post's daughter, arrived in 1898 to take over the printing of "Freedom", the sixteen page weekly which Mrs. Post was sending out far and wide. Later this business became the "Peninsula Publishing Co" with the sons, Jerome and Leo O., assisting. As Burgman and Son, it still continues in 1960.

As Mrs. Post's mail was so heavy the Seabreeze Post office was moved up Halifax Avenue in 1898 to Ocean Boulevard. This caused much dissatisfaction to those who lost it, and was the primary cause of the existence of two municipalities on the Peninsula, separated at Auditorium Avenue. In 1901 the citizens to the north incorporated under the name of Seabreeze; twenty eight votes were counted in an election at the Pavilion on the Ocean. C. C. Post was the first Mayor, W. A. Baggett, Clerk; C. P. Lund, Collector; W. H. Herrick, Assessor; E. J. Britain, Treasurer; A. T. Sims, Marshal; and Chas. F. Burgman, President of the Council.

Both the Colonnades and the Clarendon burned in 1909. The Clarendon was replaced in 1910 by Dr. E. L. Potter, then the owner. It is a fine fireproof structure facing the Seabreeze Avenue of today, and is now known as the Daytona Plaza.

In 1924 a movement began for the formation of a single political unit, including all the municipalities on the Halifax. It ended in 1925 with the consolidation of the three cities of Seabreeze, Daytona Beach and Daytona into Daytona Beach. Seabreeze Avenue has become the choicest business district in the City.

Old Daytona Beach

The first settlers on the peninsula were able to homestead here as the area was still public land, having been considered worthless during the Sugar Plantation period. The first who came were John H. Mollison and the Bostrom brothers, John Andrew and Charles, who came in 1866 and took up a homestead where the present day Silver Beach Avenue reaches the river. In fact they named it Silver Beach. After a year the Bostroms went up to Ormond and Mollison returned to St. Augustine.

In 1868 Alanson Mitchell took up a homestead on the River south of Harvey Street. At his early death his son, J. D. Mitchell, took over and built a house there in 1870 which was later inherited by his daughter, Mrs. W. W. Carter. The fine old trees and the gardens there now surround the home of the late Samuel Hawkes, whose company makes excellent glass.

Old Daytona Beach began as Memento, named by John W. Smith who came from Canada in 1873 and homesteaded on the east bank of the Halifax between the Harvey Street and the Butler Blvd. of today. Mr. Smith laid out the cemetery now known as Pinewood. He gave a site for a school and another for the Methodist Church.

In 1884 D. D. Rogers, a civil engineer who came to Daytona from Plainfield, N. J., in 1873, purchased forty-seven acres on the ocean east of the Smith holdings. He platted it and named it Seabreeze, building a nice home on the dune south of the east and west street which he named Seabreeze also. A little later a post office named Halifax was granted and opened on the avenue near the river. It was soon renamed Seabreeze and housed in the home of J. W. Smith who had become the postmaster. After some years the area to the north was being developed by Chas. A. Ballough and Col. C. C. Post and his wife, Helen Wilmans Post, the founder of the Mental Science Movement. Mrs. Post still had an enormous mail and so the Seabreeze postoffice was moved up to their Palm Avenue. The area that had lost their postoffice soon was able, through the in-

fluence in Congress of a member of the Thomas Goodall family, to obtain another postoffice. This was named Goodall. In the meantime the area was incorporated as Daytona Beach. Old Seabreeze Avenue did not become Main Street until 1919.

The Rev. Wm. F. Stewart and some of his relatives came about 1885. He built a fine home on the River opposite the Smith home. His son, Horace F., built the Seaside Inn in 1890 on the dune across from the Rogers home. A new Seaside Inn replaced the first, lost by fire, in 1899. George P. Johnson came to Seabreeze in 1894. He was a builder, then a merchant, long a School trustee, twice Mayor, the last time just before consolidation. His sons, Eugene, Ernest and Laurence G. are leading citizens now. Dr. John A. VanValzah came about 1900, built the first big block building on the Avenue, and served one term in the Legislature. Thomas H. Keating came in 1900 and built the casino and the pier. By this time the area was a popular resort.

In the middle 1890's Chas. G. Burgoyne, a retired printer who had made a fortune in New York City since the War, came to Seabreeze. He built the first fine home on the ocean front. It still stands on Atlantic and Broadway. Thomas Goodall, the fabric manufacturer, also came then. He purchased the Robert Woolsey home on the river. Woolsey had come from DeLand to Daytona to operate the first bank on the Halifax; the bank failed and Woolsey left. Goodall and Chas. Burgoyne acquired the land between their homes. It was platted as Atlantic City. The street Broadway, which Mr. Goodall started was 2,000 feet long and 200 feet wide. Burgoyne had little interest in real estate and soon moved to Beach St., Daytona. Mr. Goodall died. The town of Goodall became Daytona Beach in 1905. W. W. Marshall of Hardwick, Vt., purchased the Goodall property late in 1912, opened Goodall and Vermont Avenues and named the whole area Marshall Park.

In 1914 Michael Sholtz of New York arrived and announced he was bringing a street railway to the area and building a concrete bridge across the Halifax at the foot of Broadway.

In the meantime Chas. K. Oliver of Rahway, N. J., purchased, in 1896, the land between the Goodall holdings south to the Thompson property. Fine homes were built on the river for Oliver and his friends. Peninsula and later Atlantic Avenues were cut through, and new streets were laid. Revilo, one of them, is Oliver reversed.

In 1884, Clark Marsh, H. P. Hand and H. E. Bostwick appeared, and purchased land below present day Silver Beach Ave. Mr. Hand built a fine house on the river. The three opened Peninsula Drive. Laurence Thompson, who had lived on South Beach St., Daytona, since 1875, purchased a strip of land running from river to ocean, and platted what has long been known as Silver Beach Ave. He built his home on the river in 1886.

James N. Gamble (of Proctor & Gamble) who had visited here as early as 1875, built across the street in 1895. The estate still belongs to his heirs. Bostwick built on the lot south. At the end of World War I, E. L. King erected a very fine house here, which burned several years ago. On the next lot, William Ruger, of Chicago, who had made a fortune there in lumber after the fire, lived many years, and later Dr. Dwight Harris cleared the site and erected a replica of the Governor's Palace at Williamsburg, Va. The next lot was where H. H. Hand lived. Later his home was moved to Silver Beach Ave., east of the Gamble place, and H. H. Windsor, editor and publisher of "Popular Mechanics" magazine, erected a mansion, lately acquired by Temple Israel. Beyond was the Henry Thorpe home. Thorpe brought the first automobile to Daytona in 1899.

About a mile below Silver Beach Ave., a strip across the Peninsula and another directly west across the Halifax, reaching to the railroad had been acquired by the Wilders, five brothers from Cincinnati, who had arrived here in 1875. They had also a number of fine corner lots in Daytona itself. In 1898, C. M. Wilder of the second generation built a home for himself on South Peninsula. A cousin, T. Fred

Brown, built nearby. After the First World War, Mr Wilder began the development of the area. As Ocean Dunes, it became a choice residental area. The Daytona Beach Golf and Country Club is located on the western part of the Wilder Mainland area.

John H. L. Botefuhr had come from Brooklyn in 1870 with his family to settle on the Peninsula. He was a ship builder and a sea captain, and probably the most colorful of all our early settlers. He brought with him a schooner load of building materials, furnishings, live stock, a carriage and other supplies. A pretentious house was built but, as it turned out, not on his property, and it had to be moved. It was filled with mahogany and Chinese curios. It was said he had served in the U. S. Navy; that he had brought slaves over from Africa; that he had been a pirate in Chinese waters. He lived there to a great age. The house burned, and many old and valuable objects were lost. Botefuhr Avenue of today was once the Botefuhr Trail between his home and the beach.

Orita was a group of homes and orange groves on the river opposite Port Orange. Here Champlain H. Spencer lived until he came to Daytona where he was for a time the only lawyer.

Wilbur-by-the-Sea was established in 1912 by Jacob W. Wilbur, a Boston realtor, who had purchased 1,000 acres on the Peninsula south of Port Orange. Streets were laid out; a hotel of fifty rooms, the Toronita, was built. A post-office was opened and a water tower built. Guests and cottagers came, mostly from New England. The hotel burned, Wilbur died, development stopped for a time, but it is still a pleasant residential area.

Down at the Inlet, known as Mosquito Inlet, now Ponce de Leon, at Rob's Bluff, the B. C. Pacetti family lived until recent times. The Pacettis were originally from Leghorn, Italy, and came to this area in 1767 with the Turnbull Colony. Andre Pons of St. Augustine had in 1804 been granted 175 acres at the Inlet. Pacetti, a nephew, had come here as early as 1840.

In 1866 Dr. J. M. Hawks and several other army officers organized the Florida Land and Development Co. and purchased land to the north of the Pons grant. They planned a town. The Postoffice was "Port Orange." A large saw mill was to be built, but the machinery was lost while bringing it through the Inlet, and the venture failed. The John C. Maley family left in 1871 for Daytona. The postoffice was moved.

Nathaniel Hasty came about 1876. His wife was postmistress of Ponce Park for twenty-five years, resigning in 1908. The Lighthouse was begun in 1884 and completed in 1887. General Orville E. Babcock, who had been on Grant's staff during the Civil War, was in charge, and later was drowned. He had planned to make the locality beautiful.

The Charles W. Jones family were other early residents here. In 1900 there were two hotels here. One was the Pacetti House. This was a fine area for fishing. There was a school and a cemetery. Three families lived at the lighthouse. In recent years, the lighthouse is electrified and maintained by the Coast Guard Station across the Inlet.

Inlet Harbor, a fishing center, has been operating for the past ten years. From here, charter boats go outside for the fine fishing on the Banks, some thirty miles out.

At the south tip of the Peninsula are some brick ruins, all that remains of the Inlet Terrace Hotel, which was started but never completed.

Holly Hill

This residential community lies west of the Halifax, between Rio Vista and Daytona. It is two miles in length. In 1816, Governor Coppinger, in consideration of services to the Crown, gave a royal title to Fernando de la Arrendonda, Jr. for 45,000 acres on the Halifax. This area became the Thomas Fitch Grant, and

after the Civil War was acquired by William S. Fleming who was a resident of Port Orange when he died about 1878.

Rev. W. H. Carter came to the Halifax Area in May, 1877, to establish the Episcopal Church here. His diary contains a map of the plat of Holly Hill, named by Mr. Fleming. This map shows Ridgewood Avenue, Daytona Road (now Avenue), Halifax Avenue, on the river front. The cross streets were Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Washington. The latter is now 11th St. Dr. Carter obtained the river lot north of the present 9th St. and built, in 1877, the house now owned by Dr. R. B. Rawls. The Rev. Henry B. Stuart-Martin, who came with Dr. Carter, built the house, Fern Bank, to the north. James Simcoe located on the south corner of Delaware. On the corner of Washington was Wm. Baylis, who died early. Before 1900 his property was occupied by William McCoy, father of the well known Bill McCoy, the King of the Rum Runners of prohibition days, and of Ben McCoy. The brothers built and ran river boats for years. The family sold the place after 1950.

Lots 3 and 4 on Washington St. were the homestead of the Wm. Wetherell family who came in 1877 from England. They had a little house and a big family. Mr. Wetherell was one of those who worked in the building of St. Mary's Church in 1883.

In 1883 Gibson W. Harris arrived from Illinois. He was once a law student in the office of Abraham Lincoln. Edward G. Harris, his son, was Daytona's first photographer. His fine pictures of the early days are now treasures. The Harris home still stands and is occupied by a grand-daughter.

Land was set aside between the Carter and Harris homes for a rectory, and back of it, on Daytona St., was land for an Episcopal Church, but only a tiny chapel was ever built.

The Wingates lived on the river in the early days.

Matthias Day, founder of Daytona, made his first visit here in May, 1870. He came up the river and found, according to his diary, a house on the point, and back of it a fine young grove of 600 orange trees. Here W. W. Ross, a brother of Sen. Ross of Kansas, and a brother-in-law, a Mr. Wemple, had lived two years. They had a post office, Palmetto, which was in operation for several years. After a cold winter, Mr. Ross returned to Kansas.

The Holly Hill postoffice was established in 1877. Mr. Monroe was the first postmaster and Wm. Simcoe the second. Mrs. H. A. Carter served as postmaster from 1878-1909, being succeeded by C. F. Wetherell.

When the Inland Waterway was widened, some of the spoil was added to Ross Point, then known as Mabbette Point for the I. M. Mabbette family who lived across the road, in 1896-1907. The point is now a picnic ground. A tablet has been placed there by the Holly Hill officials.

After Fleming's death, the next owners were Benjamin Mason and Lockhart R. Carswell, who dug the canal, 1880-8, through the swale and west through the ridge to drain the back country. Here some fine young groves were developed.

Holly Hill was incorporated in 1901. The first mayor was Vet Cave, who had a cigar factory north of Delaware St. His Clerk and Assessor, was W. H. Poston. Marshal and Collector was Charles S. Harris. The Treasurer was George Harris. Serving on the Council were, I. M. Mabbette, A. H. Carter, W. A. McBride, Lotan Cave and A. E. Mason.

Holly Hill became a city by legislative action in 1941. The City Hall, built of coquina rock from the town quary, was dedicated on Sept. 7, 1942, the 41st anniversary of Holly Hill. The building is placed in Carswell Park. The ground floor faces Daytona Ave. and houses the fire and police departments. The auditorium seats 1,g00. The building was a W. P. A. project. The City Water Plant was also dedicated in 1942. The present jail was the former city hall and was once the school house. The Public Market on the river between Second and Third Streets

was erected by the State in 1940. It has been the County Law Center for some years. The Halifax Shopping Center was erected in 1959 on a fill to the east.

The City's first manager was installed in August, 1959. He will also serve as City Clerk, succeeding Mrs. Bessie Bass, who filled that office for twenty-one years. A fine park is being developed across Ridgewood and the City Hall on U.S. 1.

In 1910 the population was 207; in September, 1942, it was 2,500. In 1959 it is estimated to be 5.000. The business houses are on U.S. 1, except for several on Riverside Ave. north of 1th St. Shady Rest Cemetery on the north boundary is a lovely spot.

Kingston

In 1875, George W. Kingston, attracted by the opportunities in Florida and especially in Daytona, came from an Illinois farm and purchased from Dr. George Coleman and his wife the north half of the former Heriot Plantation, the 500 acres south of the Mason Ave. of today. He founded the town of Kingston, giving sites for school and church. When the railroad arrived it stopped at Kingston Ave. Here a thousand people were gathered for the arrival of the first train. Mr. Kingston would not permit the passage until U. J. White, the builder of the St. Johns and Halifax Railway, agreed to erect a depot at the Madison Ave. crossing. Lots were sold and homes built and groves planted. A post office, with J. R. Cole, merchant, in charge, opened in 1902, and was discontinued in 1925. A school house was erected in 1905. After 1917 the children of this community attended North Ridgewood School. The town incorporated in 1905 so that they could have a school. Kingston became a part of Daytona in 1923 by an Act of the Legislature.

Daytona Beach

The Mainland section of Daytona, Beach lies on two plantations granted by the Spanish Government of Florida in 1804. The part north of Bay St. was given to Mrs. Frances Kerr, who sold it to B. D. Heriot, who lost his slaves, and had his plantation ruined in the Indian War of 1835-42. Briggs and Robinson took it over in 1848 and in 1858 sold it to Elijah Swift, whose son sold it in 1868 to Alfred Johnson, who built a log house on the Halifax at First Ave. which had been a logging road for the Swifts. On Johnson's death in 1871 his daughter, Ella, and her husband, Dr. George Coleman, acquired it. Their daughter, Harriet was born in 1869.

The 3,300 acres south of Bay St. were granted in 1804 to Samuel Williams, who called his property 'Orange Grove.' The manor house was on the river near the present location of the Court House Annex. The plantation highway which ran west to the rice fields is now Loomis Ave. (Named for Matthias Day's son.) The Williams sugar mill ruins are still on the corner of Ridgewood Ave. Like all the other plantations this was left a ruin in 1836. The area lay idle until after the Civil War. In 1870 Matthias Day of Mansfield, Ohio who had been traveling through the South selling sugar mill machinery, while in Jacksonville heard of this area and its possibilities, and came here on a schooner. He was entranced. He returned Oct. 1, 1870, with thirteen others, a saw mill and supplies. A colony house was soon erected. He had visited St. Augustine and Samuel Hill Williams, then the owner, and agreed to pay $8,000 for the 2,200 acres ending at South St. still belonging to Williams. By 1873 Day was unable to meet the payments and departed. Williams now agreed to sell to Wm. Burr and Charles E. Jackson for $8,000. They had difficulty, and the title was in court for the next seventeen years.

The settlement had been named Daytona. It grew very slowly until the coming of the U. J. White, St. Johns and Halifax Railroad, in 1876. The town had been incorporated in July, 1876.

The qualified electors were: E. N. Waldron, L. D. Huston, M. Huston, J. Wilkinson, J. C. Maley, C. R. Puckett, Charles E. Jackson, William P. Burr, G. M.

Wallace, P. B. Dobbins, E. A. Morgan, C. A. Longe, W. Roberts, H. B. Corwin, W. L. Kindall, James F. Woodworth, Charles D. Wise, Richard Thomas, Wm. Jackson, C. W. Hawley, C. D. Bryan, R. H. McIntyre, Thaddeus S. Gooden (Negro), John Tolliver (Negro), J. W. Smith and D. D. Rogers.

D. D. Rogers, who came in 1873, reported later "There were eighteen houses between the Waldron home (between Bay and Volusia) and the South Canal (South St..)." There were three houses to the North. This was Day's part of Daytona. In 1871 he employed Romanus Hodgman of Princeton, Ill. who came here and prepared Hodgman's map of Daytona. The streets were 100 feet wide. Each block contained six lots 110 feet in width and 440 feet deep. Mr. Rogers surveyed the Heriot Tract and the streets there are narrower. The town grew slowly until 1883. Then two hotels were built: the Ocean View (where Sears is today), and Dr. J. W. Ball's Sanitarium, soon renamed the Fountain City House, and from 1908, Dr. G. A. Klock's Hospital, now an apartment house. The Halifax Journal began publication in Feb. 1883. Soon a larger two-room school house was erected on Third Ave.

The first brick building built in 1884 by D. O. Balcolm, housed the City Hotel and R. S. Maley's Hardware Store. The Thompson Block, containing the Opera House was erected in 1886, across Cottage Ave., as was the Laurence Thompson home on the River. These were soon followed by several others, and others were built on Ridgewood Ave. The coming of the railroad late in 1886 brought many new residents. After 1890 there was a decided growth. The second brick block went up on Beach St. South of Orange Ave. Here Frank Peck had a fine drygoods store for some years. A bank was established, two bridges were already built, the railroad was being extended to the South. The Ridgewood Hotel, the Parkinson House, the European House, later the Osborne, and the Oren Apartments (first in Daytona) went up. D. A. Blodgett built his fine home, and George H. Foote built another, both on Ridgewood Ave., to be folowed by the Hoehne and the Moore homes. In the early 1900's most of the hotels not already mentioned were erected: On Ridgewood, the Pines, now Oak Ridge Hall, and the Bennett, lately the Dunham; also the Oaks, now the Prince George, the Magnolia, the Colonial Inn, The Seville on South St. grew through the years. The Osceola-Gramatan, on S. Ridgewood, was the last of these to be built. It has been replaced by a motor court.

Magnolia Ave. had the Cleveland and the Maryland, also the Despland, erected 1921, which later became the Williams Hotel.

Volusia Ave. had the Troy House, erected before 1898, still operating; the Morgan, which has made way for the S & S Cafeteria, the Howard, or Greentree Inn, and the New Gables.

Orange Ave., besides the European House, had the Daytona House, which became the City Hotel, the Orange Villa built in 1908 and of recent years the Bay View.

Palmetto Ave. had the Hamilton, Ivy Lane Inn, the Tourist, the Elmhurst, and Rose Villa, now Belknap Manor.

Second Ave. had the Lynhurst Day's Colony House, enlarged, became the Palmetto House, operated by Mrs. Mary Hoag for twenty years, burned in 1925. The Riverside Apartments are now on the site. Another early hotel on Beach St. was the VanDorm which has since been moved to Myrtle Ave., enlarged and named the Morrison. Beach St. also had the Austin and Schmidt's Villa.

For years the Orange Ave. and Beach St. area was the heart of Daytona.

The transfer of the post offices to Volusia Ave. in 1923 began the development there. It went north of Volusia when the post office building was erected in 1936 on Beach St. opposite the entrance to the Broadway Bridge. The automobile agencies were now settled on Beach St. to the North. With the Lovett purchase of the Burgoyne property which covered most of the block on Beach St. north of Volusia, and the building of the Daytona Theatre and other fine structures, the

center definitely moved to this area. The hotels came down and business now fills the block.

Churches

The first church established was the Congregational. It began with meetings in the homes near the Colony House. In 1883 they were able to build on the corner of Canal, now Palmetto Ave. and Volusia Ave. on a lot given them by E. N. Waldron, who served them for fifty years,—twenty-five years as Sunday School Superintendent. The building erected by Giles Bliven was not completed until 1885. The Rev. C. M. Bingham, who served them 1883-1903, had contributed $500 given by the church in which he had been brought up.

The Episcopal Bishop of Florida sent two clergymen, Rev. W. H. Carter and Rev. H. B. Stuart-Martin, here in May 1877 to establish the Church. They served the area from south St. Johns County to Titusville. Services were held in the Palmetto House dining room and in Thompson's Hall until Rev. Stuart Martin, in 1883, began the erection of St. Mary's Church on three lots on the corner of Ridgewood and Orange Avenues which had been given by Chas. E. Jackson. This church was completed, "even to the pews, in 1884." The first marriage in 1885 in St. Mary's was that of Graham Thompson to May Matthews.

The Methodists held services here in 1876. They had a fine little church on Bay at Palmetto in 1896. James N. Gamble, long a winter resident, aided generously in the construction of the three Methodist Churches here. A tribute should be given to Rev. Dorsey H. Rutter who came to Daytona in 1906 and served all of the Methodist Churches here, having a part in the construction of the three present buildings. He has also ministered to the community all these years.

The Baptists were not strong enough until after 1900 to erect their first building. Now there are more Baptist churches here than any other denomination.

The Catholics sent Father O'Boyle here in 1885. He served the Titusville area also until 1923 when Father Wm. J. Mullally came. Their first church on Palmetto at Myrtle Ave. served them until Mather Mullally built the present St. Paul's, which seats 1,000, on Ridgewood at Cypress St. The interior is a copy of St. Patricks, New York City. In 1953 another Catholic Church, Our Lady of Lourdes, was established on the Peninsula at University Blvd., and there is talk of another to be built in the south end.

The Presbyterian Church on Grandview Ave., has had the Rev. Paul M. Edris as its pastor for the past twenty years.

Altogether there are (in 1959) over 95 churches in the Daytona Beach area.

From the earliest days boating on the Halifax River has been a part of the daily life of Daytona. At first people had a boat if they had no other way of getting about. Boat races were a part of the first Fourth of July celebration in 1876. But not until 1896 was the Halifax River Yacht Club organized and the present Club house built.

The Forum and Assembly was organized in 1914 by Robert Shailor Holmes, a winter resident from Lansing, Mich. The first meetings were in the Community Methodist Church, and continued in the Casino Burgoyne until 1929 when Simon Peabody gave the site about half the cost of the first Peabody Auditorium. George F. Johnson of Endicott, New York, and Seabreeze, also contributed generously. They are the founders of the Open Forum which has added so much to the cultural life of the area, where the great speakers and the artists still appear during the first three months of every year.

Mr. Peabody also gave the Peabody Playground Area to the City.

The "Little Theatre" groups were organized and incorporated in Daytona and in New Smyrna Beach in 1947. They have continued successfully. The Daytona Beach group in 1948 had 450 members. In 1953 they began construction of their own building. They give a series of plays each year which add much to the cultural life of this community.

South Daytona

Blake, which has been South Daytona since 1935, was platted and named in 1876. The Knappe family were already settled on the Halifax River to the south, arriving in 1874 and living there for forty years. Herman H. Knappe had been a Springfield, Mass., furniture manufacturer who was told by his physician he must live in a warmer climate. His son, Paul A., was teaching in the Port Orange school at seventeen. He continued the family business in Springfield and mined in the West, spending his last years in Daytona. The other son, Carl H., was manager of the Clarendon Hotel for some years.

In June 1876 Thomas L. Rodgers, Darnley O. Balcom, both from Massachusetts, and two others, one being a Mr. Resterick, bought the Swift Tract south of Bethune Point. Balcom was unable to come with the others, who came to improve the tract and plant orange groves. A town was laid out, named for A. P. Blake who was then planning to construct a railroad from St. Augustine to the Halifax. Mr. Rodger's son, Percy, has been well known here. A company house was built on the River. Here newcomers lived until their own house was built. This later was used as a school. D. E. Leach, who came in 1879, built the desks, and chairs were brought from home by the pupils. Term was three months. Ridgewood Ave. appears on the early map. There was to be a hotel there with a curving drive on each side leading down to the river. D. O. Balcom brought lumber and brick from Boston and built a fine home on the river for his ailing wife who died before it was completed. It was said the French windows and the shutters came from the John Hancock house in Boston. Later Rodgers lived there. He was the first postmaster. A bureau drawer served for the post office and its supplies. Mr. Rodgers dug the canal to drain the back country. The canal still lies north of Big Tree Road. His wife and children made a little money by collecting the seed of the wild oranges (so plentiful) getting $3.00 a bushel for them. Good orange trees were budded on sour orange stock and many groves were being planted at that time.

The Mansfields came early, as did John Hinsky, who lived many years in Daytona. The two brothers, Daniel Edwin and Benj. Franklin Leach came here from Massachusetts in 1879 with their families and their sister, Mrs. Anna Brown. B. F. Leach was postmaster 1880-1888. Mr. Rodgers was then running a boat to New Jersey. He became a Volusia County Commissioner in 1888 and served many years. In the 1890's he dealt in general merchandise in Daytona, selling out to E. T. Conrad in 1895. He had a feed store on Orange Ave., which later became the Daytona House hotel where, in 1889, one could live very comfortably for $8.00 or $10.00 a week. His son, Winn Rodgers, spent his last years in the old Balcolm house which was torn down about 1935.

A school house was later built on Ridgewood Ave., which was used until consolidation of the schools began about 1917. The building is now the Main home. During the years following the Big Freeze of 1894-5 there had been no growth here. In 1935 Blake became South Daytona. It is the smallest town in the area. It obtains its water from the City of Daytona. Beville Road is the boundary between the two. There is no cemetery here. The house numbers on Ridgewood are a continuation of those in Daytona Beach. Many new homes have been built in recent years. The budget for 1956 was $25,170, which was overspent by $9,116.

The town has a large City Hall, once the American Legion Building. The County School Board is planning a modern school building west of the Railroad and south of Big Tree Road where several new sub-divisions are being developed. The town has one church, nicely housed. Howard Buchanan has served five terms as mayor, 1949-54. He has been a resident since 1935, operating a filling station, a package store and a barbecue restaurant. The Sea-Zoo and the Museum of Speed are popular tourist attractions.

In 1958 the town doubled its livable land area without extending its boundaries. The Inland Waterway channel was being deepened and widened. J. Adrian Brown,

a prominent resident, headed an association to obtain some of the spoil. Sixty residents along the two miles of river frontage from Beville Road to the Reed Canal agreed to pay their share of the cost. Miss Julia May Leach, a resident since 1879, paid $3,200 as her share. 400,000 yards of spoil was laid on the choice river front land—and the mosquitoes are no longer a pest.

Port Orange

Port Orange lies on the Halifax River, five miles south of Daytona, separated from South Daytona by Reed Canal. It was first settled by Patrick Dean, one of the twenty who came from the Bahamas in 1803. He was given 995 acres and established a vast sugar plantation. Killed by the Indians, his heirs sold it for $3,000 to Chas. Lawton of Charleston, S. C., who sold it in 1832 to Sarah P. Anderson (born Dunn) widow of George Anderson who had a fine plantation on the north bank of the Tomoka where the area is crossed by U. S. I. The property was now named Dun-Lawton. The mill was improved and it was in operation by the Anderson sons, John George and James Kerr, when the Seminole War began late in 1835. It was the scene of a battle in which the Mosquito Roarers were routed and everything either burned or carried off by the Indians. The plantation was soldl in 1846 to John J. Marshall from Louisiana, who rebuilt the sugar house, adding to it parts of the machinery from the Cruger and DePeyster mill in New Smyrna. This was the only mill along the coast that was restored after the Indian War. Marshall sold the place in 1852 for $45,000 but it came back to him.

During the Civil War both sugar and salt were made here, wagons coming from the interior of the State to obtain these much needed items. The last use of the mill was in 1908 when the blubber of the nine whales stranded on the beach below Port Orange was brought here and tried out. In 1870 William Dougherty purchased the property and planned to resume operations. His death gave it to Charles Dougherty, Volusia's only resident (until many years later) who served in Congress, 1885-1889. After his death in 1915 it went to his niece. It is now known as Sugar Mill Gardens, controlled by the County as a public park. Edward A. McDaniel (whose children and descendants now spell it McDonald) came from coastal North Carolina, probably in 1853 and settled on Rose Bay. He may have known the Swifts who also had a camp there. He became their agent, guarding the property they left behind when they returned north for the summers. He also bought oxen for the Swifts from the folks who had cattle in the flatwoods along Spruce Creek and toward the St. Johns. When the Civil War began, the family moved to Dun-Lawton where they made sugar and salt, using the kettles of the old sugar works. After the War Mr. McDaniel built a hotel on the river. The place was now known as McDaniels. His son, Elijah, was noted for his unusual strength. He built and operated boats. Another son had nine sons, so there now many McDonalds in this section.

Capt. Simmons Bennett who came with the Swifts in the 1850's was in charge of Elijah Swift's fleet of boats while they were taking out live oak timber. After the War he operated a schooner between the Halifax and Jacksonville, bringing in freight and passengers. Dr. Chas. H. Meeker came in 1868 and was prominent for many years in the community.

After the War in 1866 the Freedman's Bureau planned to bring in 1,500 former slaves and give them lands on Spruce Creek and Dun-Lawton. Five hundred came but quickly left, finding shelter and work on the farms along the St. Johns. William Allan, who had large orange groves near, settled many of them at what is still called Freemanville on land he owned. Their descendants still live there.

Port Orange post office was first established at what has long been known as Ponce Park. Here the Florida Land and Lumber Co. planned a colony (1867,)

but the machinery for a large saw mill was lost in crossing the bar at the Inlet. Dr. J. M. Hawks was the head of the company. J. H. Fowler was in the group. Hawks secured a post office, Port Orange, and he was postmaster. The venture failed. Fowler went to Rose Bay, the post office was moved to Allandale and later to McDaniel's, the Port Orange of today. In the middle 80's it was larger than Daytona. It was incorporated May, 1913, with Dr. H. K. DuBois as Mayor. Other officials were: A. M. Martin, clerk and assessor; A. J. Vass, marshall; J. M. Heath, collector, and S. C. Milburn, collector. In 1940 Port Orange had a population of 662; in 1945, 1,048.

Allandale and Harbor Oaks

Allandale is immediately south of Port Orange with Harbor Oaks on its south. The river front was the site of a large Indian village—long mounds of oyster shell there were used to build the first automobile roads. The first highway ran along the river front crossing Rose Bay on its eastern end. Until recently the Rose Bay oysters were considered very fine.

Washington Sharpe, who named his property "Shady Grove", was here in 1856-66. Sharpe's Bay, near Allandale is still on the map. C. C. Sutton in 1867 sold all his live oak timber on Rose Bay to the Swifts, 300 acres for $100.00.

Judge Howell Robinson laid out Halifax City in this area in 1867. This was said to be three miles from, and in full view of, the Inlet. Robinson built a saw mill on a mangrove island in the River. Mill Creek is still on the map. He had a 100 acre grove back of what is now known as McKee's Castle. This venture failed. The land was acquired by Thomas and William Allan.

J. H. Fowler came to Rose Bay in 1870, a learned man, formerly a Unitarian minister, who put in an orange grove, and in 1871 wrote a treatise on orange culture, said to have been the first published in the United States. The Stephen Snow family came early. The Fozzards came in 1870, built their home atop the shell mound on the river, put in an orange grove. The sons were boat builders and boatmen.

The Allans put in a fine grove. The Port Orange post office was brought from the Inlet. Victor Villaume had a store and was postmaster until the post office was moved to McDaniel's.

Cornelius Christiancy acquired much acreage here, had a fine grove as early as 1906. After some years in the Isle of Pines he returned, and began the development of what is now called Allandale. He built a fine home on the Dixie Highway and the Halifax. Later the Allandale post office was opened, which still serves the area.

The development of Harbor Oaks was begun in 1925 by Walter J. Pickering, formerly of New York City, and former Senator L. E. Francis of Des Moines, Iowa.

David A. McKee came at this time. He purchased part of the former Judge Robinson orange grove, erected a fine pink stucco home, 1927-1936, which he called McKee's Castle. He filled the house and grounds with interesting relics. The staircase and the woodwork in the front of the house came from Henry Disston's Philadelphia home. There is also some historic ironwork about. Since 1945 many homes have been built in Harbor Oaks. The County is now planning to build a school there.

In the F. E. C. Railroad Directory of 1927, the station, Harbor Point, is listed as two miles south of Port Orange.

Spruce Creek

The Spruce Creek, F. E. C. Railroad Station was three miles south of Harbor Point, now Harbor Oaks, in 1927. Nearby was Turnbull's Castle, built and named

by Chas. Kost who lived there some years. The Nordman family who came from Illinois in 1898 with many sons had purchased the Jack Murray property to the south and had several fine groves. The Wickwires and several other old settlers lived up the Creek which was a water route to the interior in the blockading days of the Civil War. The fishing here for black bass was very good. The men who came south for the sport were fond of this spot. There are some fine groves on the sheltered banks of the Creek, that of James N. Gamble being one of them. There is also an old cemetery here. Spruce Creek had a school also, around 1900.

New Smyrna Beach

Five miles to the south of Ponce de Leon Inlet and on the Hillsborough or Indian River North, lies New Smyrna Beach, just called New Smyrna until a few years ago when so many places on the East Coast annexed the beaches east of them and the name also.

This is one of the three oldest settlements in the State, named in 1767 by Dr. Andrew Turnbull for his wife, born in Smyrna in old Asia Minor. Dr. Turnbull with the aid of friends in the British Government brought over the largest colony that ever came to America—almost 1,500 persons—including Greeks, Italians, but mostly Minorcans, who were suffering a famine at that time. The British officials backing the Doctor had agreed to provide for 500 persons who were to grow olives, produce wine and indigo. Difficulties arose, the harsh treatment given the emigrants lead to the escape, in 1776, of those remaining, to St. Augustine, where the land given them by the Government is still occupied by their descendants.

There are old ruins of this settlement near New Smyrna Beach. The most noted are the so-called "Old Fort" on the river front and the "Spanish Mission" back of the town. The Washington E. Connors family preserved the Old Mission ruins, giving them in 1928 to the Florida Historical Society. In 1951 they were given to the Florida Board of State Parks and Memorials.

From the time the Turnbull colony was abandoned until 1803, the forest covered the fields. Then men came from the Bahamas seeking homes in a more favorable location. They settled on grants given them by the Spanish Government. These lands had been occupied by the British during their twenty years in Florida. The Bahiamians built stone houses along the water front. The Williams and Kerr families were here, also George Murray, from Philadelphia, whose son settled on Spruce Creek and whose daughter married John Dwight Sheldon and founded a family, with which all the old residents are connected. Ambrose Hull, who came from Connecticut, built a fine stone house with a view of the Inlet. He hoped to grow the olive and the vine as well as the usual cotton, corn and cane. He left the area after two devastating Indian attacks.

A grant of land was given Henry Martin, who built near the "Rock House" on a shell mound on the mainland opposite the Inlet. He lost his property in 1808 (Indian attack). The Rock House walls remained. On an 1854 map they are called "Fort Mosquito". They were destroyed in 1907 when the F. E. C. Railroad removed the shell mound to provide ballast for the railroad track.

The Sheldon family were living above the old Fort when the Seminole War began in 1835. Mrs. Sheldon fled with her children across the river to Capt. Douglas Dummett's place, and then to St. Augustine, after seeing her home burned to the ground. After 1842, and the end of the Seminole War, the house was replaced. In 1845 New Smyrna had a post office in the Sheldon home. Mrs. Sheldon handled the mail all through the Civil War.

All was lost again in the Civil War. The Sheldons fled to the woods when Federal gunboats began bombarding the town.

At this time, small schooners were running the blockade here, taking out cotton to Nassau and bringing back needed supplies. Back of the town, is a bit

of woods still called "Cotton Shed Hammock" where the cotton awaited the boats. Between the wars New Smyrna had been a headquarters for the Swift Brothers and their live oak trade. One of the Sheldons' sons was named Rudolphus Swift for one of the Swifts.

After the Civil War and the coming of the Florida Land and Lumber Co. in 1865 the modern era began. The first newspaper published on the east coast of Florida south of St. Augustine was "The Florida Star", Feb. 20, 1877, by Chas. H. Coe, who with his father had settled at Glencoe, six miles to the west in 1873. Glencoe was first settled in 1864 by Luke Bryan, father of Phileman Gadsden and Joseph. The first northern settler was the Rev. Chas. G. Selleck, who performed many of the marriages of his time. William H. Coe, father of Chas. H., was the first postmaster, and the town having 200 residents in 1885, was named for him. George Futch was another early resident.

New Smyrna was incorporated, June, 1887. Officials were: Mayor, Philemon Bryan; Clerk, C. L. Dohn; Marshal, William M. Lourcey; Treasurer, Milton Bryan; and Collector, C. R. Dilzer. On the council were: A. B. Hawley, Christopher Westall, Frank W. Sams, John R. Ball and Geo. R. Dilzer.

The town became a city in June, 1915. On its Golden Anniversary in June, 1937, it became New Smyrna Beach (annexing Coronada and its adjacent area.) In 1889 the population was 500. The only hotel was the Ocean House, of which Frank W. Sams was the proprietor. His wife was a Sheldon. He was State Senator from 1889 to 1911. E. William Gautier, the present Senator, married a Sams. P. N. Bryan, the early Mayor, had the largest store and was the postmaster. The Skipper Drug Store was the best store building in the town. Sams and Dilzer were real estate agents. C. L. Dohn conducted a livery stable for many years. Dr. B. F. Fox, an early physician, was also County Superintendent of Schools. D. Perkins Smith, a half brother of Capt. Frank W. Sams, married a niece of Mrs. Sams. He was then the telegrapher and station agent for the Atlantic and Western Railroad, the only railroad then. He became County Tax Collector in 1888 and continued in the office until his death, except for four years in the 1900's. He was succeeded by his daughter, Cornelia Smith Paul, who still holds the office.

Dr. Louis B. Bouchelle, reared in Thomasville, Ga., born in 1869 and died in 1954, came to New Smyrna in 1894, and was for many years the leading physician. He also operated a drug store. He was on the City Council for years and on the County Commission for a term, resigning in 1917 to serve in the Medical Corps during World War I. In later years he was active in real estate, and a civic and political leader in the community for more than 50 years. His wife was daughter of Sen. Frank Sams. A son, Anderson, is now active in local real estate.

The New Smyrna Beach of 1959 has an era of 16 square miles, a population of 13,594. There are four parks, with an area of 17 acres. The city has one bank, the Bank of New Smyrna, with assets of $11,025,403. There are 4,652 telephones in use. There are 21 churches, three weekly newspapers, four hotels, 51 motels, a municipal airport, two theatres, a radio station, 45 miles of paved streets, municipal waterworks, a fire department with two stations and fifteen men in the Police Department.

The municipal Golf Course and Country Club (designed by Donald Ross) is located at the west end of Wayne Avenue. The Yacht Club is a credit to the City.

Washington E. Connor of New York City first visited this area with Jay Gould in 1884. After settling here he and his wife eventually owned nearly 3,000 acres and their 450-acre Ronnoc Grove. They planted a large pecan grove. The first bridge which Mr. Connor financed was the Washington-St. Coronado Bridge, which was wrecked by a storm the year it was built. He re-

built it and in 1925 it was sold to the County. After being called the Connor Bridge it is now known as the North Bridge.

Mr. Connor's second wife was Jeannette Thurber, whom he married in 1913. Mrs. Connor became greatly interested in the early history of the area and sent to Spain for source material. She published several volumes. The Connors preserved the Old Mission; and they built, equipped, and maintained the New Smyrna Public Library. Later they presented it to the City.

Coronado Beach

In the early days before and after the Indian War the Williams and the Walkers and the Dummetts lived on the Peninsula across from New Smyrna. The United States built the first lighthouse here on the south shore. William H. Williams was to be the keeper. It was destroyed by the Seminoles early in 1836. It had never been lighted.

At the Battle of Dun-Lawton, their chief, Coacoochee, wore the reflector as a breastplate. Chas. Dummett, son of Capt. Douglas Dummet, shot himself while hunting. His grave is now in the street, south of Flagler Ave. near the river.

John Y. Detwiler came in 1883 from Toledo, O., and settled close by Dummett's Hill. He kept bees until ruined by the freeze of 1886. He became well informed on fishes and the marine resources of the State and severed several years as fish commissioner, during which time he planted 15,000,000 shad in Florida streams. The shad run is on during the winter in the Volusia section of the St. Johns. Mr. Detwiler is best known as the local historian of the New Smyrna area. He even visited Spain in his search for historical data on this area.

South of Detwiler, in 1885, Foster C. Austen took up a homestead and began a settlement which he named Coronado Beach. A postoffice was obtained a little later and a hotel built on the beach. DeLand and Lake Helen families built cottages and spent the summers here. The early hotel and some cottages burned about 1895. Another hotel on the corner of Flagler St., built later, also burned. The Flagler Ave. bridge was the first across the Hillsborough River. It was rebuilt in 1925 and again in the 1950's. A second bridge is a half mile south.

Coronado was incorporated in 1925 and is now a part of New Smyrna Beach. Bethune Beach, a Negro resort, is on Atlantic Ave., or AIA, obout eight miles south of Flagler Ave. Just beyond is Turtle Mound. Once owned by the Florida Historical Society, now belonging to the Florida State Board of Parks and Memorials. It is so named because from the River it looks like a turtle, or because in other days the sea turtles came ashore here to lay their eggs in the beach sands. It is fifty feet high and about 300 feet long. It is the most prominent landmark on the East Coast. It served as a lookout for the Indians, explorers, Spanish sailors and pirates in the early days. It is composed of oyster shells, as are the other mounds along the rivers in this area. Rare plants, not found elsewhere, grow upon it.

Hawk's Park or Edgewater

Dr. J. M. Hawks, one of the Union men of the Florida Land and Lumber Co. who came here in 1865, purchased a Spanish Land Grant two miles south of New Smyrna. By 1887 Hawk's Park was a thriving settlement. It had a hotel, a boarding house, a general store, a G.A.R. Post, a literary club, a library and a public school with 32 enrolled. There were several apiaries, 41 houses, 115 permanent residents, among whom was John P. Wilkinson, whose son, William P., was later chairman of the Board of Volusia County Commissioners and also the New Smyrna postmaster. Another early family were the Hatches. There were many fine orange groves about.

During the 1920's the town became Edgewater. The large cemetery along

U. S. I also serves New Smyrna, the old cemetery in Hawk's Park having been moved here.

South of Hawk's Park was the F. J. Packwood Place, on the Hillsborough, on a shell mound in an orange grove. The Indians had murdered a family here in 1835. In 1891 two women and two children were brutally killed here one night while Mr. Packwood was away. There were several trials but no one was ever convicted.

Across the River was Eldora, where H. H. Moeller and Major Carpenter lived, having apiaries. Others had groves and gardens. Mr. Shryock was postmaster. There was a school. Dr. Geo. M. Wallace came in 1867 but soon left Castle Windy for Daytona. Other residents went to New Smyrna to live.

Oak Hill

Oak Hill is eleven miles south of New Smyrna Beach. It is the southernmost town of Volusia County, five miles north of the head of Indian River. It is located high on the bank of the Indian River North, in an area long known as Mosquito Lagoon, where the fishing and hunting have been very good for many years.

Incorporated in 1925, its population in 1927 was 1,200. It had two churches—Baptist, White; Methodist, Colored; a public library and paved streets.

It was originally "Live Oak Hill". Here the live oak trade began. Shipyard Island lies opposite the town not far from Turtle Mound, on the opposite side of the River. In 1804 George Murray secured a Spanish Grant of land at what is now Packwood Place. James Rideout came before 1874, on the advice of Henry Ward Beecher. An early grove was put in, a home built on Rideout Hill. He became a County Commissioner in 1874. His sister married Henry S. Parker and operated a boarding house here for many years. W. C. Howes came from Massachusetts in 1876. He had a store and was postmaster for 48 years. The town had a first class hotel early and northern fishermen filled it. The first church was Congregational. The Hon. H. Seagrave Adams, assemblyman and a leading lawyer, lived here for some years. John B. Putman came from Texas in 1886, and developed a fine grove. His son, Howard A. Putnam, was the senator from Volusia County in 1927.

Bridges

Back in 1888 when Charles Dougherty was Volusia's representative in Congress he put through bills concerning three needed bridges at Crow's Bluff over the St. Johns'; at New Smyrna, to the beach; and over the Halifax River.

The Ormond Bridge, the first on the Halifax, was completed for the opening of the Hotel Ormond, January 1, 1888. It was followed in 1888 by what is today known as the Main Street Bridge, known until 1900 as the North Bridge, erected by the Daytona Bridge Co.

The South Bridge, Daytona, was erected by the Halifax River Bridge and Railway Co., begun in 1888, Charles E. Jackson, President. The incorporators were: H. P. Hand, Laurence Thompson, D. C. Balcom, T. L. Rodgers, M. Huston, and John Ball, all prominent Daytona citizens. This was wrecked by the storm of 1919. It reopened again in 1923, after being closed about a year.

In 1900 a road up Orange Island, called Ballough Road, leading to a bridge, today Seabreeze Blvd., was erected by the C. C. Posts, developers of that area. This was the Peninsular Bridge.

A bridge across the Halifax to Broadway was built by Michael Sholtz. Begun in 1912, it was completed in Sept., 1913, and condemned in Sept., 1918. It was known as the Concrete Bridge. The new Broadway or Carlton-Blank Bridge opened about 1950. Since then all Halifax River Bridges have been replaced by fine modern structures. The last, the Main St. Bridge, was dedicated in late 1959.

Port Orange erected its first bridge in 1906. S. H. Gove was the builder. A bridge over Spruce Creek, paid for by the County, was built about 1904.

High Bridge was built by Leonard B. Knox of Mound Grove, who maintained it for many years.

The Tomoka Bridge, on U. S. I, was not built until after World War I. Today the bridges on U. S. I are all new twin bridges.

New Smyrna has two bridges across the Hillsborough. The North Bridge has been replaced in recent years.

A bridge at Astor, over the St. Johns, was erected by 1926. It was to be a link in the Cross State Highway.

Several years ago a fine modern bridge replaced the old one at Crow's Bluff, and a park was established on the Volusia side with boating facilities available to fishermen and pleasure seekers.

The Volusia County Fair

Organized about 1920 in DeLand, the fair created a new interest in agriculture. The site west of the A. C. L. Railroad and on the south side of New York Avenue was given to the County by the Asa D. McBride Estate, through the son, Elmer L. of Palmyra, N. Y. Earl W. Brown, a Volusia County live-wire, was secretary of the Fair Association for years. Then it was considered one of the finest county fairs in the south. A reorganization meeting of the Fair Association held in April, 1954, made Lee R. Maxwell of DeLeon Springs, President. He succeeded G. Godfrey Dreka. The Fair was moved to the former Naval Air Station in 1956, where it is to continue.

Newspapers

The Florida Star, the first Volusia County Newspaper, was established by Charles H. Coe, an early resident of Glencoe. The first issue was on February 20, 1877. In 1880 it was moved to New Smyrna and sold to Ellis B. Wager, then moved to Titusville.

The New Smyrna Breeze, first issue, May 5, 1887, by John Y. Detwiler and L. H. Eldridge, was soon taken over by other parties, until July 1897 when J. J. Birch acquired and published it until his death in 1928.

The New Smyrna News was started June 6, 1913, by H. L. Rood and T. E. Fitzgerald. The New Smyrna Beach Observer, started Oct. 14, 1944, by T. E. Fitzgerald, was owned in 1954 by C. Winston Smith.

The first DeLand paper was the Volusia County Herald, started April, 1877, H. A. DeLand & Co. Proprietors. "Industry and Economy with Prosperity," was the goal on the masthead. Subscription $1.50 per year in advance. This was succeeded by the Florida Agriculturist in May 1878. Col. C. Codrington, who had been its editor, purchased the paper and continued publication until 1885. It was then sold to E. O. Painter.

The Orange City Times, founded by B. E. Prevatt in 1880, and The DeLeon Springs Courier were moved to DeLand in 1888, becoming The Volusia County Record, long a popular county weekly.

The Enterprise Herald was started in 1882.

The Orange Echo was started in 1883. In 1887 it was sold to Mr. DeLand, who sold it to L. H. Eldridge, who renamed it "The DeLand News." It was purchased later by Col. C. C. Codrington and was published by the family until purchased by Robert H. Gore, 1929. It became the Sun News. It is still West Volusia's only daily.

Daytona's first was the Halifax Journal, established by Florian A. Nann. The first issue, Feb. 15, 1883, was printed on muslin, as the needed paper had not yet arrived. This was long the only Republican newspaper in the State; printed on Volusia Ave., sold 1888, to J. M. Jolley, later Daytona's postmaster,

and sold on his death, 1908, to Galen B. Seaman. It was then acquired by W. W. Carter, who had long printed it. Later purchased by a stock company headed by Hugh Sparkman, it became a morning daily.

The East Coast Messenger, J. M. Osborn, editor, was established in Daytona in the later 1889's and was published a few years.

Meanwhile F. A. Mann had gone to Ormond and started the Coast Gazette, 1890, which was later taken over by L. M. Murray. He sold it and returned to Daytona to start the Daytona News.

T. E. Fitzgerald, a Wisconsin printer, purchased the News and the plant. His first issue appeared Jan. 4, 1901. The News absorbed the Gazette. In 1903 the News appeared during the winter season as a daily, with year round publication. In 1919 Mr. Fitzgerald moved his growing plant to South Beach St., the Peck Block, and then to the Coquina former bank building. In 1928, Julius and Herbert M. Davidson took over the paper and have published it since as the Evening News, The Morning Journal, revived in 1936, and the Sunday News Journal. The circulation of the combined papers in 1940 was 14,300. In 1954, they had 204 employes. In 1959, the daily circulation is 50,000 with 30,000 for Sunday.

Hospitals

The first in the County were small private hospitals, operated by a physician or surgeon. A Dr. Ball erected a sanitorium on South Beach St., Daytona, in 1883. A few years later it was a hotel. Until 1908 an ill person went to Jacksonville or to the railroad hospital in St. Augustine on a cot in a baggage car. If for a serious operation, the patient went to New York. Dr. Guy A. Klock opened a hospital on Second Ave. in 1907. Dr. C. C. Bohannon had one at 50 First Ave., Daytona, for some years after World War I. Mary McLeod Bethune started McLeod's Negro Hospital on Second Ave., as early as 1914.

During the later part of World War I Dr. Masters operated a T. B. Sanitarium in Port Orange, which continued until his death.

The growing need for hospital facilities lead to the creation of the Halifax Hospital District by the Legislature in 1925. $750,000 in Bonds were issued, and a building was completed in 1927 with 125 beds. The site was given by Mrs. H. Y. Stillman. It is run by a Board of five commissioners, appointed by the Governor of Florida.

During World War II the Government took it over for the W.A.A.C. and later for the Welch Convalescent Hospital until 1947. A hotel on South Atlantic Avenue then served as the District Hospital. The Halifax District Hospital, with additions and improvements continuing, had a daily patient average in 1949 of fifty-seven. In 1959 it is more than 299. The hospital Administrator states "It would cost $7,225,000 to replace the present facilities." A $1,500,000 central service wing is to be added next. All additional facilities have been added on a pay as you go basis. The present budget is $2,500,000.

DeLand erected St. Luke's Memorial Hospital on West Clara Ave. and Stone St. soon after World War I. Its sponsors contributed stated sums yearly. After World War I the hospital at the Naval Air Station was taken over, and the Stone St. building lay idle until 1958, when it was purchased by the County and converted into a School Administration headquarters.

Bert Fish of DeLand, who died in 1943, left his fortune to the community. He planned that hospitals be erected in DeLand, New Smyrna and Sanford. Trust funds were to be set up for each. The Fish Memorial Hospital, DeLand, fifty beds, costing $650,000, was placed on the site of the former College Arms in the center of DeLand. Maintenance comes from the West Volusia Hospital District.

A similar hospital opened in New Smyrna Beach in 1953-4, which already had the Sunny South Hospital in Edgewater.

The Osteopathic Hospital operated on South Ridgewood Avenue, Daytona Beach, for some years, then a building was erected on North Atlantic Ave., Ormond Beach, to which an addition is being made in 1959.

Schools

When Volusia County was created in 1854 there were only two settlements in the area, New Smyrna and Enterprise. There were said to be about 120 children between 5 and 18, of school age. The County Judge acted as school superintendent.

The first public school was established at New Smyrna in 1872, where the people had collected $42.00 which, with donations of material and labor, provided a one room building.

Daytona was incorporated in July, 1876. The town erected a one room hall which served as school, church and town hall. DeLand did the same in 1877. By 1881 there were thirty-four school districts and nearly 600 pupils enrolled. There was a four mill school tax. The County population was nearly 7000. Dr. B. F. Fox of New Smyrna was superintendent, 1885-88.

Miss Lucy Cross established the Daytona Institute in 1880, a private board-school, which was the only one in the State south of St. Augustine. It closed about 1925.

The DeLand Academy, which became Stetson University, was founded in 1883 and until 1900, when a high school began in Daytona, it offered the only secondary education in the county.

By 1930 many new additional buildings had been erected in Volusia Co., and 14,000 pupils rode the school buses. The County School budget was over a half million dollars. Most schools operated nine months.

In 1954 the budget was over $4,000,000 plus $42,000,000 in new buildings under construction; 639 teachers, twenty-nine elementary schools, five Junior and nine Senior High Schools.

In 1959 there were thirty-two White schools and thirteen Negro Schools. Cost per pupil per year averages $305.00.

Two Junior Colleges—Daytona Beach for Volusia, Flagler and Putnam students, and Volusia Community College (for Negroes)—opened their doors in Daytona Beach in 1958. Their budget was $442,791.

Volusia has had an outstanding County School Superintendent in Geo. W. Marks who came to Daytona High in 1914. He became County Superintendent in 1923 and served until January 1, 1958.

Racing On The World's Most Famous Beach

The story of Automobile Racing is a part of the history of Daytona Beach. The first car to come here came in 1898. Henry H. Thorpe, a pioneer manufacturer of printing presses, an early South Peninsula, resident, the owner, was to die ten years later from injuries received when his car went through the bridge and into the river. Soon the young doctors were getting about in their tiny cars. J. F. Hathaway, of Somerville, Mass., who visited the Hotel Ormond winters, brought his car and found driving on the beach entrancing. The first beach race course was between Ormond and Daytona. Notices had gone out through the Hotel Ormond and Florida East Coast Railway news items, so that today Ormond Beach claims to be the Birthplace of Speed Car Racing.

The Florida East Coast Automobile Association was organized in 1903 for the promotion of racing. C. G. Burgoyne was the first president, succeeded by Edward M. Steck of Philadelphia, a winter resident. A club house was erected in 1904,

just north of Silver Beach Ave., on the dune, where races either began or ended. The members numbered 200, including W. H. Vanderbilt, H. M. Flagler, Howard Gould and John Jacob Astor. The first meeting was held March 26, 1903. In 1904 Vanderbilt in his Mercedes set a record with his mile in 39 seconds before a large attendance of amateur drivers. A big meet took place in 1905. Practically every manufacturer or driver of any importance was on the beach. H. L. Bowden, also in a Mercedes, in 1905 made it in 34:40. In 1906, Fred H. Marriott in a Stanley Steamer made it in 28:20. This stood until 1910 when Barney Oldfield, in a Benz, lowered it to 27:33. The next year in the same car Bob Burman made it in 25:40. This record was to stand for eight years, until 1919, when Ralph DePalma, in a Packard, cut it to 24:02. In 1920 Tommy Milton, in a Deusenberg, cut it to 23:07. There was quiet along the ocean front until Henry Segrave arrived in 1927 with his Mystery S.—the Sunbeam. The record then made was 203 miles per hour, doing a little better in 1929.

Sir Malcolm Campbell appeared in 1931—through 1935, in his Bluebird. He made 276.73 miles per hour in 1935. The Bluebird is now the chief exhibit of William Tuthill's Museum of Speed on U.S. I in South Daytona.

After World War II stock car racing under William France and NASCAR was established on the beach and the adjacent highway until 1957. Motorcycle racing was featured each spring. With the continued growth of the area racing became too dangerous. The Daytona International Speedway Corporation, headed by Bill France, was able to open early in 1959 the fine $3,000,000 speedway on Route 92 West of Daytona Beach. This is proving to be very speedy and popular. There are seats for 30,000; parking for 35,000 cars.

Nearby are the Daytona Kennel Club and the Volusia Jai Alai Fronton.

Conclusion

Volusia County's population increased from 48,180 in 1928 to 113,100 in 1959. This was an increase of 52.4 since 1950, according to figures of the Florida Bureau of Economic and Business Research. Volusia County is rich in natural resources and wild life, and timber and naval stores are still a part of the County's revenue. The timber lands are protected by the County Forestry Unit with headquarters at DeLeon Springs.

A number of people make a good living raising poultry, and cattle and dairy products are second only to citrus. Volusia County's 14,000 acres planted in vegetables bring in over a half million dollars yearly. About half of the citrus crop of the county, or 7,250 acres, is produced along the coast. The State of Florida has every right to be proud of Volusia County.

CHAPTER XXI

BREVARD COUNTY

By Ada Coats Williams

THE PRESENT BREVARD County was once a part of Mosquito County, one of the seven counties into which the State was divided by the act of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, as approved November 23, 1828.

The growth and development of Brevard County, home of the famous Indian River citrus fruit, dates back before the Civil War. The history of settlements and attempts by the Spaniards to establish permanent forts for the protection and refuge of ship-wrecked sailors and soldiers, dates back to 1565.

At this time the Spaniards were using the Florida Straits as a route for their treasure ships. Menendez, an explorer and soldier, first made a settlement for establishing a blockhouse at the north end of the Indian River. These men worked their way down to the southern part of the river and from them we have a record of the nature of the Indians, a description of the land and wild-life, as well as the climate.

Unfriendly Indians discouraged all attempts to settle this River Country. In 1828, this section now known as Brevard County was Mosquito County. It was bounded by St. Johns County on the north, the Atlantic Ocean on the east, Monroe County on the south, and by the Indian boundary line and Alachua County on the west.

Indian hostilities made the keeping of records a problem. Enterprise was made the county seat, and the records were kept there.

It was during these early years that a settler was to begin an industry that was destined to make the Indian River section famous the world over. This man was Douglas Dummitt, and to him is given the credit for establishing a citrus grove that became the parent of the famous Indian River brand of citrus, and fathering the citrus industry for which the entire State of Florida has become famous.

The history of the Dummitt family, like that of the section in which they settled, is filled with romance and adventure.

Colonel Thomas H. Dummitt, father of Douglas, had been a wealthy planter on the island of Barbados when an uprising occurred and he fled to America. He was smuggled on board a ship and hid in a sugar cask, to save his life.

The Dummitts lived in Connecticut for six years, then were persuaded to move to Florida by a visiting Spanish gentleman. His description of the mild tropical climate appealed to the tropic-born Dummitts much more than the long cold winters of New England.

A St. Augustine publication, the "East Florida Herald" of February, 1825, carried the following news item:

"Colonel Dummitt, late of Barbados, has purchased the plantation of Messrs. John Addison and Bunch at Tomoka, and their negroes, about ninety. He intends to put on it about 100 more and direct his attention to the rigorous cultivation of the cane and manufacture of sugar."

Col. Dummitt built a large log home for his family and built his cane mills of coquina rock. His cane plantation was thriving when he was forced to abandon it and seek refuge in St. Augustine because of raids by the Indians and the start of the Indian Wars.

Miss Anna Dummitt, one of Colonel Dummitt's eleven children, wrote the following description of their plantation life in Florida:

"The old log house, our home, stood in the center of a large yard, green with Bermuda grass. The house was thatched with palmetto and shaded by moss-draped trees . . . There was the old-fashioned wine cooler, made of solid mahogany and bound with brass . . . the claw-footed tables, dark with age and shining with elbow-grease . . . the family portraits hanging on the walls . . . the heavy silver on the buffet, such are my recollections of our early home in Florida.

"In addition to our negroes, the Indians, some forty in number, would sometimes work for us during the grinding season, which is a busy time of the year on a sugar plantation . . . The Indians were always on and around the plantation. They supplied us with game and were always glad to get sugar or clothing in exchange. They were glad to get silver but would never receive paper money. They would always help themselves to molasses or cane, but this was done openly, and we never knew them to steal anything but a small piece of lead pipe which which projected from the distillery."

Douglas D. Dummitt is said to have smelled the orange blossoms growing on sour orange trees on Meritt Island as he sailed up the coast to his father's new sugar cane plantation. That was 1807, and "as the sweet perfume of the blossoms was borne across the water to him, he swore that he would one day own the property there and set out a grove."

At the age of twenty-three, young Douglas went forth to purchase the property. He found the sour orange seedlings, which he believed the Spanish had set out purely for decorative purposes during the days of Spanish occupation.

Eventually, he established a home there on what later became known as the Dummitt Grove. He began a careful and scientific propagation of a rare and perfect variety of fruit—an orange known by the early trade name of "Dummitts," and later called "Indian River Orange."

Andrew Jackson, an old slave from Savannah, Georgia, who worked for Dummitt in 1866, said Mr. Dummitt got his first bud wood from a Mr. Jones who lived near Port Orange.

The old Jones grove trees were killed by the frost of 1835. From the bud wood Mr. Dummitt obtained from Mr. Jones came the beginning of the old Indian River variety of orange that has been planted so extensively along the east coast of Florida. Thousands of trees set out in what later became known as Brevard County were budded from bud wood taken from those old Dummitt Grove trees.

In 1828 young Dummitt was shipping his first fruit commercially. His methods of shipment were very primitive compared to methods used by citrus growers today. He had to use large canoes, made from cypress logs (known as Indian dugout canoes), which were poled up the Indian River by negro slaves.

The fact that the Dummitt grove escaped the killing 1835 freeze was due to its fortunate location. It was located between the Indian Lagoon and Dummitt Creek, and was protected from mercury drops by he Indian and Banana Rivers and the Atlantic Ocean.

When Dummitt died in 1872, he left each slave his own plot of ground, but the grove was left intact. The seven acres of oranges became the property of an Italian nobleman, the Duc Di Castellucia. He cleared and developed the estate to an extent of thirty acres and built a very large and unusual home. This dwelling was to become known in the area as the Duke's Castle. The "Castle" is still standing and is said to have twenty rooms, most of which are octagonal in shape. The owner believed this shape would be better able to withstand the force of the gales and hurricanes.

The lumber for this immense dwelling was obtained as driftwood when a ship went aground near Daytona Beach. This was the manner in which most of the

early settlers procured lumber if any was used other than native palmetto cabbage logs.

Ship beams served as corner uprights and as siding for two narrow spiral staircases, winding to the attic door. Beneath one of these staircases is the signature of the architect, written in pencil in a small niche. It reads the name of J. J. Conwar, of New York, and is dated as completed, December 1881.

To this imposing home in an unsettled tropical wilderness the Duke brought his American bride, who was the daughter of a St. Louis beer baron. The marriage resulted in numerous quarrels, so the Duke built a partition directly through the middle of the house. On one side the Duchess lived with her servants, while the Duke lived on the other. It was rumored that there they continued to live in the lonely wilderness in the divided house, and neither spoke to the other. The Duke died in 1892.

At the height of Dummitt's citrus activity, the territory now known as Brevard was changed to St. Lucie in the year 1844. Court was held at the home of John Cleveland on South Merritt Island. Later, Susannah, now named Ft. Pierce, was the county seat.

In 1855 the boundaries and name of the county were changed once again, and it received its present name—that of Brevard.

No one is positive as to why the county was named Brevard, but one favorite source says that it was named for Dr. Brevard, who is said to be the author of the Mecklenberg County, North Carolina, Declaration of Independence.

The Honorable H. S. Williams, who served two terms as Senator of Brevard County and who was the first to settle and name Rockledge, spoke humorously of the early days of the county, when he addressed the annual meeting and celebration at Oleander Point, May 1, 1890:

"We had a county but no county seat, so some of our ambitious politicians determined to have one. At that time the cattlemen west of the St. Johns were in a majority, so they located it somewhere in the woods near Kissimmee, some forty miles beyond Lake Winder. Having a county seat, we must have a court house, and after that was built, the next thing was to have court. With 'all the pomp and glorious circumstance' of the occasion, the Judge ordered court. Our sheriff, taking a natural pride in its success, and wanting to make a big show of the occasion, subpoenaed every man in the county; at all events, all on Indian River.

"We had troubles before of a very serious nature, but nothing to compare to this. We might get to Jacksonville, for we could take a boat and sail down the St. Johns river, but to get to Lake View? Why it was worse than a summons to go to New York! Only one man on the river went and the Judge took occasion to compliment him by saying he was glad to know there was one honest, law-abiding citizen on Indian River. A few days afterward it was rumored that the Sheriff was in the neighborhood, and we all took to the scrub or went hunting down in the Narrows; we were safe in either place."

At that time it was not just a great undertaking to travel from the coast into the interior, but all travel and communicaion along the Indian River was difficult and limited. There were no road or railways and the river was their only tie with the outside world. It was a super-highway, completely lacking in toll gates and blinker lights. All travel was adapted to the mood of the winds and water. When the wind blew they traveled, and when it ceased, the early settlers were forced to pause also. Those were the days when a man's approach and arrival were heralded by the cut and rig of his sail. No lady fair was caught with her hair in pin-curlers, for the sail could be sighted far enough away that she could leisurely attire herself for her "unexpected" visitor.

In 1888, Mr. Williams prepared a pamphlet, along with several men of prominence, by the authority of the county commissioners of Brevard County. It was

to be used to boost the county at the opening of the Sub-Tropical Exposition that year at Jacksonville. He sets forth the early history of the county thusly.

"In 1879 the southern part of Volusia County was added to Brevard, and soon after Titusville was selected as the county seat, at which time the full and efficient organization of the county was made by the appointment of a full set of county officials. For the first time in our history, taxes were sytematically collected."

Titusville, the county seat of Brevard County, was founded by Colonel Henry T. Titus for whom it was named. He was a soldier of fortune and the Civil War found Col. Titus selling supplies to the Confederate Army. When the war was over, he setttled on the east coast of Florida where he built the "Titus House," known as "one of the finest combinations of saloons and hotels on the east coast of Florida."

The community of Titusville had been known as Sand Point, but when Col. Titus became the postmaster he had the post office station changed to Titusville. He also worked hard to help make Titusville the county seat.

In 1888 Brevard was a very long county, extending from the northern boundary line of township 20, to and including township 37, south a distance of 108 miles.

"The whole of the celebrated Indian River is embraced in this county, with the exception of about twenty miles to the south of St. Lucie River, known as Jupiter Narrows."

Mr. H. S. Williams was well qualified to write the early history of this county of Brevard, for he helped to make it. He kept a journal as he traveled from Alabama to Florida alone, except for his mule and buckboard and his dog companion, Jeff.

River Steamers Inaugurated

In the 1880's a regular line of steamer traffic was inaugurated on the Indian River. It was the upper St. Johns river and Lake Poinsett route, with a semi-weekly line of steamers put on from Sanford up. This began a period of improvement and prosperity for the river country. From that service of steamers can be dated the beginning of the tourist travel on the river. The Indian River country was no longer an unknown territory to the outside world. One of the greatest advantages of this route, according to the pioneers, was that one could know when he would arrive and when he could leave.

By 1890, Senator H. S. Williams related: "Our shipments of fruits and vegetables and freights were generally satisfactory. New settlers of means came in to help us build up the waste places, and now as the year 1890 fairly opens up to us, we can point to a railroad tapping our river, a fleet of steamers traversing its broad bosom, hotels ornamenting its lovely banks, a daily mail service and telegraphic communication 'in season' as they say of table delicacies in their hotel ads. Why, but a few years ago the news was a week old when we received it; now we know all the important transactions of the whole civilized world of the day before."

Pink Paper—Pioneer Newspaper

The earliest settlers along these waters did not know the luxury of lingering over a cup of coffee as they read the morning news; nor did the man of the house have the privilege of turning the knob of his radio or television set to catch the early newscast on his way to work, for his horse and wagon, his saddlle, or his sailboat was not equipped with such. In the early days, before the steamers plied the Indian River, once a month a newspaper was published in Titusville. It was delivered with the mail, and was printed on a single sheet of pink paper from whence it got its name. The news the "Pink Paper" contained was of interest to settlers the entire length of the river, for all settlers living south of Titusville had to stop there for an interval before making the trip down the coast. In the middle 1880's the population numbered but a few families and each was cordial to the other and vitally interested in all happenings of the river country.

The original publication, the "Pink Paper", is still in existence and is now known as the Titusville Star Advocate.

This publication has been recording and commenting on the news of the river country for over seventy-five years and boasts of being the oldest semi-weekly in the great State of Florida. In observance of its seventy-fifth anniversary, the publishers printed an anniversary edition and reprinted articles from many of its earliest issues.

Found therein is the fact that Titusville, the county seat of Brevard county, has the distinction of being the first town to incorporate along the Indian River. This was done in 1886 by a vote of 58 to 2 in favor of incorporation. This took place in the days when only the male residents were eligible to vote.

Contributors to this early newspaper described this Indian River area as a veritable paradise. One could row out into the river at night, place a lighted lantern in the bottom of the boat, and in a few minutes enough mullet would have jumped into the bottom of the boat to supply the lantern fisherman and all of his neighbors with a bountiful supply of fish.

One news account related the story of the third large panther killed in that area in just a few day's time. The last one measured seven feet, three inches from nose to tail. It was a common sight to see bears crossing the paths of the settlers or swimming across the river as one sailed down it. Deer and quail were plentiful, as were turkeys, and hundreds of ducks were on the river. In those days the hunter was not bothered by requirements for a license or limited by quotas.

Social Life

The early settlers were not lacking in social life. There were accounts of Policemens' Balls, church socials, box suppers, cake walks, dances, dramatic productions, and sailing parties and picnics on the river. The housewife could turn to a column containing helpful household hints. It was suggested that she rub a cut with burning wool in order to prevent lock-jaw, or to keep a section of lemon handy in her kitchen to rub over her hands to remove food stains.

There were no daily weather reports, and the early newspaper recorded conditions thusly: "The weather has turned warm enough that overcoats will not again be needed until next winter," or "Mother Nature has felt the call of the young citrus trees and has sent them sufficient rainfall.

Freeze Killed Citrus

In December 1894 the Titusville Star Advocate recorded the weather on the front page. "The cold wave of last Saturday breaks the record. The loss is almost incalculable, lowest temperatures uniformly known all over the State since the freeze of 1835."

Men still talk of the devastating freezes of Dec. 24 and 28, 1894; and Feb. 6, 1895. Until that time the Indian River fruit was grown commercially only as far down as the Rockledge area. In December the fruit was frozen on the trees, and in February even the trees were killed. Entire groves had to be chopped down, with the orange wood (usually hard wood) being shipped north to be made into chisel handles and mallet heads. One can imagine the tradegy of this to the men and women who had struggled and lived so frugally, clearing a tropical wilderness with only their hands and hoes, waiting those lean years until their trees could reach maturity and bear fruit for their labors. The benefits of their self-denial and fruition of their years of work had been so short for the sacrifice given. Yet the great majority of these pioneer folk remained, and once again looked to the future, as they tightened their belts, rolled up their sleeves, and with the help of their neighbors and a faith in this river country and their God, started anew to carve out a livelihood for themselves and their families. From such courage and faith was

this country of Brevard established, and from such stock grew the men and women who planned her development and progress.

The late Robert Ransom, who served as the first Clerk of the County of Brevard, gave a typical pioneer's reaction to the hardships of the life of an Indian River pioneer as he reminisced about the early days:

"I have often been asked if we didn't suffer great hardships in those days. I don't believe we did. I could buy two big fat mullet from Captain Joe Smith's fish house, all scaled and cleaned, for a nickel, and all the oysters I could eat for twenty-five cents. Sometimes night would overtake me in my sailboat (our only means of transportation on the river). There would not be a breath of air to stir my sails, so I would lie down in the bottom of the boat, sleep like a top all night, and sail home with the morning breeze to breakfast.

"To sit on a man's porch, surrounded by trees full of ripening oranges and look out on the beautiful blue river was dreamland itself . . . and the sweet 'doing of nothing' was emblematic of the paradise I expect to inhabit during millenial times. It didn't take much of a cash outlay to come into the world or to leave it in those days. The neighbors all came around and helped.

"The ducks were plentiful on the river. It was a common thing to see great rafts of ducks, five hundred acres in extent, packed as close as they could swim.

"We had an organization called the 'Sons of Rest.' Anyone of the members caught 'sweating' was fined a quarter, and at the end of each month this was sufficient to buy a pair of overalls which was presented to the one who could positively state that he had not worked that month. A single man could almost live down here without working, for fish and game were plentiful, there were no game laws, and there were very little taxes to pay."

This pioneer newspaper which was at first delivered once a month by boat to the early settlers was the only source of news for them in those days, and is the only regularly kept recorded history of those times for us today. The files of this little paper are kept in the vaults of the University of Florida library, where they serve as a history and a diary of the Indian River area and the infancy of Brevard County.

Railway Came to Brevard

The establishment of regular trips of steamers on the river started Brevard county solling economically; the coming of the railway into the territory insured its continued growth and prosperity.

It was on February 6th, 1893, that Flagler's first train rolled into Titusville, and by February Cocoa and Rockledge were excitedly welcoming the huge steam-puffing "horse." Few of the settlers thought they would live to see the day when the railway would run past St. Augustine, so the pushing of the line farther south was indeed a time for celebration.

Flagler's reputation for being the "Fabulous one" was well founded in the eyes of the pioneers. In less than a year they had witnessed the building and putting into use of over eighty miles of railway.

This meant better and faster facilities for the transportation of citrus and vegetables. It meant an easier and more comfortable mode of transportation into and out of the area. It meant the opportunity to order and receive goods and supplies to make pioneer living more comfortable and luxurious. Investors and developers began flocking into this area.

By June, 1893, the railway had been extended to Eau Gallie, and by 1894, trains were running to Ft. Pierce which was at the lower end of Brevard County. Flagler set his sights next to Palm Beach, so by January of 1894, one could travel the entire length of Brevard County by rail.

Grateful citizens in the Eau Gallie area gave a banquet in honor of Flagler and his railway. Everyone for miles around attended, including many lone pioneer backwoodsmen.

One of these hardy souls dressed in his best came out from his cabin and trapping to attend the banquet. It has been related that he watched and tasted in wonder and, at times, in amazement and disgust the fancy dishes passed to tempt his appetite. This old pioneer was used to eating his own simple bill of fare, cooked over an open fire, and consisting mostly of cow peas, greens, salt pork and grits.

He nibbled the avocado, the hearts of lettuce, the celery, watching and eating as the others did. Next a large platter of freshly cooked pink shrimp was passed, still in the shell, and as the platter was offered to him, he passed it by, commenting, "No thankee, I've et your grass, but I'll be gol'darn if I'll eat your grasshoppers!"

Brevard County is known today as the fastest growing county in the State of Florida. The county seat has always been an important location on the lower coast of the state. Titusville, located at the head of the Indian River, was a flourishing port as early as the 1880's, when a wooden-tracked railroad, powered by mules, carried goods as far inland as Sanford.

The county is much smaller now than at the time of its creation, being about twenty miles wide and extending about seventy miles in length. Spread out as the county still is, however, its sources of income are widely diversified.

In Melbourne, the main industries are tourism, truck farming, gladioli blossoms, cattle raising and citrus growing. In Titusville, the industries are cattle, agriculture, citrus, boat building, commercial fishing, and commercial production of sand and rock.

Cocoa

According to authentic accounts, the first house built in Cocoa was erected by B. C. Willard in 1881 or '82, where he and his brother conducted a general store.

This community was first named "Indian River City" but the name was not acceptable to the United States Postal authorities who claimed it was too long for use as a postmark. It is surprising how much the U. S. Postal department had to do with the names of our many Florida cities. The beauty or appropriateness counted for naught; rather it was the brevity of the name that appealed to the Postal authorities and determined the final selection.

It was in the Willard store that first news of this decision caused much comment among the citizens as they gathered at their usual meeting place. The name Cocoa was chosen from a box of Baker's chocolate that had just been brought in with the freight. William B. Smith was the first postmaster of the new community, and he served as the editor and publisher of the first newspaper as well. This paper was called the Indian River Mirror.

Cocoa began to receive many tourists, such as hunters, sports-fishermen and prospective developers. To accomodate these tourists, William Jarvis built the Delmonica Restaurant opposite the Willard Store. It had six sleeping rooms over it that could be rented. By 1886 Cocoa could boast two hotels, one Episcopal church, and two colored churches.

Rockledge

Rockledge, originally spelled "Rock Ledge", was the oldest winter resort on the East Coast of Florida. It was established around 1873, a short distance south of Cocoa, and was named for the ledges of coquina rock that jut out along the Indian River.

The following was a description written by H. S. Williams as he described Rock Ledge in 1889 in his booklet "Indian River Country".

"Rock Ledge is most beautifully situated on the west bank of Indian River, in township 25 south. It is noted for its excellent health, its flourishing orange groves, and the superior quality of fruit."

In 1873 one could walk its entire length, following an almost imperceptible trail along the river bank, and there were only two permanent improvements. Nearly the

whole river front was then for sale at ten dolars per acre, which was considered high. Several families came in about that time, and improvements were made rapidly. The hardships, privations, and toils of those days would have made an interesting chapter, counter-balanced as they were by robust health and an independent life, and the always successful pleasure of hunting and fishing.

"Put your frying-pan over the fire with the lard in it first," said an old settler, "then catch your fish."

"Out of meat!" the good housewife would say at noon, and at dark a fat saddle of venison would hang on the palmettoes.

The first postoffice was established in September 1876 in a log cabin, with H. S. Williams as the first postmaster. Even before the coming of Flagler's railway which had its southernmost terminal at Rockledge for some years, two large hotels were built to care for the rapidly expanding tourist business. They were the Indian Rever Hotel, with rooms for 400 guests, and the Plaza Hotel which could accomodate 300 guests. There was an excellent steamer service from Titusville which connected with the railroad service northward, and delivered passengers and mail to the dock in front of the two hotels. Passengers also came by way of the St. Johns River from Sanford, landing at Poinsett Landing, then traveling by hack at a cost of fifty cents from the streamer landing. By 1886, Rockledge had three stores, two hotels, two saw mills, two schools and one church. The Hardee Coach provided hourly service between Cocoa and Rockledge.

Rockledge was a hammock three miles long by an average width of half-a-mile, and was one continuous orange grove in those early days. The Indian River was reported to be a full mile in width at that point.

In that year of 1886 the north end of Brevard county experienced a freeze that did a great deal of damage, but was not as disastrous as that to come later in 1895.

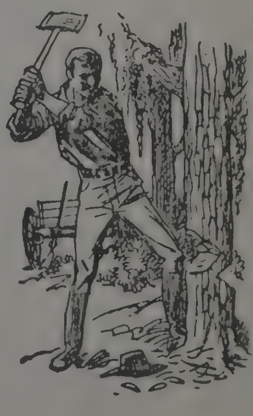
Merritt Island

In 1868, T. H. Sanders and W. R. Sanders, two brothers, brought their families from Georgia and built homes near Indianola on Merritt Island. A short time later two more brothers, J. R. and Sam J. Sanders, followed. The six LaRoche brothers settled at Courtenay. The Riverview Hotel, built in 1880 by Samuel J. Frost as a boarding house, was purchased by Thomas Nevins and opened as a modern hotel of fifty rooms in 1891. The primary economy of the island was based on cattle, pineapples, sugar cane, and later, citrus. The settlers traded with the Indians who came to the Island by boat, and with other settlements up and down the river which could be reached only by sailboat, including Sand Point, (which later became Titusville), Sharpes, and Williams Point. Before the establishment of Cocoa, Titusville (called Sand Point) was the nearest center of shopping and could be reached by steamer or sailboat. From Titusville, the goods produced on Merritt Island would be shipped by rail to northern cities, or go by boat to Savannah and Charleston.

Cocoa Beach

The first bridge across the Banana River from Merritt Island was completed in 1923. Prior to that time the only access was by boat. In 1925, Cocoa Beach was incorporated as a town, with Gus C. Edwards as its first mayor. In 1926, the post office was created with Agnes Jennings as the first post mistress.

In 1957, the City of Cocoa Beach was incorporated by change in the charter. In October, 1940, the Banana River Naval Air Station was opened just south of Cocoa Beach. This station was transferred to the Air Force in 1948 and renamed Patrick Air Force Base in honor of Major General Mason M. Patrick, former Chief of the Army Air Service, who died in 1942. The Logistical and Administrative center of the Air Force Missile Test Center is located here. The



first launching from Cape Canaveral took place here on July 24, 1950, with the firing of a German V-2 rocket carrying the American WAC Corporal Missile.

Additional Communities of Brevard in 1889

There were many communities in the "Indian River-long" county of Brevard in 1889 before the county was split to form other counties. Some of these communities are no longer in existence, but for the historical record it is good to list them. In addition to those which have already been given, there were: Georgiana, located on the Indian River side of Merritt Island, twenty-five miles south of Titusville; Horti, located east of Georgiana and separated from it by the Banana River; Brantley, situated on Meritt Island about ten miles south of Rock Ledge; Tropic, which embraced all tha part of Merritt Island south of Brantley, and ranked next to Eden in the shipment of pineapples; Eau Gallie, forty miles south of Titusville and settled by English and Canadian families; Melbourne, located four miles below the junction of the Indian and Banana Rivers on a bluff about twenty feet above the river, and in 1889 was the southern terminus of the tri-weekly route; Tillman, which was located at the mouth of Turkey Creek, on the Indian River, three miles south of Melbourne; Malabar, forty-eight miles south of Titusville; Micco, fifty-eight miles south of Titusville; Sebastian, some sixty miles south of Titusville, deriving its name from the St. Sebastian River; Orchid, an island situated between the Indian River and the ocean on which were rich hammock lands; Enos, which was in the Narrows between Orchid and the Narrows post office, twenty miles north of the old Indian River Inlet; Narrows, about eight miles long, formed by numerous islands in the Indian River; St. Lucie, situated nearly opposite the old Indian River Inlet and one of the oldest settlements on the river; Ft. Pierce, named for the old United States Fort of that name; Eden, a little below Ft. Pierce and the pineapple capital of the State; Ankona, some sixteen miles south of the old Indian River Inlet; and Fort Drum, which was located about twenty-five miles west of St. Lucie.

Of all these communities, today the county of Brevard ends with Sebastian, with the others now being included in the counties of Indian River, St. Lucie, and Martin.

Canaveral, Symbol of Protection

In our present day race for world leadership in weapons of war, with the frenzied endeavor to make larger and more perfect intercontinental missiles and rocket ships to explore outer space, a small community on the East Coast of Florida has become illuminated in the eyes of the nation. It has also become important to heads of state in every nation in the world, for Cape Canaveral, with the neighboring Patrick Air Force Base, has become one of this nation's most important missile launching bases, and represents to America at large a point of defense and safety.

This is not the first era in which Canaveral has been such a representative. Back as far as 1843, this point along the coast was a place of protection and safety for seafaring men and the vessels they sailed along these coastal waters.

Cape Canaveral Lighthouse

For many years these waters of the Indian River and the vast ocean to the east of her were the only means of transportation up and down the coast. Before the day of radio communications and the establishment of Coast Guard Stations, the lighthouses played a most important role. They guided the seafarer and led him to safe and protected waters.

One of the first lighthouses built along our coast was at Cape Canaveral. It was constructed of good substantial brick in a period some time between 1843 and

1847, and was equipped with a large revolving light. This first light was created by burning whale oil.

Robert Ranson of St. Augustine, Florida, recorded a history of that lighthouse and one of its early keepers. He records that a Captain Mills Burnham, one of the first settlers at Ankona who came down the river with the Indian River Colony of the Armed Occupation Act, was appointed keeper of the house six years after its construction in 1843. He moved his family here and started a life that was to be filled with hardships and excitement.

Captain Burnham found some sour orange trees in a single hammock about four miles from the lighthouse on Banana River. He started budding these trees with various kinds of citrus fruits. Aside from this hobby, and the hunting and fishing that were a part of every pioneer's daily life, he and his family truly led the life of the "Lonely Lighthouse Keeper." Their neighbors were few and greatly scattered. The nearest point of supplies was the town of Enterprise on Lake Monroe, opposite to where Sanford is now located.

To reach this point of supply, the Burnhams had to go by sailboat to Sand Point, the present location of Titusville, then through prairies and swamps and pine woods. Needless to say, Mrs. Burnham did not belong to a weekly bridge club, nor did the family go to town every Saturday for entertainment and shopping.

As the Burnham family lived in a lonely but tranquil atmosphere, elsewhere in the nation hostilities were giving birth to incidences that were to result in the War Between the States. The fortunes of this little family were greatly affected.

Canaveral Lighthouse Dismantled

The secretary of the Confederate Navy ordered all the lighthouses on the southern coasts to be discontinued. This order was issued so that the lighthouses could not aid the Federal ships in bringing troops down into the area and landing them in strategic locations. Very little mention is made in history books about the part our state of Florida played in the Civil War, for at that time there were very few settlers south of Titusville. Florida did participate, and one of its greatest contributions was in growing food for the men and horses and mules. Because of the mild climate, fruits and vegetables could be grown the year around. This was of great importance before the days of frozen and dehydrated foods.

Captain Burnham, following the orders of his Confederate Government, dismantled the tower, took down the lamps, the clockwork and mechanism, and packed them in wooden cases. He then carried them over to his orange grove, which consisted of some fifteen acres, and buried them there.

Canaveral Lighthouse Recommissioned

After the end of the war in 1865, Captain Burnham dug up the lighthouse equipment and turned it over to the United States Government officials in good order. He was highly commended by the officials for his careful handling of the government property.

In 1868 new mechanisms were installed in the Cape Canaveral Lighthouse. These new mechanisms had been made in France. The light was now a more brilliant one, for kerosene was used in place of the old type whale oil fuel.

Mail was delivered when someone happened to be passing by, monthly or weekly at the most often. The families were completely lacking in medical aid in time of sickness or accident, yet the lighthouses never went untended. Captain Burnham remained as keeper of the Cape Canaveral Lighthouse until his death. He served it well, through war and peace, for thirty years. It was in that year that he celebrated his golden wedding anniversary that he was to die in service as its keeper.

The lighthouse at Cape Canaveral still stands, flashing its light day and night to the men at sea. Today it is manned by stalwart young men of the Coast Guard, and is equipped with the latest in radio and other scientific equipment. It is no longer an isolated station, but is in the center of one of the United States Government's most important bases.

In one way it remains the same, however, as it did in the pre-Civil War days with Captain Burnham as keeper. With each shaft of light it sends to the ships at sea, it establishes a tie with the men on board and the keepers of the house. It is a symbol of concern by the men on shore for the men at sea, and it guides the seafarers still to safe and protected waters.

This tall structure has remained staunchly at its post during our most severe hurricanes. It has been a witness to the joys and tragedies of the men who have lived there. It has kept secret the story of their personal lives and has kept the records of its appointed assignment. It is a structure of history and romance and stands as a guard of honor, looking down on the final resting place of one of its most devoted keepers, Captain Mills Burnham, a man who lived, served, and died in the service of the lighthouse.

Cape Canaveral—Missile Base

Today, Cape Canaveral is still serving as a base of operations for safety. Its scope has increased from just the safety of the seafarers to that of the entire nation and the freedom loving peoples of the world. The historic lighthouse is a witness to the many important government activities now being tested at the Cape.

A directory and guide published by the Patrick Air Force Base explains how Cape Canaveral became the site of these important tests.

"Despite the post-war cut-back of the nation's military forces the Joint Chiefs of Staff were determined to develop a U. S. missile capability. In October, 1946, a committe on a Long-Range Proving Ground was appointed to study possible missile launching sites and ranges. For reasons of security and economy, a launch site within the Continental United States was desired.

"On-site surveys were made by the Committee at the most promising locations. After thorough examination of the recommended areas, the Committee selected Cape Canaveral, Florida, as the best location for a long-range missile launching site, with a proposed flight test range to extend in a southeasterly direction over the Atlantic Ocean."

The very isolation that made the pioneer lighthouse keeper's life such a lonely one was one of the major factors that influenced the government to settle on Cape Canaveral as the best location for the missile site. Another influencing factor was that the government already owned portions of the cape and this together with the fact that it was still relatively uninhabited and undeveloped would make the financing of such a project lower than one that was developed in home and business sites. The isolation meant that safety and security costs would be relatively low, and the facilities of Banana River Naval Air Station were available nearby for use as the logistic and administrative support headquarters for the operations at the Cape.

Beyond the many advantages offered by Cape Canaveral itself, the over-water flight range potential from there was an important determining factor in the selection of the site. Long-range missle flights were possible over an area that was relatively free from major world shipping lanes and any groups of inhabited land masses. The islands of the West Indies and the South Atlantic offered ideal locations for the permanent station needed to track missile flights and record vital performance information.

On July 8, 1947, the newly created Department of the Air Force was charged

with the development of the Cape and range. An executive group was appointed, composed of representatives of all branches of the services, and headed by Air Force Brig. Gen. William L. Richardson. This group had to negotiate with the British Government for approval to construct missile tracking stations on various British-controlled islands in the West Indies. In February, 1949, an agreement with the Governor General of the Bahamas was reached for the construction of the first tracking station. By May of the same year, the Congressional legislation was passed and signed by the President.

Missile Tests Started

The first missile launching from Cape Canaveral occurred on July 24, 1950, when a German V-2 rocket carrying a second stage Army WAC Corporal missile in its nose was successfully launched. The following month, the Banana River Naval Air Station was formally dedicated as Patrick Air Force Base in honor of Major General Mason M. Patrick, Chief of the Army Air Corps from 1921 to 1927.

By June, 1951, the Matador was launched. It became the Air Force's first operational surface-to-surface missile.

By 1957, agreements had been reached with Great Britain, the Dominican Republic, and Brazil for the establishment of all twelve of today's major tracking stations. In addition, a number of ocean-range vessels were modified to serve as floating telemetry stations between the tracking station of St. Lucia Island and the terminal point of the Atlantic Missile Range, Ascension Island.

It has been the policy of the Air Force to use private enterprise for specialized non-military operations. In line with this policy, bids were requested in 1954 for operation of the Missile Test Range. Pan American World Airways received the contract. It, in turn, subcontracted with the Radio Corporation of America for the technical work involved in operation and maintenance of the range.

Air Force Missile Test Center Today

Today, from Patrick Air Force Base, the Air Force Missile Test Center controls an extremely complex operation that includes Cape Canaveral, 12 subsidiary telemetry and camera sites in Florida, and the 11 island stations of the Atlantic Missile Range. This Missile Center maintains eleven airfields, a small fleet of ocean range vessels, and more than forty aircraft are needed to support the missile test missions. The Center's monthly payroll averages over $14,000,000.

The Center does not build missiles; it flight tests them. The instant a missile is launched from Cape Canaveral, the Center's most important job begins. Missile flight data is painstakingly gathered from launching through impact in the Atlantic. This includes both still and motion pictures, comprehensive telemetry data, and in some instances, recovery of missile components from the ocean bottom for analysis.

All of the information obtained is rushed to the Technical Laboratory at Patrick Air Force Base. Inside this $7,000,000 building with its 445,000 square feet of floor space, telemetry is fed into computers and reduced automatically. Along with the photographs, a test report is issued concerning the flight of each missile and becomes a permanent record of the flight. These records are of the utmost importance in the improvement of missile performance, and in the correction of missile failures.

To keep the number of missiles used for flight tests at a minimum, since many are multi-million dollar investments, the Center must obtain as much information as possible from each flight and each attempted flight. The Center's telemetry system is one of the most complex in the world. Even on a fifteen minute flight it is possible to obtain a quarter of a million individual readings. The readings record such information as instantaneous temperatures, switch positions, pressures, velocities, altitude, attitude, and similar information. This telemetry system makes

it possible for the scientists and Air Force personnel to nearly always analyze and determine the precise reason for the malfunction of any missile flight "failure."

Testing new missiles usually begins with flight tests of the basic vehicle and its propulsion and booster systems. As flight test experience is gained, the various operational components are added. Guidance systems are tested, nose cone configurations are added and flown. Finally, after many test launchings, the complete missile is ready for flight test.

Astronaut Shepard Makes History

Since the days of the earliest Spanish explorations of the Florida coast, the name Cape Canaveral has been one which no history of Florida could ignore. With the sucessful completion of the first U.S. suborbital space flight on May 5, 1961, Cape Canaveral became a big name in the history of the Space Age.

When Astronaut Alan B. Shepard, Jr., became this nation's first man into space, his project Mercury capsule, "Freedom Seven," was lofted from the Cape Canaveral launch site. His flight took him 115 miles above the Atlantic Ocean and 302 miles down the Atlantic Missile Range, where he was picked up by a U.S. Marine helicopter recovery team. His top flight speed was 5,100 miles per hour. The excited world watched the entire flight on television.

On May 8, three days after the flight, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration awarded Commander Shepard their citation and Distinguished Service Medal. It was presented in Washington by the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy..

Shepard was one of the seven young men of the Service, officially called "astronauts," who had been poised and trained for space flights. He and the other six stand by for further flights. Shepard immediately became the greatest aviation idol the nation had lauded since Charles Lindberg made his heroic first trans-Atlantic flight. Commander Shepard was born Nov. 18, 1923, in East Derry, New Hampshire. The 5-foot, 11-inch Commander in the U.S. Navy weighed about 160 pounds when he made his historic flight. His wife is the former Louise Brewer of Kennett Square, Pa., and their daughters are Juliana, 9, and Laura, 13. His parents, Col. and Mrs. Alan B. Shepard, live in East Derry, New Hampshire, where the Colonel, a retired U.S. Army officer, is an insurance broker.

The nation's second space flight was made July 21, 1961, by Astronaut Virgil Ivan Grissom, an Air Force Captain, whose 118-mile flight of 303 miles down the Atlantic Range to the Grand Bahama area was made at a speed of 5,280 miles an hour and lasted 16 minutes. This trip was made in a Liberty Bell 7 capsule, which began to sink as the astronaut was being lifted out of it by the waiting helicopter. The 35-year-old astronaut on the day following the flight received the Distinguished Service Medal of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Grissom's weight was recorded as 150 pounds, and his height as 5 ft., 7 in. Sharing his hero's welcome after the trip were his wife, the former Betty L. Moore, and their sons—Scott, age 11; and Mark, age 7. His parents are Mr. and Mrs. Dennis Grissom who live in Mitchell, Ind., where the astronaut was born. Grissom holds a B.S. degree in engineering from Purdue University.

Brevard Business Booming

"The year 1959," according to Bill Bunge, news columnist, "marked the start of a Brevard County business revolution." In that year there was a beginning of the leveling off of missile activity and a gradual return to normal growth of civilian activity. In that twelve month period there was a business boom among retail businesses never before experienced in this seventy-three mile long county of Brevard. There was a two hundred per cent gain of new stores and businesses

opened over that of the previous year. This was attributed to the fast growth in population.

Brevard's population growth has been due not only to the increase in population being experienced by the entire state of Florida, but because of the missile base located there. South Brevard's population hit an estimated figure that was almost three times that of the federal census taken ten years before. During a single day, forty new stores opened their doors in two of Brevard's communities, Melbourne and Eau Gallie. Cocoa opened a large new shopping center.

Melbourne built a new junior high school, Eau Gallie built a new elementary school, Cocoa built a new high school in Rockledge.

The Brevard Engineering College, located in Brevard County, selected a site at Satellite Beach as a permanent campus home, and started making plans for a building program. The high school children at Melbourne, many children of Missile Center scientists, established with equipment furnished from the Center one of the most advanced scientific laboratories for experiments to be found in any school in the nation.

Throughout the entire county there is a fever of activity and civic planners are daily faced with decisions concerning the purchase and installation of larger and better facilities for the increase in population and the growth in business and industry.

The years have been few, but the growth and development have been astronomical in this county that had its birth in 1885. Those early settlers who opened and settled the area would be amazed at the modern conveniences and modes of travel, but they would not be surprised that this River Country in which they had such faith proved their prophesies to be true; and while they might be awed at the activity taking place on the Canaveral shores and the anticipated flight of man into space, man's desire to do so would be readily understood by them. They would know, these men of pioneer days—Captain Burnham, Dummitt, Senator Williams, Henry Titus and others—they would understand the courage of these pioneer astronauts for they share with them the same stamina and faith that was inherent in the pioneers who risked and staked their all here along the shores of the Indian River country.

CHAPTER XXII

INDIAN RIVER COUNTY

By Ada Coats Williams

THE RESIDENTS OF Indian River County can trace their county lineage through three county histories, those of Brevard, St. Lucie and Indian River. In 1844 this county became a part of Brevard County created that year to extend from above Titusville to the St. Lucie River near Stuart. When St. Lucie County was created in 1905 the present Indian River County was included. The boundaries were the Sebastian River on the north. the Kissimmee River on the west, and the St. Lucie River on the south. The area changed its name again in 1925 when Indian River County was created with Vero Beach as the county seat.

Early settlers journeying by boat along the Indian River, (their only mode of travel) were attracted to the land in the area of the river known as "The Narrows," because of the luxuriant growth found there. These early pioneers thought that this must be the northern limit of the real tropics, and this gave rise to what has since become the slogan of Vero Beach, the city "Where the Tropics Begin."

Early Pioneers

One of the first families to come to this area was that of August Park, who came from Danzig, Germany, in 1865. He first landed at Ft. Pierce and finally settled at what is known now as Sebastian. His family lived at Sebastian in the winter and at Blue Hole, on the east shore six miles north of Ft. Pierce, in the summer. A son, Simeon Park, born in 1877, was the first white child to be born on the peninsula of Florida north of the old inlet at Ft. Pierce, an inlet that ran across the present location of Pepper Park. August Park operated a store at Sebastian, but prior to the opening of the store, he and other residents had to travel up the river as far as Titusville to do their shopping. All travel there and back was in sail boats as it was prior to the time of the steam boats, trade boats, railways or highways.

The Parks, like many other settlers, earned a part of their livelihood by catching and shipping green turtles which were considered a delicacy in the hotels at St. Augustine.

Some of Simeon Park's recollections of the earliest days of this area are recorded in a book, "Early Life on the Indian River," by Anna L. Newman. He states that the "Sea Cow" or manatee was to be found in the St. Lucie River and his father was paid three hundred dollars for one that he captured alive. This was a considerable sum of money in those times, but the manatee was almost extinct and the St. Lucie River was one of the few places where they could be found.

Settlers were accustomed to seeing bears swimming across the river to the islands. They could see them wandering up and down the beach hunting for turtle eggs, which the bears liked to eat. One time two settlers were rowing across the river and saw a bear swimming across. They hit him on the head and stunned him, then pulled him into the boat. While they were crossing the river the bear awoke and jumped back into the river, turning over the boat and dumping his captors into the water.

Early settlers experienced great loneliness and many hardships. The families along the river were few and most of them were settled many miles apart. The mosquitoes swarmed in such large numbers that during the height of the mosquito

season, (the warm and rainy summer months), cows were known to wade out into the river until they completely submerged, except for their heads, which they shook to free themselves from the mosquitoes.

In the year 1919, the people of Seabastian and the surrounding area banded together and decided to improve their lot by digging an inlet to the ocean from the Indian River. This was not the first attempt, for in 1886 the pioneers struggled to cut Sebastian Inlet through the island so that the Indian River could be joined with the Atlantic Ocean.

The pioneers wanted to open the inlet mainly to help commercial and private fishermen. Commercial fishing was one of the main industries on the river. The river fishing was aided by the opening of ice houses at Eau Gallie and Ft. Pierce, so that fish could be packed between layers of ice and shipped out on river steamers and later by rail. The many commercial fishermen on the river were making progress in the fishing industry and needed to open a way to the ocean so that ocean fish would come into the river. Another reason, second in importance to the river residents, was that the inlet would serve as a drainage to the ocean of the surplus inland water in time of floods during the rainy and hurricane seasons.

The first channel was about a quarter of a mile wide and was abandoned before it was completed. The task proved to be too ambitious for the implements at hand and for those there to operate them.

In 1895 another attempt was made to dig the inlet. This time the plan was executed, but it was not of lasting benefit, for the first bad storm, a northeaster, filled the channel with sand.

In 1919 the people of Sebastian and the surrounding area banded together and decided to improve their lot by digging the inlet again. A sum of $2300 was donated by the people for the project. Their purpose was the same as that of the pioneers, to make the river better for fishing, for fishing was still the main means of livelihood for the community.

The original commission was appointed. This consisted of Judge Miller of Sebastian, Mr. Alex J. Goode of Palm Bay, and Dr. William Creel of Eau Gallie. The second commission was Mr. Roy Couch, who operated his dredge in the digging of the inlet, Mr. Albert Vaukella and Mr. Charles Sembler. It was opened in 1921 and once again erosion set in and the channel was filled with sand. District engineering supervision was called upon, and in 1947 again the inlet was opened. It originally cost the people of the area $400,000 to dig, maintain, and improve the channel.

Jetties of coquina rock, native of Florida, were built out into the ocean. This was found not to be the complete answer to the erosion problem as sand continued to wash into the channel and the waves beat the end of the jetties down until they didn't even show at low tide.

In 1955 the commission was still battling the problem. They completed a repair job on the jetties that included placing huge pieces of granite, some weighing over ten tons, at the ends of the jetties, extending them two hundred and fifty feet into the ocean in an attempt to divert the rough seas. It required 5,640 tons of granite, transported in 100 railroad cars, to handle the job. Today, thousands of dollars are being spent, widening, deepening, and attempting to protect the inlet permanently. This is a battle that has been going on for over seventy-four years. The enemy, erosion, is the same as that encountered by the pioneers, but the present day commission has the benefit of larger and more powerful machines to do the work plus the knowledge of engineers and the interest of the government.

Near Sebastian's shores, off the east coast of Florida, there is an island of major national importance. It is Pelican Island, located in the Indian River. This island is the first Federal Wildlife Refuge to be established in the world. It is the forerunner of the largest refuge system ever maintained by any government.

The United States Fish and Wildlife Service administers to the area. In 1903,

Dr. C. Hart Merriam reported that the brown pelican was in a state of drastic decline. This was largely due to sportsmen from the north who would come to the area to hunt and fish and would shoot hundreds of pelicans in a day, just as target practice and for the sport of it. This was a foolish waste, as the bird was not used for eating and it did no harm to mankind whatsoever. President Theodore Roosevelt established the refuge by executive order in the year of 1903.

Pelican Island covers less than four acres, but the biggest thing that ever happened to Florida's trademark was when the government decided to conserve the "pot-bellied-bill" comical looking brown feathered pelican. Today more than 3,000 pelicans occupy this refuge during the winter breeding season.

The Sebastian area is still noted for its commercial and sports fishing and has as its slogan, "Where Fish and Fishermen Meet."

Settlement of Vero Beach

The earliest settlers in the area that is now known as Vero Beach, in Indian River County, came to Jacksonville by steamer from New York, via the Saint Johns River, to Sanford, then to Titusville on the railroad and down the Indian River by a steamer called "Cleo." They had brought their horse and wagon and furniture along on the steamer. First they took the steamer down as far as Jupiter; but as they observed the growth on shore, they decided the soil must be richer a little farther north and returned there to settle. This was in the year 1887 and those who came in this party were Mr. Henry T. Gifford and family. The area now known as Vero Beach was an uncleared wilderness, and about ten miles west of the Indian River was the Allapatah Flats. This area was all under water much of the time. One could row a boat in the marshes.

There were two bachelors living there and gradually several other families moved in along the river. By 1889 these settlers desired a post office—it took so long to travel to the nearest post office for their mail. Five persons signed the petition and Mrs. Sarah Gifford was asked to select a name for it. The Postmaster General asked that a four letter name be chosen. Mrs. Gifford submitted two names, Venice and Vero, and the latter was selected by the government in the fall of 1889 because it met the four letter specification. Mr. Gifford was appointed postmaster and the post office was in his home. In 1889 Mr. Gifford had a telephone service installed in his home and in his store, about six miles away. Six families were given service on this line. That same year Vero had its first fire. This was caused by a smudge pot that was burning to kill mosquitoes in the home of Mrs. Cora E. Morse.

The residents made all of their "quick money" by fishing and gathering oysters to ship to Cocoa, which was quite a tourist center, and to Palm Beach after the coming of the railway.

In those days the channels in the river were not marked as they are today and yet the steamers had to pass through them in the darkness of the night. The Government paid Mr. Gifford to keep the lamps filled that were placed on the shoals to safely guide the steamers at night. In addition to a stated salary, under the Lighthouse Department, the Giffords were furnished with kerosene and matches, soap and towels for their own use.

These families recall that a number of banana trees were growing there when they arrived. They were the remains of a banana plantation at Oslo that was established in 1884 by a company of the name of Baugh and Barnes. They failed in their venture and abandoned it. It took stamina for anyone to remain in the area for long. The wilderness was almost impenetrable, the insects were thick and fierce, neighbors were few, and one had to depend almost entirely upon the river and land for food. This yielded an abundance of meat and swamp-cabbage, but otherwise the diet was extremely limited. Medical care was impossible to receive,

the nearest stores or trading posts were reached only by several days journey on the river by sail boat, and these trips were completely at the caprice and temper of the weather. Yet from time to time new people came into the area and stayed, and in time a small community was established.

Establishment of Schools

In all of the history of the various communities that sprang up along the Indian River, there is a record of schools being established as soon as a few families moved into the same area with a few children. Indian River County was no exception. One of the first schools established was the one at Oslo in 1898 and '99. It was taught by Miss Fannie Penny who later became Mrs. Charles Gifford. It has been told that her salary was twenty-five dollars a month, eight of which she was required to pay for her room, board and laundry. She boarded with the O. O. Helseth family.

The first school in Vero Beach area was a little one-room house on a lot donated for the purpose by the pioneer Gifford family. At that time, if a house was available and there were as many as six children in a community they were entitled to a school by either the county or the state. There was a two dollar poll tax for the privilege of voting and this was the source of revenue for the schools. The first teacher in this school was Miss Addie King, daughter of another pioneer in the area, Mr. Nick King, and her pupils were from the first pioneer families of Gifford, King, Reams and Harris. All subjects and all grades were taught in all of these one room school houses, and the teachers were quiet often young women in their teens. Many of them qualified for their positions by attending academies located in Florida, or simply by finishing high school and taking the Florida State Teacher's Examination. All of them were persons who had a sincere desire to teach the children and were dedicated to their profession. From this group of pioneer teachers the state was to know the finest years and most fruitful results with the most limited equipment ever known in the state. This generation of the "Blue-back" speller and the popular spelling bees can still out-spell any other generation that has followed them.

Today Indian River County has an excellent school system with a total enrollment, in 1959, of 4,999 pupils. The entire county school system is co-ordinated with the State of Florida's modern educational system, under some of the nation's most progressive school laws. The Vero Beach school system has a "Standard A Rating" and is accredited by the "Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools."

Pioneer Trade Boat Captain

A very learned man once wrote that all pyramids are not Egyptian, nor were they all made of stone . . . but a man in his life time could errect many different kinds of pyramids that would cause his name to be spoken on the lips of many, and to be long remembered after he was gone.

Surely these men and women who braved the perils of settling a wilderness, clearing its jungles for homes and economic endeavor; men who took the riches lying dormant in a rich virgin soil, and, through the sweat of their brows and keen perception of mind, turned these dormant riches into material benefits for themselves and their neighbors, were erecting pyramids of their own for future generations.

Such a man is Alfred Benjamin Michael, who pioneered in the vicinity of the area that is now known as Wabasso, in the year 1886.

Young Alf Michael came from fine patriotic stock. His maternal grandmother was a niece of John Quincy Adams, and the life he was to lead in this last American frontier along the Indian River was that of a true American pioneer. He moved to Florida when he was ten years old with his Virginia-born parents. His father

had planned to settle in the Miami area, after being disappointed about some property he had bought elsewhere in the state. He met a man who was establishing himself in the present area of Vero Beach, and was persuaded by him to choose that location rather than the Miami area.

The father, S. K. Michael, purchased property on the island directly across from Wabasso for between five and ten dollars an acre. He constructed a home for his family with lumber that was brought down by boat from Titusville. It was built with boards placed vertically with battens over the seams. It was a very luxurious looking home compared with the crude dwellings of most of the other pioneers.

The island on which the Michaels lived was (and still is) called Orchid Island, because of the many wild orchids growing in the trees. They had to depend upon their boat for all transportation and communication, for a bridge was not built to the mainland until many years later.

S. K. Michael grew bananas as a means of earning cash, though one could live quite well in those days with a limited supply of it. Wild game was plentiful on the land and the river was alive with fish. It was ten year old Alf Michael's job to keep the family supplied with fish, as that was one of the main foods of their diet. He became friends with the Seminoles living thereabouts and often hunted with them. He delighted in out-doing the Indians in tracking and killing game.

Like all other pioneer youths living along the Indian River, Alf Michael became a skilled sailor. His family owned an 18 foot sail boat and it was used for social and business calls, and for shopping trips to Melbourne and Titusville.

Soon young Michael was working on the Trade Schooner of his uncle, Captain Walter Kitching. These trade boats were of an era when they meant everything to the early settlers along the river. At that time, there were no roads or railways down the coast and the trade boats stopped at or near the docks of the several hundred families who were living between Titusville and Jupiter. The crew of these boats came to know all of the families well.

When Alf Michael reached the age of eighteen, he became the captain of his own sixty foot schooner, "The Merchant", which boasted a crew of five and a five thousand dollar inventory. On this trade boat, grits and corn meal sold for one and a half cents a pound. Bacon sold for five and six cents a pound and ham for only seven or eight cents a pound. Those were the days when a good hard worker was paid a dollar a day and lived well on it.

When "The Merchant" neared a settler's dock, a member of the crew would blow on a large conch shell, and the family would hurry out onto the dock. They were as eager for a visit and the news the crew brought as they were for the goods they had for sale. Mr. Michael had rigged up a small dressing room by stringing a curtain across a narrow passage way. This was for the benefit of customers who wished to try on corsets and dresses. Most of the sales were paid for in silver up to one dollar, and with ten and twenty dollar gold pieces. A few used paper money but it wasn't as popular as the silver and gold.

As the river steamers started making regular runs down the river, Captain Michael would pack a cartridge box with his money when sales had been good, and send it by steamer to the bank in Cocoa while he continued down the river to his anxious customers.

The crew of "The Merchant" had a mascot on board. It was a huge black snake and served as a rat catcher as well as mascot. The black snake being harmless, the men would pet him and give him the run of the boat. At one stop along the river a lady customer pulled a bolt of cloth from the shelf to inspect it at closer range and the pet snake slithered forward from behind it. He started licking at the lady's fingers with his forked tongue, and needless to say, he gave her quite a start. She promptly fainted and by the time they had

revived her, friend snake had been rushed ashore, doomed to be a landlubber for the rest of his natural days.

As the railway pushed down the coast, shopping centers were more accessible to the settlers, goods could be ordered and delivered at convenient locations, and as the population increased, more shop keepers were opening stores for business in the various communities.

Captain Michael could see that the trade boat days were numbered, so he left this business and, in 1898, he went to Macon, Georgia, to attend a business college. Upon his return he operated a land store in Eden, then a populous and thriving community as a result of the pineapples grown in that section. Eden was considered the heart of the fabulous pineapple country along the Indian River.

Mr. Michael had an opportunity to observe the pineapple business and the citrus business as well, since in the Indian River area a few commercial groves were being planted.

By the year 1902, Mr. Michael quit the store business and was ready to invest in land and place his future with it. He purchased the old family home place across the river from Wabasso on Orchid Island. He had decided that of the two main agriculture industries, he would place his destiny with that of the citrus.

Like many another early settler, A. B. Michael cleared the land with his bare hands and a grubbing hoe. He set out grapefruit trees on his island property and planted crops of beans to bring in the cash needed until his grove would start bearing. According to Mr. Michael, a Captain Frank Forster, the first postmaster of Orchid, planted the first commercial citrus grove in what is now Indian River County. He got his plantings from the Dummitt Grove on Merritt Island. The Dummitt Grove is recognized as the oldest bearing grove in the entire United States, and young Michael's grove came from second generation trees from the Dummitt grove. This was truly the beginning of fortune and fame for the twenty-five year old pioneer who had made his own way since the age of thirteen.

Each year Mr. Michael increased his citrus acreage, In 1908 he married Miss Beulah Eby of Dayton, Ohio, and four children were born to them. They built their home on Orchid Island where Mr. Michael lives today.

He was a progressive grower and set out to put the brand name of his grapefruit before the world. He started stamping each fruit with the name of "Orchid," and often persons eating the fruit in hotels and restaurants would drop him a card telling him how delicious his fruit was. To each of these persons he always shipped a box of fruit. His citrus business steadily grew. In 1919 he took over the American Fruit Growers, and consolidated his interests with the Deerfield Groves. At that time, E. P. Porcher was president.

To E. P. Porcher, Mr. Michael gives the credit for the standardization of the grades of fruit. Mr. Porcher was an individualist. He was concerned with attractive packaging and worked out a washing machine with sponges to prevent the fruit from being bruised as it was groomed for the market. Upon Mr. Porcher's retirement, Mr. Michael took over full charge of the company, and now, in his eighties, he actively holds that position. His Deerfield Groves was the first citrus concern to conduct a big brand advertising campaign. At that time the Broadway show "Light'nin'" was enjoying a long run, and this ingenious product of pioneer Florida persuaded the producer of the show to use as a stage prop one of the crates of Deerfield Groves, with the name towards the audience, in each performance. They followed this up by connecting the company's name with that of the popular star of the show, Frank Bacon, in all of the New York subways. It is little wonder that this man owned a thriving river business while still in his teens, or that a man with such promotional

ideas should hold an appointment as a director of the Florida State Chamber of Commerce.

Today Mr. Michael has built his citrus empire into one of the finest in the state, and has received personal honors and recognition for his contributions to the general growth of the citrus industry. He is vice president of the Indian River Citrus League, a director of the Florida Citrus Mútual, and is chairman of the Governor's Advisory Committee on citrus which selects the members of the Florida Citrus Commission. These are the kinds of pyramids that Alfred B. Michael has erected in his lifetime . . . material wealth, vast acres of trees, and important positions of honor in the citrus world. Of all of these, none can compare with the great honor of being chosen Dean of Citrus, and receiving the citation that reads:

"In recognition of unselfish and tireless devotion to the growers of Florida Citrus Mutual, and the entire Florida citrus industry . . . and for profound understanding of his fellow man, whom he has served diligently, conscientiously and well; and his unparalleled work as a good will ambassador for Florida and Florida Citrus throughout the United States and other parts of the world, Florida Citrus Mutual presents this citation officially designating him Dean of the Florida Citrus Industry".

In addition to this honor the beautiful new Florida Citrus Mutual Auditorium was named for him.

Railway Comes to Indian River County

Henry M. Flagler pushed his railway farther down the coast from his original terminus at Titusville. It came to the area now known as Indian River County in 1893 and '94. At that time the railway was known as the "Jacksonville, St. Augustine, Halifax and Indian River Railway", but later was changed to the "Florida East Coast Railway," as we know it today.

The construction of the railway provided work for the few settlers around the present Vero Beach area. The train stop was called Gifford after the pioneer Gifford family living there and for quite a while, the stop at Vero Beach was simply called "Milepost 228". Freight was put off at this stop while the passengers were put off at Gifford. Charles Gifford was the first railroad agent in Vero and served as ticket agent and express and freight agent as well. In his memoirs related in the book, "Early Life of the Indian River," by Anna Newman, Mr. Gifford tells many humorous stories of his experiences as railway clerk.

The trainmen purchased honey from the Giffords and when they wanted honey they would blow three toots on the train whistle and leave a jug which they would pick up on their return trip. The trainmen would also give the agent the weather forecast. Five long whistles would let the agent know that frost or very cold weather was predicted.

The coming of the railway meant the opening of the area now known as Indian River County. At the turn of the century about ten families were living there. These pioneer families had the novel experience of seeing thousands of fish wash ashore after the 1894 and '95 freeze. The eyes of the fish were frozen in the icy waters and they couldn't see to hunt food and starved to death. The beach was covered with them for miles and the settlers brought wagons and shovels and carted away wagon loads to use on their farms as fertilizer.

The pioneers tell stories of substitutes they learned to use until more goods were close at hand. They used possum and coon fat to grease machienry and snake oil to oil their guns. The nearest doctor was a Dr. Holmes at City Point. The only way one could reach him was to sail a boat to his place and then wait for the weather to be favorable for him to sail down to the patient. This trip at its best took two days. One can see how these people must have fared in

cases of emergency. They mostly depended upon each other and swapping home remedies and medicinal cures from the Seminoles knowledge of herbs.

Wherever men have settled, as soon as a few families located near each other, their minds have turned first to the establishment of churches and schools as soon as their homes were built. The first church built in Vero Beach was the Antioch Primitive Baptist Church, established in 1907, two years after the area became a part of St. Lucie County, which is still in use today, on the original site. The First Methodist Church followed in 1914; the First Baptist Church in 1915; The Grace Lutheran Church in 1917; and St. Helen's Roman Catholic Church, founded in 1919. Others sprang up quickly with the increasing population: the church of Christ, Scientist, was founded in 1922; the Community Church in 1924; Trinity Episcopal Church in 1928; Church of God in 1931; and the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church in 1941. Others are still being organized and new church buildings are being constructed.

One of the greatest boosts to the growth of the area after the coming of the railway was the development of an ambitious program for land reclamation through drainage.

This program started in 1912, and was later expanded and taken over as a public project with the creation of the "Indian River Farms Drainage District". It embraced an area of 48,000 acres bordering on the Indian River—the area over which the pioneers traveled in row boats. The district now comprises one of the most completely protected agricultural areas in the state. The products from the rich soil, including both vegetables and citrus fruits, contribute largely to the total agricultural production of Indian River County which amounts to $8,000,000 annually.

The city of Vero Beach became the prosperous shipping and trading center for this district. It was incorporated into a city in 1919. The name was changed from Vero (taken from the Latin word Veritas, which means truth) and renamed Vero Beach when the city limits were extended to include three miles of ocean frontage on the adjacent island in 1925.

The first county road built in this area was built by S. T. Hughes and H. T. Gifford. It was built as near to where all of the settlers lived as possible. This road is now known as Palm Avenue.

Historical Items from Vero Press

The year 1919 was a very big year in this section as can be learned from the files of the early Vero newspaper, the "Vero Press."

In a September issue of that year there is an account of the establishment of a syrup mill: "Vero is One of The First Syrup Producing Sections", the headline said. The story followed:

"McVey Linsay Sons Company's Mill at Vero Completed and in Operation . . . With the United States producing within its own boundaries but one-fourth of its supply of sugar and in its island possessions another one-fourth, it is plain that there is a vast field for the American cane grower, and says the Florida Agricultural College, 'Sugar cane is among the most certain of Florida crops'."

The sugar industry of Indian River County centers at Fellsmere, in the northwest part of the county, where the Okeelanta Sugar Corporation cultivates many thousands of acres of sugar cane. The sugar mill is operated at the fields and for many years was the only sugar refinery in the State of Florida.

The cane goes in one end of the mill and comes out at the other end in the form of sugar, processed and packaged in five to one hundred pound bags ready for the markets. The cane grinding season lasts from November to March and this mail processes, at its current rate of production, over fifteen million pounds of sugar per year.

Vero Beach Airport

In 1919 the Vero Press ran another interesting news story: "Regulation Aviation Field To Be Built at Vero", were the headlines, with the following story beneath them:

"A forty acre field within city limits of Vero has been selected and plans are under way and actual work in building an aviation field, second to none anywhere in the state of Florida, will be under way in a few days. Vero, realizing that aviation has not only become a popular past-time but that it is largely to be used in business, will be ready for the onrush of business through the air."

In the fall of 1928 the city fathers were even more aware of the importance of aviation to a city's growth and they agreed to lease a tract approximately one hundred and forty acres within the city limits, one mile from the main business street. The Chamber of Commerce aided in this undertaking and it was greatly helped to realization by Burton A. Becker, a winter resident from Sandusky, Ohio, and James D. Tew, formerly of Akron, Ohio. The latter was then president of the B. F. Goodrich Company. Thus the airfield became a reality.

The aviation field was made a federal emergency airport and the government equipped it with a beacon light and a system of border lights. The Department of Commerce later assisted in other improvements. The city assumed the responsibility of operating and maintaining the field and placed Mr. B. L. Holman in charge as airport manager. Mr. Holman has had a great deal to do with the major portion of improvements that have been added from year to year.

In 1932 the Eastern Air Transport Company, now known as Eastern Airlines, started making a few stops and later made this airfield one of its regular stops.

During World War II the United States Navy took over the airfield and its facilities, though they permitted Eastern Airlines to continue their scheduled stops there. At the end of the war the field was restored to the city of Vero Beach with many extended and improved facilities that had been installed by the Navy. Mr. B. L. Holman now has the field under lease, and in addition to operating the airfield, he is local manager for Eastern Airlines.

The facilities and services of this airfield are far beyond those of nearby and larger communities. Piper Cub Air Craft now has a small factory on the edge of this field, and the airfield and its surrounding industries are a result of the farsightedness of city officials who, in 1919, realized that "aviation was not only a popular past-time, but that it would largely be used in business".

Tragic Fire in 1919

The Vero Press gave an account of a devastating fire in Vero in the year of 1919. Four stores were burned to the ground. This fire occurred in the early hours of a Sunday morning. The buildings were all of wood construction, and the four buildings wiped out represented an entire city block. Plans were immediately drawn to rebuild the burned out area as soon as possible.

Area Scored Well at State Fair in Tampa

In 1919 there were many exhibits sent from this area, which was then a part of St. Lucie County, to the Florida State Fair in Tampa. Honors won at the Fair included:

"Citrus, first place for the county; cereals, second place for the county; Home Demonstrations, fourth place for the county; Fellsmere Community Exhibit, first place; A. B. Michael, first and third place with grapefruit, second place with oranges, and third place with tangerines; Allapatahatchee Fruit Com-

pany, third place with oranges; A Bearholder, first place with kumquats; J. E. Fultz of Vero, second place with grapefruit."

Bond Issue Defeated

Along with the victory of winning in the State Fair, the area knew defeat in a bond issue that was to bring good roads to this section. When the vote was taken, the community at Ft. Pierce, county seat of St. Lucie County, had many more voters than the Vero Beach area and defeated the issue. This was a bitter disappointment for Vero and her surrounding communities. She was straining to advance economically and felt that all of her taxes to the county were mostly being spent to improve the county seat. This was the very reason St. Lucie County had desired to withdraw from Brevard, and now she was to experience dissatisfaction from part of her own community family.

After much hard work and planning, Indian River County was created in 1925, the same year as Martin; and at last this section of the river country, named for the river on whose banks it was situated, was to have the privilege of growing to maturity and charting its own course.

The area was well equipped to do this. It had the men of intelligence and courage who bore the names of Michael, Helseth, Jamison, Graves, Young, Gifford, Gray, King, Jones, Harris, MacWilliam, Warren, Hill, Forster, Andrews, Fultz, Barber, Knight, Schumann, Park, Rose and a host of others—men who had courage and foresight and a will to develop the section into a prosperous area.

The present record of Indian River County is a witness to their success. It is a county governed by a board of county commissioners comprised of five members elected from the five districts into which the area is divided. The county covers a total of 323,298 acres.

Within Indian River County there are three municipalities, namely: Vero Beach (the county seat), Fellsmere, and the city of Sebastian. Other communities in the county are Roseland, situated on the beautiful Sebastian River in the northern-most portion of the county; Wabasso, located centrally on the county's coastline, which produces some of the finest grapefruit in the famous Indian River citrus fruit belt; Winter Beach, an agricultural center; and Oslo, at the southern border of the county, surrounded by very productive grovelands.

Indian River County's Industries

Vero Beach and her surrounding communities have always had a great deal of civic pride. The county seat was well planned and thus is attractively laid out. Unlike many coastal towns it was not allowed to "just grow," like Topsy. Many well-to-do businessmen and women who have retired make Vero Beach their winter home and they have joined with the local year-round residents to make it a beautiful as well as a productive area.

There are two very large tourist attractions that are advertised all over the United Sates, and usually these two attractions all tourists plan to visit on their tour of Florida. These attractions are the famous "McKee Jungle Gardens" and the "Driftwood Inn". They are both the handiwork of one man, Waldo Sexton.

No history of Indian River County would be complete without a story of Waldo Sexton, the man who through his advertising, has put the name of Vero Beach on the tongues and minds of tourists from every state in the Union.

Mr. Sexton was an early developer in the area. He owned large dairies and probably is best known for his unique hotel, the Driftwood Inn.

The first unit of Driftwood was made from the salvage of a dairy barn. This has been joined with wood that has drifted to the beach. It was the artist in Mr. Sexton that helped him to see the kinship with the old bleached weather-

beaten board of a cow barn and the water-bleached timbers washed up by the ocean. Outwardly the building looks to be rustic and haphazardly constructed, but this has been proven to be only a deception to the naked eye. Driftwood, near the Atlantic Ocean, has withstood three hurricanes. This structure is entirely unpainted and gives a ghostly appearance when one just happens on it at night. Its beauty is in the atmosphere it creates, in the charm of blending woods and objects of art from many countries and many different circumstances of living.

In the beginning the first section of Driftwood was a bath house; then a porch, a room and a kitchen were added. Persons passing by were so caught up by the odd structure and the wonderful odors floating from the kitchen that they asked to stop for a while. So many requests came to Driftwood that Mr. Sexton had rooms added to accomodate them. The first unit has all of the furniture built into each room and this wash done under the personal supervision of the owner. Black cypress and hand rubbed mahogany give the furniture an air of distinction. One can see antiques and oddities collected from all over the world and these give the Inn an air of elegance. The atmosphere at Driftwood is one of friendliness and hominess, and it is extremely popular with millionaires and honeymooners.

Waldo Sexton is known in his area as a "rugged individualist" and he was honored in 1959 by his home town citizens when they recognized the part he has played in the county's progress by naming an ocean front plaza for him. There was a whole day of celebration with a parade, barbecue and a street dance.

Dodgertown, Indian River County

There is one community in Indian River County that is quite unique in that all of the citizens are engaged in the same type of work, and that work is professional baseball.

In 1948, due to the excellent cooperation of B. L. Holman, local Eastern Airline manager, and the Vero Beach city officials, the former air station of the Navy established on the site of the airfield during World War II became the winter city of the Dodger baseball organization. It became one of the finest spring training sites in the nation. Recently the organization has erected an $80,000 stadium and plans other improvements, as the result of signing a twenty one year lease with the city of Vero Beach.

Agriculture

As in most coastal counties in South Florida, the fertile lands of this county are composed essentially of hammock, marl, muck and sand. About twenty thousand acres of land are dedicated to the growing of citrus fruits; one hundred and fifty acres are used for grazing; about five thousand are used for the growing of sugar cane and four thousand acres are used for general farming purposes. The agricultural income for Indian River County exceeds eight million dollars per year. The crops in the order of their importance to the local economy are: citrus fruits, sugar, molasses, general farming, cattle, seafood, frog legs, dairying, cut flowers and poultry.

Tomatoes and watermelon are the main crops from the vegetable industry.

By a ruling of the Federal Trade Commission, only fruit grown in the coastal area from Volusia County southward through Brevard, Indian River, St. Lucie and Martin Counties, and to the Palm Beach Canal in Palm Beach County, may bear the coveted name of "Indian River." Thus this county of Indian River is in the very center of the Indian River citrus belt.

Chrysanthemums are grown commercially in the Indian River County area and rushed to northern markets by train and air express. The flower industry

is a recent one and a rapidly growing industry along the entire southern coast of Florida.

Indian River County has an excellent school system, a progressive system of government, fine parks, library and hospital. The county is now interested in strengthening its economy by the introduction of selected types of light industry. Industries that do not impair the beauty, the quietness, and the pure air are encouraged to move to Indian River County.

Since 1928, the city of Vero Beach has observed "Beautification Day," and each year on that day something is added to the permanent beauty of the city. As long as this practice is observed, the county may be assured of keeping pace with the charm and beauty of the river which flows beside her, and for whom she was named, Indian River.

CHAPTER XXIII

ST. LUCIE COUNTY

By Ada Coats Williams

ST. LUCIE COUNTY'S name has an historical heritage that is almost as far-reaching as the discovery of the state itself. Though the peninsula of Florida was discovered in 1513 by Ponce de Leon, the Indian River country was left unvisited by the white man, except for occasional ship-wrecked soldiers, and was to belong solely to the Ays Indians for many years to come.

The Spaniards were using the Florida Straits as a route for their treasure ships, and it was their explorer, Pedros Menendez de Aviles who came down the Indian River in 1565 to make a settlement and establish blockhouses along the coast for shipwrecked sailors. He established a group of men on the north end of the river under the leadership of Juan Valez Medrano. The settlement was attacked by hostile Indians, so Juan Valez moved his men farther south along the river where the food supply was more plentiful and the Indians were reported to be of a friendly nature. To this settlement he gave the name of Santa Lucia, naming it for an early Roman Catholic martyr. Though the flag of Florida was to change five times the name of Santa Lucia was to remain, and a part of that area known to Juan Valez Medrano and named by him, is known today as Saint Lucie County.

The "friendly nature" of the river Indians proved to be only a rumor, and soon their hostility, together with dysentery and hunger, drove this newly established settlement of soldiers to return hastily to St. Augustine. This pracically ended attempts by the Spanish to establish any sort of settlement in the lower Indian River country, leaving the Ays Indians to hunt and fish and make war undisturbed by the white man. In the years that followed, the only visitors were Jesuit priests, who came at various times, hoping to convert the native "savages" to Christianity.

In 1807, one James Hutchinson obtained a grant from the Spanish governor with the hope of establishing a hog farm on the lower East Coast of Florida. His tract of land consisted of two thousand acres located between the St. Lucie Inlet and the Indian River Inlet. He felt that his venture would be successful as he believed the water between his island and the mainland would protect his interests from the hostile Indians. Hutchinson did not live long enough to prove his venture a success, for he died one year later, and his family moved back to the states. His procuring of the grant accomplished one lasting mark on the history of the land hereabouts. The island is still known today as Hutchinson's Island.

After Florida was purchased from Spain in 1821, the United States Government was anxious to have the peninsula settled. The Ays Nation of Indians had been killed or absorbed by migrating Indians of the Creek Nation, who had drifted down from Georgia and Alabama. These Indians were to become known as the Seminoles, and it was because of the war with these Indians that the United States was to establish a series of forts throughout the lower part of the peninsula of Florida, in an attempt to control the movements and activities of the Indians against possible white settlers. Many of the present cities in Florida bear the names of these forts, one being the county seat of St. Lucie County—that of Fort Pierce.

It was in 1837 during the Seminole War that Colonel Benjamin J. Pierce, brother of the fourteenth president of the United States, ordered the construction of the fort on the lower East Coast of Florida that was to be named for him. This fort stood about three miles south of the present city of Ft. Pierce, and was built of palmetto cabbage tree logs on the high ridge by the river. There was a natural spring of fresh water, and it has been recorded that the soldiers lived like kings as far as their food was concerned. Game was abundant on land: turkey, deer and quail; and the river was working alive with every variety of fish to tempt a man's palate. The river oysters were said to be four inches across and six inches in length. The army physician, Dr. Jacob Rhett Motte, a resident of Boston, wrote in his diary that the soldiers stationed at Ft. Pierce were the worst dressed in the entire army. All of their uniforms were too tight and ill-fitting, because of the weight gained as a result of the plentiful food supply. In spite of the insects, Indians and swamps, Dr. Motte described the area as a "veritable paradise".

James M. Halbe, in his "Tales of the Seminole War", relates that the fort remained in existence for nearly fifty years although it was abandoned by the army when the war ended. This same source states that two West Pointers who commanded opposing armies in the War Between the States twenty years later, were stationed at Fort Pierce . . . Captain Joseph E. Johnson and Lt. William T. Sherman.

By 1842 the Indian River country was supposed to be free of hostile Indians and the United States Government was anxious to have it settled. In that year Congress passed the Armed Occupation Act which granted one hundred and sixty acres of land to anyone who could hold it against the Indians for seven years.

Two colonies were authorized and outfitted; one going to the west coast of Florida and one to the east coast. The east coast group was the Indian River Colony, and they chose to establish themselves in the area that is now known as Saint Lucie County. There they remained for four years, but the keeper of the trading post started cheating the Indians in his dealings with them and was killed. Rumor flew that all of the white settlers were to be massacred. That evening, all loaded up their most precious possessions and set sail in their one boat up the coast to St. Augustine. It was a heartbreaking departure. Their hopes had been placed in this new territory, and the four years of clearing the land had been painfully slow and extremely difficult, for the tropical jungle, growing since creation, had to be cleared with bare hands and grubbing hoes.

What kind of people were they and where did they come from? Records show that there were about forty heads of families coming from Alabama, Georgia, South and North Carolina. These families were typical of the melting pot of America, for in the group were two carpenters, an English sailor, a Swede, an aristocrat (O. B. Hart, who afterwards became a governor of Florida), a sea captain, a few slaves, and several persons who were suffering from tuberculosis who came as a last hope for life and health in this mild climate.

One of the settlers was an Irishman named Manahan. He was a wiry, daring and imaginative little man. He was a tailor by trade, but a poet by nature and daily wrote poetry to and about his wife, a beautiful woman sixteen years his senior. No matter how dangerous an adventure might be Manahan was always the first to volunteer and the very last to admit defeat. Manahan had a pet . . . an unusually large, well-trained raccoon. To this animal he had given the very elegant name of Aristophanes, and the coon always sailed up and down the river with him. The river craft was a large, box-shaped single square-sailed lighter. Often Manahan miraculously escaped death in the river when caught in the sudden and furious squalls. To Manahan, however, there was nothing miraculous about

it. He gave credit for his safety every time to his expert seamanship and to his good luck mascot who was always with him, Aristophanes, his raccoon.

The Armed Occupations claims on the Indian River reached from Barker's Bluff near Sebastian on the north, to old Fort Jupiter on the south. Ft. Capron, or Fort Pierce, the location of the United States fort during the Seminole wars, was the center of activity. Captain Burnham, one of the colonists who was later to become the keeper of the lighthouse at Cape Canaveral, was the first to plant pineapples on his claim at Ankona Bluff. This tropical fruit, in later years, was to become the main crop of the area and to make many of the growers very wealthy.

Aside from clearing small portions of land for farming and erecting crude dwellings for homes, the most notable work of these settlers during their four year's stay was the opening of the inlet at Gilbert's Bar in 1844. The Indian River Inlet, though open, did not give them the service they needed. They selected a place at Gilbert's Bar almost opposite the mouth of the St. Lucie River that separated the river and the ocean. They all joined in digging a channel through that narrow strip of land, and had to do the job by hand. There was a large supply of fresh water collected in the Indian River, having drained there from the back country that rainy season. It broke through unexpectedly and almost cost the settlers their lives.

These earliest settlers saw wild life in abundance and in varieties that are no longer to be found on the local scene. There were flamingoes, wild turkeys and great flocks of parrots. Egrets were plentiful and their plumes adorned the head-dress of the Indian braves. The long extinct white buzzard was comparatively common. The feathers of these birds were worn in the head-dress of the Muscogee Indians to denote the royal birth of the wearer.

The early settlers of the Indian River Armed Occupation Colony were the first to open the territory that is now known as St. Lucie County, but they failed to establish a permanent settlement. That night, as the entire colony boarded their boat for St. Augustine, the Indian River Colony was dissolved. It was in the month of August, 1849, and it signified not only the dissolving of the colony but also the dreams and hopes of this little band. Today, all that remains of their hopes and venture is a small rough stone that served as a corner stone for one of their crude dwellings. It rests on the lawn of an Indian River Drive resident south of Ft. Pierce where it was placed by the hand of perhaps O. B. Hart, Captain Burnham, . . . or who knows, the wirey little Irishman Manahan, and it bears the date, roughly carved, 1843.

In the years that passed, the winds blew up from the river, bringing whisperings of things to come. Once again the minds of the white men were turned this way . . . and the winds and the hurricanes stirred up the bosom of the land. There was excitement of anticipation as the land rustled her waxy palmetto skirts, and waited for all that was to come.

In 1870 and '75, this land beside the waters of the Indian River was receiving what was destined to be the first families of a permanent settlement. The Paines, the Hendrys, the Bells, the Carltons, and the Hoggs were the first families to settle in this immediate vicinity known today as Ft. Pierce and St. Lucie County. There were no stores, schools, doctors, or medical supplies. Their homes were built of palmetto cabbage logs with thatched roofs, and at first the floors were bare. Families would comb the beach for driftwood until enough was gathered to lay a floor. The men began to clear the land with bare hands and grubbing hoes. Some had small herds of native cattle, some caught green turtles, all hunted and fished, with their women bravely sharing in this pioneer life. Yes, the women endured all, bearing and rearing their children without the aid of doctors or medical supplies, believing in this river country and having a strong faith in themselves and their God. For all of these families the Indian River was a living

and important force. It was a source of food supply, a recreational playground, and their only means of transportation and communication with the outside world.

These first few families came from different parts of the country and each had a different reason for migrating here. After all of the elaborate attempts by various countries to settle the river country, and the planned colonies organized and sent here for that purpose had failed, it was written by the hand of destiny that these families, arriving singly, were to establish the first permanent settlement. It was as though the time had come on the calendar of the universe for this tropical jungle to abandon her wild freedom and at last join with man in giving birth to a new part of America; here along the gently lapping waters of the Indian River.

It is interesting to note that these families all settled a distance apart. Remembering that there were no roads to travel on back and forth to the different homes, and no telephones, radios, or television sets for communication, it is a puzzle to us of modern civilization why they did not settle close together for companionship, safety and convenience. It is not in the nature of pioneers to seek these three factors of our modern life. They were men and women of courage, great physical stamina and faith in themselves, the river country, and the Almighty Creator.

At the time of their arrival the land here was a part of Brevard county since its name had been changed in 1855 from St. Lucie to Brevard. Previous to that time it had been a part of Mosquito county, and was not known as St. Lucie county again until its creation in 1905.

The Paines settled at St. Lucie on the river. Mail delivery was very irregular and never came more often than once a month. It was brought down by a mailman from Titusville, the county seat of Brevard county, or by a schooner or trade boat on its way to the Bahama Islands.

A few northern sportsmen were beginning to make trips down to this area to hunt and fish. One of these was Milton Card of Cazenovia, New York, who was an inventor, explorer, and avid hunter. He made several trips down and later settled on the Indian River as a permanent resident. He wrote up his hunting trips in the Cazenovia Republican Journal in glowing terms under the pen name of "Friar Tuck." In his contribution to the September 2nd issue, 1880, he describes the land and inhabitants thusly: "The only inhabitants of St. Lucie (referring to the community of St. Lucie), notwithstanding the amount of names, are the members of the Paine family. One of the sons is postmaster. This is the last post office for 100 miles south. Another son is deputy collector of customs (a sinecure), and I presume if there were more offices, more 'Paines' would be taken to fill them. They keep a boarding house, and of their liberality and good nature, I shall have occasion to write hereafter. Sufficient to note, at the present, that their table is celebrated for red fish stuffed with sage. We did not try to purchase salt of them, although settlers thereabouts say they sell it at 60 cents per pack, as a matter of charity, thinking, I presume, that Yankees are too "fresh."

Milton Card mentioned that even in those early days the settlers shipped out tons of fish, and that he and the other hunters shot hundreds of quail and other birds each day. They also shot pelicans for sport, and searched out the egret rookeries and those of the pink curlew (roseate spoonbill) to get their beautiful plumes to take home to their women-folk in the north. Alligators were killed by the hundreds, in regular slaughter pens, and left to "mellow" so that the teeth would be easier to remove. Certain of these teeth were sent north and used in sets of human false teeth.

Mr. Card loved guns and he loved to hunt. He invented the traps for the glass balls that Annie Oakley shot and derived big royalties from this. He also benefited from a raw-bone grinder that he invented. It was a device for grinding bones for

chicken feed and for other commercial purposes in which the bone material was used, such as in the manufacture of bone buttons.

Investors in Florida riverfront property today will be amazed and envious to learn that when Milton Card decided that this Indian River section should become his permanent home, he purchased two sections of land, about one thousand feet of river frontage, from a settler named Davis, for a bonehill shot gun, valued at one hundred and fifty dollars, a rifle, and two plugs of tobacco.

Alexander Bell brought his family to Ft. Pierce from Jasper, Florida. His family had owned large plantations there, and during the War Between the States, all of the Bell boys fought in the Confederate army, with the exception of Alexander. He believed in state's rights, but could not bring himself to fight a war where slavery was one of the main issues. He took his wife and moved to Cedar Keys, Florida, until the conflict was over when he returned to Jasper, thinking he could resume his life as a farmer there. He soon found that he stood in ill-favor with neighbors and towns-people, as well as the members of his own family. The atmosphere was so uncomfortable for him that he once again packed his household goods and moved to lower east coast Florida. This was the year 1872 and he settled near the old United States Fort to take advantage of the natural fresh water spring. There he ran a small trading post, trading for furs and hides with the Indians and the few settlers thereabouts. In a short time he moved about two miles up the coast and homesteaded the allowed one hundred and sixty acres of land running from Taylor's creek south. By 1876, this pioneer had increased his holdings by purchasing one hundred and sixty acres in the Ten Mile area west of Ft. Pierce. One of his sons, Frank Bell, took his young bride to live on this newly acquired property. That year, 1878, the area experienced one of its worst hurricanes, then called a gale.

Other families gathered at the home of Bells at Ten Mile; for it was one of the few well-constructed homes. There were no drainage canals in those days, and the whole back country was under water. In just a normal rainy season, men had to swim their horses along that way, and with the deluge of rain that always accompanies a hurricane, the water in the Ten Mile area began rising rapidly. The men started pulling up boards from the floor of the house to construct a raft. It was apparent that the house would soon be swept away, and one can imagine the fear and anxiety with which they loaded the children and women aboard and started polling out into the blackness of the woods, with fiendish winds whipping and tugging at trees and branches. . . . They silently prayed that the raft would hold together until they could reach the highest ground known thereabouts . . . an Indian burial mound near Five Mile creek, about five miles west of town. With the waters swirling, limbs flying from trees, and the wind blowing in huge shattering gusts, the little band finally reached the mound.

Animals of every description had fled to this spot for refuge, and many of them, startled by the presence of humans jumped back into the water, only to drown. These stranded pioneers and woods' animals were completely at the mercy of the elements of nature. One of their group was a circuit-riding minister who rode on horseback all through the lower peninsula, holding church meeting about once a month in various settlements. This uneducated but devout man of God asked all to kneel in prayer and he prayed for God's mercy and safe deliverance from the storm. The young bride of Frank Bell told her children in later years that as the prayer ended it was like one of God's miracles from the Bible . . . for almost immediately the winds and rains began to subside, and the little band of wet and anxious folk went on down the Creek on their raft to land at the safety of a home on higher ground.

The father, Alexander Bell, donated the land on a hill overlooking the river for a community cemetery, so that these people who had chosen to live and die by the river could be buried there.

The name of Bell played a great part in the development of St. Lucie county. One son, Jim Bell, was the first keeper of the House of Refuge located near the old natural inlet on North Island, just northeast of the present city of Ft. Pierce. Frank Bell became one of the first county commissioners and Jim Bell helped to avert an Indian uprising that might have once again prevented a permanent settlement in this area.

At that particular time some of the settlers had been catching and killing Indians' hogs, taking the same liberty with the hogs that they did with the wild game they found in the woods. The Indians became incensed over this injustice and were meeting and pow-wowing, planning an attack on the settlers whom the Indians greatly outnumbered. One Indian, a friend of the owner of a trading post, informed the lady of the intended massacre. All women and children of the settlers were gathered up and sailed across the river to the protection of the government House of Refuge. Jim Bell, together with a few of the men went into the piney woods to meet with the Indians. The Indians received Jim Bell because he had grown up with a number of them and was liked and trusted by them. It was finally agreed that the settlers had to raise two hundred dollars to pay for the hogs. This was a great deal of money in those days, and the men had to ride and sail all up and down the river to raise the funds for the Indians from the settlers. Somehow the amount was gathered in the required amount of time, the massacre was averted, and once again the Indians and settlers were at peace.

At the time of this incident with the Indians, the trading post was owned and run by Mrs. Annie Hogg, wife of Captain Benjamin Hogg. Annie and Ben were Scottish immigrants who had come to this country and found their way to east coast of Florida. Annie was a daughter of the royal house of York and Ben was from the common class of Scotts. When Annie married a commoner she was disinherited by her family. She and Captain Hogg were almost penniless and Annie sold her royal family jewels to get the money to buy Captain Hogg a schooner. On the return voyage from his first trip, Captain Hogg spent one hundred and twenty-five dollars from his first money earned to buy his wife a lovely gold watch to be worn around her neck on a gold chain. That represented a large sum of money for that time, and Mrs. Hogg was horrified that her romantic Scotch husband should so foolishly invest so much money in a gift for her, when there were many things they needed more.

Thereafter, Captain Hogg spent most of his life plying these waters with his schooner. He would make trips to the Bahama Islands taking supplies to them, and bringing back cargoes of cocounts. He made regular trips to Jacksonville, carrying green turtles caught and penned by the settlers. This was one of the thriving industries of the coast. The turtles were considered a delicacy and were served on the menus of the large hotels. On his return trips from Jacksonville Captain Hogg would bring supplies for the trading post that his wife, Annie, had established. It was the first trading post south of Titusville. During the time the settlers were having trouble with the Indians about the hogs, one Indian whom Annie had befriended forewarned her about the intended massacre. He wanted her to know that he was her friend and would not allow her to be taken back to a camp or tortured. His parting words of comfort to prove his friendship were: "Me kill you, and when me kill you, me kill you good."

All of the other women and children fled over to the island seeking sanctuary in the House of Refuge, but not Annie. She had worked too hard and had too much at stake. She knew the Indians would steal her supplies and burn the store if she deserted it. So as night came, she took her shot gun, climbed to the top of her store, and pulled the ladder up after her, to stay the night through to keep the vigil against a possible raid by Indians.

Such was the life of our pioneer wives and mothers. Annie Hogg sold the trading post to a canning company from Boston. The company came down to can the river

oysters. In a year's time the company had sold out due to a report by the local manager that the supply of oysters had been exhausted. The old-timers were amused by this, for the truth of the matter was the supply was still plentiful. The men from the New England city simply could not stand the swarms of mosquitoes.

The canning company sold the store to Peter Cobb, a bachelor friend of Milton Card, who had come to Florida from Cazenovia, New York, on Card's recommendation. From that time, and for many years, Cobb's store and Post Office was an institution in the small frontier town that was soon to become known as Ft. Pierce. A dock, extending out into the Indian River from the store, became known as Cobb's Dock, and was a major port of call for hundreds of ferry boats, trading schooners, and steamers that plied the Indian River. Peter Cobb never married and he became known and loved as the father of the community. Every new settler was staked by Cobb at first, until his land was cleared and his crop was planted. Settlers all up and down the river ridge were planting pineapples and making a great deal of money. This money was put in the safekeeping of Cobb's store vault until a steamer arrived to carry it up the coast to a bank at Titusville or Jacksonville. He was a modest, quiet man and after his death in 1843, it was found that in his will he cancelled all of the many mortgages he held on property and homes, and that aside from bequests left to clerks who had worked for him, the entire town was the heir to his estate. He left large sums of money to the Ft. Pierce Memorial Hospital and city and county library.

The Carlton family brought the first cattle into the area. Reuben Carlton and his wife Elizabeth drifted across the state with their herd of native cattle . . . descendants of the cattle brought over by the early Spanish explorers. They brought a school teacher for their children and all the children of the other settlers could study with them also. Mrs. Carlton told of the many wild cats that were in the area. One day she heard a commotion in the calf pens near the house. She picked up her crawling baby and, followed by her oher child, just a toddler, she approached the pens. Suddenly a huge wild cat, his mouth dripping with blood from a calf he had killed and eaten, came out from the pens and started slowly toward Mrs. Carlton. She feared that he would spring if she turned her back and ran, so she reached slowly down, took the hand of her small child, and holding the baby close in her arms, started slowly backing up, calling to her cow dogs, all the while keeping her eyes on the huge cat. As she neared the house, the dogs responded to her calls, and chased the cat away. The Carltons homesteaded and bought many sections of land in the county close to the river. Much of that land is still owned by their children and grandchildren, and practically all of the Carlton descendants are large ranchers in the area today.

There is an interesting story connected with one son, Dan Carlton. He was the first elected sheriff in the newly created St. Lucie county. The Carlton children, like the Bells, had hunted, fished and played with the Indians as they grew to adulthood. One Indian Chief, Tom Tiger, was greatly respected by the Indians and whites alike. He was an unusually tall Indian, handsome, with a regal bearing that demanded respect. One day as he stood in his dugout canoe, he was struck by lightning and killed. The Indians mourned his death and buried him in true Seminole fashion. The body was placed in a reed litter in an upright sitting position with his gun and other possessions. This was enclosed with a woven canopy, and carried into the woods and placed in the fork of a tree. One day a man from the north was visiting in the vicinity of Lake Okeechobee to study the Seminoles and their customs. One of the settlers volunteered to show the man the burial tree of Tom Tiger. When the gentleman from the north saw the interesting manner of burial and learned that the bones were those of a chief, he decided that the litter should repose in the Smithsonian Institute in Washington and proceeded to remove it there. Soon the Indians discovered its removal. They were furious.

They planned to kill the settler who had disclosed the burial place. There were large numbers of Indians living in the area, and they began holding Pow-wows in the woods, and as their indignation mounted they planned to kill as many of the settlers as they could. This was as late as 1905 after the creation of the present St. Lucie County. Their chiefs, however, decided to go to their trusted friend, Dan Carlton, who was sheriff. They gave him just so many moons to get the bones of Tom Tiger back to his people. Sheriff Carlton went to Washington. He conferred with officials there, and returned with the litter and Tom Tiger's bones. Once again his people formed a burial procession and bore the litter far into the Big Cypress, and as far as we know, it still rests in the fork of a tree, undisturbed except for the swaying of the branches as the winds blow through the trees.

As more people began to hear of the mild climate, and the abundance of rich land and wild life, the area saw new families moving in, all up and down the river. Some came for health, some seeking adventure, others hoping to homestead and thus become permanent substantial citizens. At this time the county seat was at Titusville, so there was no law enforcement officer in the area. Neighbor trusted and helped neighbor. Cattlemen recall that there was no such thing as "cattle rustlin" for each family would help the other brand on the open range, and when one cattleman found a stray from his neighbor's herd, he would brand the cow with his neighbor's brand. Theirs was the task to drive a herd of slow moving cattle up to the market in Titusville, riding horseback day after day in the hot sun, camping out at night, while battling swarms of mosquitoes both day and night. They have seen the mosquitoes so thick in swarms that they would smother out a fire as the first small flames caught.

Since Brevard was such a large county, one can see why the Sheriff did not get down to the lower end of the county that is now known as St. Lucie. There were no roads, and at first no regular trips by river steamers. Thus it was that occasionally hunted criminals would come down to this area to camp out to stay clear of the law.

In the year 1878, a lone rider followed a government trail that led from Pensacola on the west coast of Florida to Jupiter on the east coast, a trail that was along the route of the government wireless. The rider was Billy Anderson, a hunted outlaw who had been a member of the notorious Jesse James gang.

Anderson followed the coast south until he reached the area that is now known as Ft. Pierce. It was at that time very sparsely settled and far from the law-enforcement officers. He acquired property in the Ten Mile area west of Ft. Pierce and there he set up camp. One of his nearest neighbors was a Granville Burke, also wanted by the law, who had sought refuge in this section. The local settlers did not bother them, though they knew well enough why they were down here. The men minded their own business and were neighborly with all who passed through and needed to stop overnight at their camps. The two men became friends, and would highly entertain the local pioneer youths with tales of their colorful pasts. Burke fell under the charm of the local climate and would greet all of his callers with this poetic welcome: "I live on Ten Mile Creek, Sir, if you should ever want to come. Just eight miles from the Indian River and on the road to Drum." (Referring to the old U.S. Fort Drum). "The climate is like that of the mountains, Sir, and the land is rich as cream. It is just eighteen inches to the clay, Sir, which makes the water both pure and clean." While Burke was busy composing his poetry, Anderson was far from idle. He found Burke an easy prey for practical jokes. It is told that once he sold Burke a white bird which he, Anderson, claimed was a rare South American bird. In reality it was a baby buzzard, which is white when it is first hatched and later turns black. Burke was proud of his newly acquired pet and even tore loose some of the coveted boards from his camping shack to build a cage. Needless to say, he was greatly peeved when one of the local pioneers enlightened him as to the species of his pet.

Anderson sold his Ten Mile property to Miss Sally Carlton and purchased property on the North Beach. He often showed letters to local citizens that he received from Frank James. At that time, Frank was a guard on an Express train in Oaklahoma and wrote that one of his brother Jesse's sons was studying law.

Anderson and Burke were law-abiding citizens as long as they remained in the area. This was not true of all, however. As Henry Flagler extended his railway farther south and it passed through this area in 1894 it brought many rough characters. The town had grown. In addition to Cobb's Store, Adrian Sample had a fishing industry. There was Cobb and Platts drugstore, Fee and Steward Hardware and two saloons, "The Buckhorn," owned by the Carltons and "The Tarpon," owned by Goss Tucker. As fast as the men built saloons, the women raised money to build churches. There was first a Baptist church, then an Episcopalian and Methodist and Presbyterian. Pineapples were covering the river ridge all up and down the coast. The fishing industries of Sample, Peterson, and Ricou were shipping hundreds of barrels of fish each day, all caught in the Indian River. The pineapple crop could be harvested in ten weeks in the summer and net a man a large enough profit to support his family in grand style the rest of the year. Frank Tyler had built a hotel on the river and settlers could come in sailboat at night to see the home talent shows directed and produced by George Buckus in the Improvement Club over the old barrel factory. These busy citizens were concerned by the incoming of undesirable characters, the drifters from the railway. By the time an offense had been reported all the way by sailboat to the county seat in Titusville, the offender would be gone and another would be in his place.

The local young men formed their own unique law-enforcement body. It was called the "Board of the Barrel of Correction." It was composed of a self-appointed group of young men interested in helping to maintain an orderly community life. The organization was not too different from the tribal councils of the Indians. All who offended the rights of others and otherwise disturbed the peace were taken to the main section of town, bent over a large wooden barrel, and soundly thrashed with a large wooden paddle for all to see. One wonders which had the sharper sting . . . the public embarrassment or the paddle! The last living member of this unique law enforcement body is W. L. Coats, now eighty years old, of Ft. Pierce.

In addition to the small trading posts and Cobb's store, the settlers looked forward to the visits by the trade boats. These were usually two masted schooners that were floating stores. A shopper could purchase everything from corsets and calico to kerosene and combs. The boats would stop off from the dock of each settler's home and the prospective customers would row out and climb aboard. The coming of the trade boat was more than just an opportunity for the settler to restock his supplies; it served as a news agency, carrying mail and messages, and the gossip of all the families up and down the coast. The captain and crew could be assured of a warm reception all up and down the river. Captain Walter Kitching had one of these boats, as did his nephew, A. B. Michael. Captain Alf Michael's dramatic life story is told in the chapter on the Indian River County and also in Volume 3 of this work.

As the steamers started regular trips down the river, life for the settlers improved. They could order delicacies and needed goods from Jacksonville. This provided a means for regular calls, once a month, by doctors and dentists. A mother could order a block of ice brought down on the steamer and have a deep hole dug in the ground, lined with wood shavings, to receive it. The ice would be ordered for a special occasion, such as a birthday party, and would keep for several days in the cool earth covered with wood shavings and paper under a layer of sand. In this way a pioneer child might have ice cream made once a year in

his honor. The first trip of the first steamer was remembered by many, for it was such an important event in the lives of these isolated people.

Every morning for a week a small boy, named Fletcher Russell, went out to keep watch all day long on a ridge overlooking the river in front of his grandfather's, Dr. John Fletcher Ankony's, home, His post of watch was marked on all government maps as Dr. Ankong's Home, and he didn't want to miss seeing the first steamer carrying passengers down the Indian River that year of 1883.

Farther up the coast in the House of Refuge attended by the Bell family, there was excitement about the expected arrival of the steamer. Emily Bell had kept watch at the window all day. Suddenly there was a commotion in the rafters overhead and a snake dropped on to the floor at her feet. Emily screamed and jumped onto the bed. Her husband rushed into the bedroom in answer to her screams, and killed the rat snake that had been up in the rafters after a rat's nest. Emily had fallen into a mosquito net on the bed, and by the time her husband got the snake killed and Emily untangled out of the net, the steamer had passed, and they had missed the historic sight.

As the railway pushed farther south, the steamers went out of business. Henry Flagler bought some of them and used them to haul materials for the railway. People could travel faster and cheaper by train and it was a more suitable way to ship fish and produce. Railway spurs were laid right into the pineapple plantations by the railway company to court the pineapple shipment away from the steamers. The railway eventually meant death to the steamer and also the trade boats.

In the 1880's and '90's, there was a great migration of Scandinavian people to this country. Most of them settled in cities and subscribed to "The Danish Pioneer", a Danish newspaper that was published in Omaha, Nebraska. In this magazine were articles by famous Danish writers, one of them named Louis Pio. He wrote glowing accounts of plans that were being made to start a Danish community on the lower east coast of Florida. At the same time a Danish land promoter ran an ad in the paper advertising land for sale at twenty dollars an acre, with lots described as being laid out and roads cleared. These new citizens eagerly read the advertisements and it was as most of them had dreamed about in coming to this new country . . . to have the opportunity to own land . . . to cultivate and raise stock. Five hundred young Danish men worked and saved and bought their tickets from Chicago to Florida on a special excursion train arranged for by the land company.

Upon their arrival at a small settlement just south of Ft. Peirce which was named "White City", after the world's fair being held in Chicago, they selected their land, and turned over their money to the land representative. The morning after their arrival they discovered that they had no deeds for the land, that Myers, the representative, had left town in the night and that he had taken their money as down payment for land that did not belong to him or the land company. Myers was never caught and these Danish immigrants were stranded in frontier Florida. The local citizens came to their aid, and Henry Flagler staked them until they could become independent. He was anxious for an agricultural community to build up, for it would mean increased freight business for his railway. A large house was built, called the "Immigrant House" and any man could bring his family there to live, free of charge, until he could erect a home of his own. Flagler furnished seed and fertilizer to them and staked the bachelors to three dollars a week and married men to five. These people were industrious, and today White City contains large and fine citrus groves and the Danish pioneer families have proved a great asset to the entire county.

The railway meant easier transportation for would-be settlers, and made more industries possible by providing transportation for the goods out of the area to markets up the coast. It also meant a more frequent means of supplying local

stores with a larger variety of goods. More stores opened along the coast and Cobb's General Store was enlarged and became the largest department store on the coast. Captain Alf Michael sold his trade boat and went north to a business school. He returned to the river country and started developing a citrus grove. Today he has a citrus dynasty and is recognized as the Dean of Florida Citrus.

Cobb's store was keeping abreast of the times. Mr. Cobb started delivery service for his housewife customers, evidenced by the daily delivery of groceries by a boy using a wheelbarrow. He branched out further and sent a horse and buggy twice a week down the sand road from Ft. Pierce south to Jensen. Yes, the pioneer wife and mother was beginning to have things much easier, and found time to dress more elegantly, plan and build fine substantial homes along the river, and organize church socials and a woman's club.

The men were prosperous and wanting to drain the back country and build roads. They wanted to expand and open the territory for others to come. Practically every man and woman was a walking Chamber of Commerce, looking to the future and boosting the area. Long discussions were held in the saloons, over billiard tables, and at night in Cobb's store. The citizens felt a need to incorporate and give a permanent name to the fast growing and prosperous settlement. The name had been changed from Bass to Can town, due to the location of the canning plant, and finally to Ft. Pierce. A notice was posted in the post office in Cobb's store for thirty days as required by law.

The community of Ft. Pierce, in that year of 1901, had twenty male inhabitants who were registered voters, and thus met the requirements for incorporation. In those days the women were not allowed to vote; rather, their only privilege was to influence the men who did. The male citizens met in Davis Hall on the second day of February for the purpose of selecting officers and organizing a municipal government in accordance with the laws of the state of Florida.

There were twenty-six names on this petition to call the meeting for the purpose of incorporation. Among the names were those of Bevil, Summerlin, Baker, Raulerson, Stetson, Platts, Edge, Hogg, Dittmar, Andrews, Ford, Roylance, Keene, Sample, Cross, Depew, O'Brian, Harriss and Davis. On the aforesaid date the meeting was held. Mr. James Andrews was elected chairman and H. I. Klopp was elected secretary. A list of qualified voters in the area had been obtained from the county seat in Titusville. The list was comprised of sixty-six eligible men, and of that number the minutes show that fifty-three were present when the roll was called.

During the due course of parliamentary procedure, the following officials were elected: Mayor, A. C. Dittmar; Aldermen, Messrs. Y. W. Hogg, D. L. Alderman, P. P. Cobb, L. L. Carlton, F. W. Tyler; City Marshall, D. S. Carlton; and City Clerk, H. T. Klopp. Mr. Dittmar owned the lumber company here at that time, and it has been related that it was in his lumber shed that the first city charter was drawn up, and it was there that the first city commission meetings were held. The city charter they selected and drew up after months of careful study was used until two years ago—1957.

The first mayor, Mr. A. C. Dittmar, was a very well educated man and one of the most civic-minded men the community has ever known. He came to Florida for his health in 1888, long before it became known as a health resort. He arrived in North Florida from Wisconsin and planted a large fig orchard at Oxford, Florida. He married a pretty Georgia girl, named Cora Hood, and started down the coast to Miami in a two-horse-drawn covered wagon. On the trip down he stopped over night in Ft. Pierce, which at that time was called one of its many early names of Edgartown, in the Edgartown Hotel which was run by a Mrs. Lago, mother-in-law of Jim Bell. He saw the possibilities of this community of only six or seven families and saw no reason to proceed farther down to Miami. He told Mrs. Lago of his fig orchard and traded it to her for the hotel. The

Dittmar family had to depend upon the monthly trips of the trade boats to import food for their hotel guests. One hurricane season a trade boat capsized and in the water labels came off of the canned goods. All of the settlers collected goods washed ashore by all wrecked boats and all of the first lumber used for dwellings was driftwood. Shoes had to be matched in pairs and bolts of material had to be stretched out to dry. Settlers divided and traded with each other, all sharing and helping each other as much as possible. The hotel guests never knew what the menu would be for weeks after that, for the cook had to try to guess if a can contained meat, peaches, or beans. They just served "pot-luck" meals and the women joined together in scientific research by weighing cans and ascertaining that those of the same weight must contain the same product. No one seemed to mind and all made a joke of it. Some people even went around wearing mismated shoes. The Dittmar's kept the hotel until they built their home in 1892 and sold the hotel to Mrs. C. T. McCarty, wife of a pioneer lawyer. Mr. Dittmar had the first rental properties in Ft. Pierce, in addition to his lumber business. He helped to organize the Cemetery Association for the cemetery donated by Mr. Bell. Mr. Dittmar started the first beautification in the community by digging up Sabal palms in the woods and setting them out along the street by his home. He donated the property for a street that is now known as U. S. Highway 1, from Moore's creek to the cemetery, and the same on Sixth street from Moore's creek to the cemetery. He installed the first telephone system in the town and had the first fire insurance company. In the 1890's when the first church was organized and built, although Mr. Dittmar was not a Baptist, he donated all of the lumber and helped to build it. This building was later sold to the Christian Church denomination, and moved to Fourth Street where it is still in use today. Mr. Dittmar helped to organize many fine civic organizations, was the first vice president of the first bank, and gave the property for the first public school building in which Mrs. McCarty taught and Mr. Hodge was the principal. He served on the school board after the creation of the county and his many kindnesses to all in need, together with his public service, was reason enough for his fellow citizens to elect him as the first mayor of their newly incorporated city.

Four years after the incorporation of the town, the citizens succeeded in getting the State Legislature to pass a bill which created St. Lucie County. The boundaries chosen were the Sebastian River on the north, the Kissimmee River on the west, the St. Lucie River on the south . . . and with the Indian River on the east, it seemed as though the boundaries were natural ones that God himself had laid out. Any direction that man rode in the county he was bound to come upon one of these waters.

This great event was the cause of much jubilation. A great celebration was planned and men and their families came from miles around. There were speeches and a parade. The parade was led by W. L. Coats on a large white horse as Marshall of the parade. W. E. Tylander and his band marched, playing stirring and triumphant marches; one or two wagons and several cars fell in line as did a group of officials and prominent citizens. There was a picnic and dancing, and the citizens felt the area was definitely on its way and nothing could stop its growth and prosperity.

The Governor appointed the first county officials who served until the first general election was held after the creation of the county. Those appointed were: County Commissioners, K. B. Raulerson, Ft. Pierce; Frank Bell, White City; W. R. Hardee, Jensen; Paul Kroegel, Sebastian; and Hardee Holmes of Fort Drum. The most outstanding service these men rendered in their term of office that first year was to construct the jail that is still being used. Robert Lennard was the first sherriff, John Wynn was the county treasurer; Dr. C. P. Platts, Superintendent of Public Instruction; R. G. Hardee, Tax Assessor; and

a Mr. Dutton from White City was appointed Tax Collector. J. E. Fultz was Clerk of the Court and Ned Summerlin was appointed Game Warden.

This group of men was faced with gigantic problems, such as drainage of the back country, building schools and starting the construction of roads.

Dr. C. P. Platts, who had been appointed as the first Superintendent of Public Instruction, was one of the most dearly loved men in the area. He was the first doctor to move into Ft. Pierce as a permanent resident and he literally gave his life for the people here. Dr. Platts was a very young man when he came to Florida in 1895 because he was suffering from ill health. His uncle, John Phillips, who was at the head of a bank in Melbourne, had suggested that the young physician come to this mild climate in hopes that his strength and health might be restored.

Dr. Platts and Peter Cobb opened a drugstore on the corner of Second Street and Avenue A so that his prescriptions could be compounded, and his office was upstairs over the drug store. One of the biggest items sold in the drug store was hair oil which was sold to the colored residents for the purpose of straightening the hair. Dr. Platts would have his clerk mix some Bergoment in a small bottle of castor oil and color it green. This gave the oil a pleasant color and odor and sold for thirty-five cents a bottle.

After Dr. Fee of Melbourne passed away, Dr. Platts was the only physician to serve the area from Cocoa to West Palm Beach, along the coast, and out west to Fort Drum and Bassinger. This was a tremendous task for a strong man, and for Dr. Platts, who was suffering from a serious type of anemia, it eventually meant his death. Dr. Platts was the type of man who was a dedicated physician, and these pioneers who had lived so many years without the benefit of a doctor could fully appreciate his service and self-sacrifice. He was never known to refuse to go to the aid of anyone. He had a bicycle that he used for his town calls, a sailboat named "The Alligator" that he used for his longer calls up and down the river, and a horse and buggy for his country calls west of town. He was also engaged as the railroad doctor in this area and was paid a retainers fee of fifty dollars a month. Often he would catch the freight train down to one of the many pineapple plantations along the river ridge to answer a call for his services. Later, Dr. Platts was driven to many of his calls in the second car to appear in Ft. Pierce. It was owned and driven by William P. Underwood.

Dr. Platts' patients included the Indians hereabouts, and they paid for their medical services in venison and other wild game. At first Dr. Platts charged one dollar and fifty cents for home calls, and later raised it to three. Even the settlers often had to pay for his services with food or livestock. The Platts had a fine cow that was given to them on a bill and this came in handy with the five young children who had been born to them. The children had a nice pony to ride—another payment on a bill.

Since there were no telephones, most of his calls came from personal messenger. He was forced to operate in the homes or in his office over the drug store. At such times his prescription clerk would assist him. Chloroform was the standard anesthetic. One day a man had his leg badly crushed in an accident. He was carried to Dr. Platts' office and the leg was sawed off there to save the man's life. Later the man was sent up the coast to the hospital in St. Augustine. Another time the fireman on a train became involved in an accident in which a sliver of metal was driven into his eye. His engineer took him up to Dr. Platts' office. This was a very delicate operation and Dr. Platts knew that the patient must be kept very still, without so much as a flicker of the eye if his sight was to be saved. As he stood there pondering the situation, the engineer said he was a hypnotist and could hypnotize the fireman if the doctor would allow it. Dr. Platts gave his permission, and the young pioneer physician performed a delicate operation in his office over the drug store, using hypnotic anesthesia . . . a technique with which

nodern doctors of this miraculous scientific age are experimenting and finding mportant enough to write about in medical journals.

Dr. Platts was serving as Superintendent of Public Instruction at the time of his leath. He had come to this area, hoping to regain his health, but found the peo-le pitifully in need of a doctor. He lived each day according to the creed he ook as a doctor, serving in all kinds of weather, under conditions that were dif-icult, never refusing a request. In 1907, at the age of thirty-nine, the young ioneer doctor passed away, leaving his mark in the area as a dedicated physician nd a strong influence on a growing, newly formed county educational system.

With the creation of the county it was possible at last to float bond issues to ay for the expense of public works such as a court house, schools and roads. ne problem that posed a constant threat to the growth of the area was the nosquito infestation. Many considered it one of those parts of nature which all nust accept and bear, along with droughts and gales. W. I. Fee, however, was irmly convinced that measures could be taken to eliminate this problem so that t would become a negligible one in future years. That was the only flaw in this country to mar the perfect living conditions and he determined to do something about it. Mr. Fee traveled all up and down the coast advocating that better drainage be adopted and that draining ditches be dug and stocked with fish to eradicate the majority of the mosquitoes. Many laughed at him and felt that the river marshes and the swamps in the back country were too vast to do an effective job of control. Mr. Fee did not discourage easily, and day by day more thinking persons joined with his reasoning. Finally, Mr. Fee was able to convince the coastal towns to start a system of drainage ditches. It was a small start of a great battle that eventually caught on, proved itself worthwhile and thus became the parent of the present day scientific mosquito control that all coastal towns automatically adopt in their yearly budgets.

Will Fee not only pioneered in the mosquito control program but he also was the instigator of the organization for the protection of the local citrus growers known today as the Indian River Citrus League. He spent his life in St. Lucie county and devoted his early years to helping to develop the area and his later years in collecting for publication a vast store of Florida history. He was the first undertaker in these parts and owned a hardware store for many years on Second Street in Ft. Pierce.

Mr. Fee enjoyed teaching youngsters their Florida history, and upon one occasion, to make it more realistic to a group of Boy Scouts, he took them to Okeechobee to the place of the great battle of Okeechobee with the Seminoles. There he divided the group into Indians, under the leadership of one boy who represented the Chief, Coahcoochee, and another group who represented the United States troops, and they fought a mock battle of Okeechobee.

With the advent of the motor car, better roads, and the railway, activity began to lessen on the river. Where it had once been ablaze with sails, and so vital in the daily life of all the settlers, it now settled to being a business partner of commercial fishermen only, and for occasional outings for oystering, picnics on the island, and boat racing.

The back country was becoming more important as drainage made it possible to plant crops and set out citrus groves. The first commercial citrus grove was planted by E. Sydney Williams from Rockledge.

Mr. Williams was the son of the Honorable H. S. Williams, Senator from Brevard County, who was one of the first and largest citrus growers there. The year of the 1894 freeze was a devastating one for citrus growers in that section. The fruit was ruined and a large number of trees were even killed. Whole groves were chopped down and the orange wood, a very hard wood, was shipped to the north for the manufacture of mallet heads and chisel handles. Word had reached Rockledge and Titusville that the few trees around homes of the pioneers

in this area were unhurt by the freeze and that the fruit had an unusually good flavor. As a result, the Williams' bought the old Bell homestead west of Ft. Pierce and set about clearing the land for the area's first commercial citrus grove. That grove is still bearing today and is owned by the DiGorgio interests. Most citizens were getting so wealthy with their pineapples that only a few were interested in the tedious task of clearing the back country for large citrus groves.

Then around the year 1910 something began to happen to cause residents to fear for the growth of the area. The pineapple, their King of Crops, began to be attacked by a mysterious plant disease. In addition to this a new competition had arisen. The Cuban growers, with their cheap labor, could harvest their "pine", ship them to Florida to a railway outlet much cheaper than we could grow them here and ship them straight out of the field. Death finally came to this fabulous crop as the big industry of the area when World War I came and the needed fertilizer for the crop, which came from Germany, was entirely wiped out.

A few faithfless ones left St. Lucie County, feeling that the area was doomed along with the pineapple crop, but most stayed on, realizing that there was a vast wealth in the back country and a willingness to develop it. Many pineapple growers turned to citrus and today it is the largest industry in the county.

When the big land boom hit Florida, St. Lucie county was in the midst of it all. Developers and speculators poured into town and joined with the local citizens in bidding and buying. One parcel of land would change hands eight and ten times a day and the fever to buy and sell for higher and higher prices mounted to such a pitch that only one thing could happen, which it did . . . the bubble burst and the shock of financial loss had a paralyzing effect upon the whole land.

It was during this time of superficial prosperity that one Fred G. McMullen, President of the bank of Ft. Pierce, organized the Ft. Pierce Financing and Construction Company for the purpose of developing a port at Ft. Pierce. He was a man who was dedicated to the future of St. Lucie County and felt certain that all investors would gain greatly from the venture. There was an inlet north of Ft. Pierce, but this was considered inadequate for the port. The company was formed in 1919 with Fred G. McMullen, president; Ewllyn Thomas (now a Florida Supreme Court Judge), secretary; and P. C. Eldred, L. L. Carlton, Edgar Lewis, and A. N. Hoofnagle as members of the Board. Stock was sold and many townspeople, as well as the officers and members of the Board, invested heavily. Stock was sold at between twenty and thirty-three dollars a share.

This group was incorporated in 1921 and joined with the Ft. Pierce Inlet District in carrying out the port project. A large amount of land was purchased on the water front. The Finance and Construction company agreed to cut an inlet directly across the island opposite the water front purchased at Ft. Pierce. The jetties had been built first, and the Ft. Pierce Inlet District was to continue the channel, cutting it from 18 to 22 feet to the land. On May 8, 1921, the Tuscamilla, a dredge of the Seaboard Dredging Company from Jacksonville, started from the river side, cutting a channel across the island which would connect the river with the ocean. On May 9, the tide had broken through and finished the job.

A toll bridge was built from the mainland to Fort Pierce Beach. This involved digging out the fill from the area that would be used as a ship channel. This made what is known today as Causeway Island. In 1925 the Casino was built on the beach to stimulate people to use the toll bridge to cross to the beach for recreation.

By 1927 the "land boom" had completely collapsed and beach lots, along with all Florida real estate, were impossible to sell. The Finance and Construction company had borrowed heavily from the bank for this tremendously ex-

pensive project, and Mr. McMullen, president of both the bank and the construction company, together with L. L. Carlton and other stockholders, put their vast amount of Port stock up as collateral for the loans. These men believed so strongly in the port and the good it would do for the area that no sacrifice seemed too great a risk for it. They, like practically all Florida boosters, never dreamed that the "land boom" could come to such a sudden and deadly halt. They lost so heavily that many of them never recovered financially. But the day was to come to prove their far-sightedness to be right, and their dreams to become realities, though, sadly enough, not in the life time of those who risked so much, and died penniless, but knowing in their hearts it should and must one day be.

In 1925, the late Edwin Binney invested heavily in the port's Finance and Construction Company and became its president in 1926-27.

By 1930 the port awaited the arrival of its first ship and the first service was inaugurated by the Baltimore and Carolina Line, a subsidiary of the Bull Steamship line. The formal opening day was February 22, 1930, when the "Betty Weems" entered the port for a cargo of general commodities from the Ft. Pierce area and started a regular coastal service from New York, Baltimore, and Ft. Pierce. This called for a great celebration, and many thousands of people came to attend it. While the "Betty Weems" was the first ship of the regular line, actually the first vessel to enter the port upon its completion was the schooner "Catherine M. Scott" that stopped for a load of lumber on February 9, 1930.

The Baltimore and Carolina Line continued to operate out of the Port of Ft. Pierce all during the '30's and until World War II. In 1934, the Indian River Refrigeration Terminal Company was completed and open for business. This company increased its business until it was serving other lines such as Merchants and Miners Steamship Company. This coat-wise refrigerated service continued until 1941 when it was necessary to withdraw vessels from this service because of the war.

In 1935 the Port of Ft. Pierce became a Federal Project with sufficient funds to deepen the channel from 25 to 27 feet.

Because of the war, all commercial activity ceased at the port and in 1941 it was under military supervision. In 1942 North and South Islands were occupied by the Army and Navy, and it was here that the first groups in underwater demolition were studied and practiced for the African Invasion. Here, most of the time, thirty thousand young men were stationed, carrying out mock landings, mock sabotage of the port, and the "Frogmen" of the service came into being and were trained. All civilian use of the port and islands and beaches was prohibited, as Ft. Pierce once again became an important area to the United States Government and military activities.

In the years following the war the port slowly began to function in its former capacity. The community itself mushroomed into almost "boom-time" prosperity but with more substantial business interets. Both beaches became a bee-hive of civilian construction and former service men returned to purchase homes and businesses to become permanent citizens. The population doubled in size and new industries were established. Increasingly larger acreages of land were cleared and farmed, set out in citrus, or utilized as modern up to date ranches. The Saint Lucie County Bank that had moved from Jensen in 1910 when Ft. Pierce became the county seat of the newly created St. Lucie County, expanded greatly, and two new banks opened.

In 1957 the Ft. Pierce Finance and Construction Company was dissolved and all assets were purchased, including the harbor front by a new corporation, the Ft. Pierce Port and Terminal Company. All stock holders, who had long since given up their early investment in the port as a complete loss, were paid thirty-three dollars per share. Joseph C. Mackey, a large developer in Florida, bought a great deal of the stock, and M. E. Murphy of Murphy Construction Company

is the Chairman of the Board. This corporation will be expanding the port facilities in three different stages so that it will be one of the largest and finest harbors on the coast of the southern United States.

This little village on the Indian River that started with five families only eighty years ago has achieved astronomical progress.

The population of this county that has only one incorporated town was 39,294 in 1960. There are over forty different industries, the majority of which are directly related to agriculture. It is on agriculture that the economy of this county is based, although in recent years tourism has started to play a more important part. Tomatoes and cucumbers are the largest vegetable crops, though beans, corn, watermelons, cabbage and sweet potatoes are grown in large quantities, too. The State Farmer's Market located in St. Lucie County is one of the largest in the state and has the largest volume of tomatoes of any market. Because the county is small in size, only about seven or eight hundred acres of land are farmed, and the rest, outside of business and homes, is in citrus, and dairy and beef cattle ranches.

The citrus groves cover between thirty-five and forty thousand acres of land with orange sand grapefruit being the predominant crops. Aside from the shipment of fresh fruit there are citrus canning plants, the Manhan fresh fruit juice that is delivered daily in cartons like milk, and the large Minute Maid Frozen Fruit Concentrate plant. Many growers have their own packing houses while others are members of a cooperative, the Growers Exchange, and the grading and shipping of their fruit is handled through these packing house facilities. All of the citrus in St. Lucie County is known by the Indian River Brand, and it is known the world over for its fine quality and unusual flavor.

The cattle indusry in St. Lucie County has come a long way from the small herd of native cattle brought to the area by the Carlton family in the 1870's. Today there are 200,000 acres of fenced improved pastures with scientifically selected herds comprised of the Whiteface Hereford, Black Angus, Brahma, and Santa Gertrudis breeds of cattle. The ranchers feel that their contribution to the economy of the county is especially important, for most of this 200,000 acres is land that was not suitable for any other purpose, and until they diked and improved it, it brought in no taxes to the county and no revenue of any kind. Today the ranchers of the cattle industry pay taxes on more land than all of the other industries combined. The Carlton family is still one of the largest in the ranching business and only recently, Thad Carlton, who is also an attorney, bought a Scotch breed of cattle, the Red Angus, to stock on his ranch. Added to the name of Carlton are now big ranchers such as the Cow Creek Raulerson ranch, owned by Frank Raulerson's granddaughter, Mrs. T. L. Sloan; the Alto Adams and Son Ranch which alone produces enough beef each year to feed ten thousand people; the Peacock Ranch; Scott Radebaugh, Brown, Culverhouse, Becker, and Inglehart. Alto Adams, Jr., is the state president of the Cattleman's Association and grew up in St. Lucie County until his father, Alto, Sr., was appointed to the State Supreme Court. Now, once again, they are both permanent residents of the county.

The public school system of which the pioneer doctor, C. P. Platts was the first superintendent, has grown with the rest of the county. This year over seven thousand children were enrolled in the public schools where the most modern buildings and facilities are used. This is quite a contrast to the small one room school that was located half way between Ft. Pierce and St. Lucie, where all grades were taught by one teacher, and the children had classes outdoors on cold days so they could gather around a fire for warmth. The fine lunchrooms serving a variety of hot meals are a contrast to the little tin buckets that held biscuits and venison, and the refrigerated drinking fountains are not closely related to the bucket and tin dipper that was used by all.

Junior Colleges

In 1959, funds were allocated and approval given by the State Board of Education for establishing two Junior Colleges in St. Lucie County.

These facilities are being established for the benefit of white and colored students in the tri-county area of St. Lucie, Martin and Indian River counties.

The School for white students has been named "The Indian River Junior College" with a native son, Dr. Maxwell King, appointed as president, and the school for colored students has been named "Lincoln Park Junior College".

Both of these new State Junior Colleges will be open and receiving students at the beginning of the school term in September, 1960.

Where once stood plantations of pineapples are now thriving businesses in the heart of a city, and lands that were swamps and jungle have been cleared and upon them rest attractive housing subdivisions, that number about seventy-five in all.

Cobb's Store building now houses a furniture store and where his dock once stood is a busy municipal yacht basin.

No longer do our doctors have to operate in small offices for there is a large hospital that was constructed at a cost of $1,250,000. and having one hundred and ten beds available for the sick, and a staff of twenty-three doctors. The medical facilities have vastly improved in the county, but the dedication of the doctor to his patient could never be more than that known by the pioneers of their young physician, Dr. Platts.

Daniel T. McCarty, Governor

Daniel T. McCarty, a grandson of St. Lucie County's pioneer lawyer, Charles T. McCarty, was elected Florida's 31st governor and was one of the youngest governors to serve the State of Florida in that office.

This young statesman was born in Ft. Pierce and educated in the public schools here. He was reared in the Episcopal faith and attended a small wooden church his grandparents and parents had helped to build.

His higher education was obtained at the University of Florida where he graduated from the School of Agriculture. Prior to his election as Governor, he returned to Ft. Pierce and engaged in ranching and the citrus industry. His father, Daniel Sr., had been one of the pioneer citrus growers.

Soon after Dan McCarthy took his oath of office he suffered a heart attack, and before he had served his first year as Governor, had died in office. During those months of illness, his brother John, an attorney, ran the office for him while his brother Brian attended to the family cattle and citrus interests.

This was a tragic ending for a fine and ambitious man who had been born with two generations of pride in St. Lucie County and the State of Florida.

Today, a beautifully landscaped highway, stretching between Vero Beach and Ft. Pierce, has been dedicated to his memory and is marked with a large bronze plaque. The new St. Lucie County High School was named for him as well as the new College of Agriculture Building at the University of Florida in Gainesville, Florida.

One other St. Lucie County resident served the state in the office of governor. He was Ossian B. Hart, Governor just one year in 1873, when he died in office. Governor Hart came to the area that is now St. Lucie County with the Indian River Colony which came under the sponsorship of the Congressional Armed Occupation Act around 1843. His residence, along with the rest of the colony, terminated after four years when the entire colony was driven off by hostile Indians.

"Along These Waters"

Each year more people move into St. Lucie County, but their reasons for coming are the same . . . the mild climate, the fertile land, the opportunities for

economic advancement. And while names and faces are new and far outnumber the pioneer families of old, each year Peter Cobb, The Carltons, the Bells, Paines, Hendrys and Hoggs. Mayor Dittmar, Dr. Platts and others walk beside the river, brought back to life in an historical outdoor drama, "Along These Waters", that is presented during the Sandy Shores Festival in St. Lucie County each spring. In this way, all new comers get close to the heart-beat of their community, and all are thrilled anew with the courage, the ingenuity, and the faith of our pioneers. This year the city is constructing a thirty thousand dollar amphitheatre on the river, and here the early history of St. Lucie County will be re-enacted . . . Once again the trade boats will come, and all will run out to meet them . . . and know that the founders of this county did indeed help it to become one of the finest—here . . . "along these waters!"

CKWOOD

CHAPTER XXIV

MARTIN COUNTY

By Ada Coats Williams

STUART, THE COUNTY SEAT of Martin County has often been described as "the smallest city" in Florida, yet it can boast, among other attributes, of having one of the oldest recorded historical heritages of any area in the state of Florida.

D. O. True of Miami, an authority on early Florida maps, reported to the Stuart News in 1950 that evidence indicated that John Sebastian Cabot, the English explorer and navigator, beat Ponce de Leon of Spain sixteen or seventeen years to the discovery of Florida. According to Mr. True, Cosa's map of 1500 shows Cabot's discoveries in Florida in 1496 and 1497. This mentions for the first time the River St. Lucia.

Most historians have given the credit for naming the area in which Martin County is located, and the St. Lucie River, to the Spanish soldier, Juan Valez Medrano, who was serving under Menendez. This soldier had his orders to establish a series of blockhouses along the coast for the protection and convenience of ship-wrecked Spanish sailors and soldiers. Until that time the lower part of the peninsula, now known as the Indian River Section, was little explored. The first settlement was at the north end of the river and was attacked by hostile Ays Indians. Medrano moved his men farther south along the river, and is reported to have named the country thereabouts "Santa Lucia" for one of his Catholic saints. Medrano and his men soon deserted this post due to dysentery, unfriendly Indians, and hunger. Though the flag of Florida was to change five times, and the southern east coast of the state was to be divided into numerous counties with many changes of names, the St. Lucie River has always retained its name.

This river is surrounded with legend and romance. There is an old Indian Legend about how the river began. In the days before man's habitation of the peninsula there were herds of elephants and other large animals. The elephants would go swinging along their trail to the back country, later known as the Halpatte-Oka Flats, where fresh water oozed from the ground and collected in the low swampy places. This trail, through the years, was worn deep and wide and winding, due to the swinging pattern in which elephants travel. During the rainy season when the water collected in the Flats, it would wash down this elephant trail towards the Indian River. Through the years, this rush of water would wash out the trail, making it deeper and wider.

The verification that such mammals did inhabit the peninsula is borne out by a Yale University Publication in Anthropology by Irving Rouse and Vera M. Ferguson in their pamphlet number forty-four, which is a Survey of Indian River Archeology.

According to Andrew P. Canova, a private soldier during the campaign of 1855-58, the St. Lucie River, which he described as being ten miles in length, was held in awe by the Indians. He further states:

"There is something peculiar about this stream. Along its banks plants are found which are sought in vain elsewhere. The Indians regard it with mysterious awe, so that it might be called the Ganges of the Seminole. But the characteristic which gives it such importance to the eye of the hunter is that here the rare manatee is to be found with certainty."

JONATHAN DICKINSON'S JOURNAL

It was in this county of legend and romance that perhaps the greatest witness for the Christian faith was enacted—an act so great that the entire nation should be filled with pride that it took place on her soil. This is, perhaps, the real beginning of Martin County's History, and is recorded in a diary by one Jonathan Dickinson, Quaker, who was shipwrecked on these shores together with his family and a small band of Quaker friends.

The journal, kept by Dickinson, was entitled "God's Protecting Providence, Man's Surest Help and Defense in Times of Greatest Difficulty." This book has become an American classic, not known by the title under which the Yale Historical Publications printed it: "Dickinson's Journal." Jonathan Dickinson was a planter in Jamica who was sailing with his family, Robert Barrow (a leader of the Friends), and about twenty-five other Quakers, slaves and a ship's crew, to found a settlement in the new colony of Pennsylvania. On the night of September 23, 1696, they sailed into a raging gale and were shipwrecked on Jupiter Island, some six miles south of the present St. Lucie Inlet.

From this early writer we learn of the Indians who inhabited the area now known as Martin County:

"About the eighth or ninth hour (after the wreck) two Indian men came, being naked except for a small piece of platted work of straws . . . and fastened behind with a horse-tail in likeness made of a sort of silk grass, from the southward, running fiercely and foaming at the mouth, having no weapons except their knives, violently seized the first of our men they met . . . Their countenance was very furious and bloody. They had their hair tied in a roll behind from which stuck two bones, shaped one like a broad arrow, the other a spearhead . . ." As the Quakers saw more Indians coming from the woods, they realized that their few muskets would not hold them long in combat, so they decided not to fire, but to place their trust in God.

"We sat ourselves down, expecting cruelty and hard death, except it should please the Almighty God to work wonderfully for our deliverance. In this deep concernment, some of us were not left without hopes; blessed be the name of the Lord, in Whom we trusted."

They were taken prisoners by the Indians, suffered unheard of privations, were mocked and mistreated, but never lost their faith and eventually made their way up the coast to St. Augustine. Thus through this journal, we get an accurate account of the life of white people shipwrecked on the Florida coast in 1696, and the nature and dress of the Indians who inhabited the present area of Martin County.

This area was in the line of march of the forts established during the Seminole Indian Wars. The Ays Indians, who had inhabited the area had been killed or absorbed by the branch of the Creek Nation of Indians who broke away from their people in Georgia and Alabama and migrated to Florida to become known as the Seminoles. Early settlers in the Martin County area chose this section that was between old Ft. Pierce and Ft. Jupiter.

Indian River Colony

Following the Seminole Wars settlement was still difficult, for enough Indians had escaped to the Everglades to outnumber small bands of would-be settlers. The United States Government was anxious to settle the lower peninsula, however, and in 1842 Congress passed the Armed Occupation Act which granted one hundred and sixty acres of land to anyone who could hold it against the Indians for a period of seven years.

Two colonies were outfitted; one going to the west coast of Florida and the other to the east coast. The east coast group was the Indian River Colony, and they chose to establish themselves in a section where claims were placed, reaching from

Barker's Bluff near Sebastian on the north to old Fort Jupiter on the south. It was during the first years of this attempted settlement that the pineapple, a fruit that was to become "the king of crops" was first introduced to the local scene. Captain Burnham, who was later to become the keeper of the lighthouse at Cape Canaveral, was the first to plant pineapples on his claim at Ankona Bluff. The most important accomplishment of these early pioneers was the opening of the inlet at Gilbert's Bar. The Indian River Inlet did not give them the service they needed, so they selected a place at Gilbert's Bar, almost opposite the mouth of the St. Lucie River, that separated the river from the ocean. They all joined in digging a channel through the narrow strip of land, and had to do the job by hand. There was a large supply of fresh water collected in the Indian River during the rainy season of that year and it broke through unexpectedly and almost cost the settlers their lives.

This small band of courageous people, composed of about forty families, mostly from southern states, were to flee the land they had worked so hard for years to clear and develop. One of the men who had cheated the Indians in some dealings with them was killed. This caused the Indians to experience anew their old hatred of the white man and they threatened to massacre the entire settlement. Some white people wanted to stay but most of them were frightened enough to want to leave. It has been recorded that in the month of August, 1849, the Indian River Colony was dissolved as they all loaded their one boat, and sailed up the river to St. Augustine and safety. One of this group was O. B. Hart, who later was to become Governor of Florida.

The only other recorded settler who attempted to make permanent settlement in this section was James Hutchinson who received a grant of two thousand acres from the Spanish Governor in 1807. His grant was on an island and lay between the Indian River Inlet and the St. Lucie Inlet. He died one year after he settled there and his family abandoned the grant, but left their mark on the area. Today the island is still called Hutchinson's Island.

Another landmark is said to have derived its name from the early days of piracy along the Florida coast. This was an area to attract pirates, for the Spanish used the Florida straits and their ships were known to be treasure ships laden with gold and other precious cargoes. One Pete Pence has written:

"Ever since the time bold adventurers set forth from Europe to discover a new world, Florida's erratic coast of now submerged reefs and shoals has become a graveyard for many proud ships.

"It is believed that in the 1830's the pirate, Gilbert, hung lights on the shore where the House of Refuge now stands to lure passing ships onto the shoal and reef which runs along the shore there. Once the ships were stranded on the shoal, Gilbert and his men would hurry to the scene in boats, plunder the craft and murder the crew and passengers. Thus did Gilbert's Shoal or Gilbert's Bar become named."

Houses of Refuge

In the early 1870's the United States Government found a need for the establishment and maintenance of life saving stations along the east coast of Florida. In May, 1875, an advertisement was placed in the newspapers asking for bids to construct "Houses of Refuge" at the following localities in Florida:

"One on the beach about 13 miles north of the Indian River Inlet, at the trail from Bethel Creek; one on the beach about one and one half miles north of Gilbert's Bar, at a place known as St. Lucie Rocks; one at Orange Grove, so called, near Ft. Lauderdale on the beach about six miles north of New River Inlet; and one near Ft. Lauderdale on the beach opposite the head of Biscayne Bay, about ten miles north of Cape Florida. . . ."

Other houses were ordered later, but these first were built by Albert Blaisdell, an experienced government contractor from Boston. He agreed to build these five

houses at a cost of two thousand, nine hundred and ninety dollars each. In addition the contract with him specified that the stations be completed by April 1, 1876, with a thirty dollar per diem penalty for every day past the target date.

In 1885-'86, five more stations were ordered built at these locations: Smith's Creek, Mosquito Lagoon, Chester Shoal, Cape Malabar, and Indian River Inlet (referring to the old inlet) at the location of the present site of Pepper Park. Some of these stations were discontinued after only a few years of service; some were burned, some were destroyed by hurricanes: while a few remained in service well into the twentieth century. They were all a forerunner of our present Coast Guard Stations.

Martin County has the only House of Refuge now in existence. It was one of the first five built and was called "Station Number Two, Gilbert's Bar" on the government records. Its history of service was kept from 1875 until 1945, though at first one keeper did not send in a report due to "having no barometer, nor thermometer, official envelopes, stamps, stationery, or journal . . . and the location of the House being so far away that it would be impossible to send in a weekly journal to the Government." This situation was quickly remedied. The Government sent him a journal, and records were kept of the wind and the condition of the weather and sea, as well as the number and type of vessels sighted passing each day.

Unlike the present Coast Guard Stations, one man and his family were the keepers of the station. At times the man had volunteer help when there were wrecks, but for the most part it was a lonely existence for the family living there.

One of the keepers of this last remaining House of Refuge at Gilbert's Bar was W. E. Rea. He must have been a man who knew and loved the sea in order to execute his duties so devotedly. From his account of the dramatic rescues at sea, written in careful script at the bottom of a routine factual government report, we find that he was a man of poetry, too. This is his account of the wreck of the Italian Bark, "George's Valentine," and the fate of its crew of twelve:

"A terrible gale was raging with torrents of rain, the night was dark, and the storm so severe it was impossible to see anything. The Keeper kept lights burning which attracted the sailors to the station from the wreck. One man came ashore on the floating lumber, cold, hungry and naked. Later he assisted in rescuing six others of the crew of twelve . . . all totally exhausted and would have died before morning from battling with the waves that were one mass of lumber, and hanging onto the riggins. Many were dashed against the rocks before the Keeper could rescue them.

"The Keeper worked all night hunting through the lumber for disabled seamen, the air full of flying lumber, the breaking of which sounded like the report of thousands of rifles."

Station No. 2 at Gilbert's Bar is the last to keep the watch over the sea. Though no longer on active duty, it now stands as a museum and gives "refuge" to the historical records, the early maps and charts, household furnishings, and souveniers of an era long past. . . but kept alive by the records of those who chose to live and die along these waters.

During the 1870's, the area now known as Martin County was receiving the first permanent settlers. They were indeed men and women of destiny. It was as though the hand of the Creator had selected and guided each here for some special trait of character and endurance. They were all believers in the Faith, for at no time has any one recorded one of these permanent settlers as a non-believer. The time had come on the calendar of the Universe for this area to join with man in bringing forth from a tropical wilderness a modern progressive civilization. This was not done easily or quickly, but painfully, slowly, and with many hardships and dangers.

Indian Town

One of the earliest settlements in Martin County was at Indian Town, west of the Indian River. The daughter of Enoch Mizell, Annie, and young Francis Marion Platts, were married in 1868. This young couple, in their twenties, together with their children migrated to Indian Town. Young Platts dreamed of becoming a cattleman and chose this place of the "open range." At the time of their arrival, they were the only white family there, and had traveled in ox-carts and horse-drawn wagons. There were no roads, only an Indian trail to follow. Platts built a log cabin for his family and covered it with cypress shingles that he and his sons cut out of the cypress swamp in the Allapattah Flats east of Indian Town. The Indian children were their playmates, and each year they gathered to hold their Green Corn Dance just a mile from the Platts' log cabin.

In those days, the only road from Indian Town to the east coast was to Jupiter, and was known as the "Old Wire Road," which was a beat-out trail the soldiers had used during the Indian Wars. There were still strands of wire and insulators on the trees which had been used for telegraph communications from Fort Drum to Fort Jupiter.

Francis Platts was accredited with laying out the first road from Stuart to Indian Town about 1902, which was merely grubbed and cleared, and later, graded. Soon a Post Office was established there and Francis Platts, the Postmaster, named it "Annie" for his wife. He also named the road the "Stuart-Annie" road, a name it was called until it was later graded and improved and renamed the "Gaines Highway" for a Martin County Commissioner under whose term the road was improved.

Indian Town was on the one hundred mile mission route of an old time pioneer circuit-preacher, the reverend Edward M. C. Dunklin. He was a Baptist preacher from Alabama, had attended the Baptist Theological Seminary of that state, and called himself a "sinner hunter." He decided the game he sought was as plentiful in frontier Florida as the wild game of the county. Indeed, he was convinced that the marshes were as rich in sinners as in "egrets, alligators and cat-fish." He was fifty-seven years of age at that time. He established his home on the shore of Lake Okeechobee and would walk thirty miles to Indian Town to preach. On one occasion, it is reported that the following items were counted in the collection he received: thirty cents, two pieces of gum, two buttons, half a match and several bullets. This did not discourage the devout man, who went from cabin to cabin in the community and was respected and loved by many. He was known affectionately by many names The Indians called him "the Jesus man," the darkies called him "Li'l Ole Bro' Dunklin," and settlers often referred to him as "the Gospel peddler."

One of Indian Town's pioneer boosters was S. Davies Warfield. He was president of the Seaboard Air Line Railway. His company had built their railway into West Palm Beach, and his land company had bought more than half of what was to become Martin County. He spent a great deal of time in and around Stuart. While a great many of the developers were mainly interested in the coastal properties, Mr. Warfield was greatly attracted to Indian Town. He intended to make it a great city and he got off to a good start. He had plans for establishing a newspaper there, but his early death put an end to his dreams and plans for Indian Town. The men who replaced him on the Seaboard management abandoned the Indian Town project.

Indian Town pioneers are the O. D. Parkers, from the pioneer families of Parker and Rowell, who have lived in Martin County for almost fifty years. . . families who were among the first in settling and developing the west sid eof Martin County.

Today Indian Town, whose first white settler came for the purpose of establishing a ranch, is in the heart of Martin County's farming and cattle country. Each year thousands come there in February to see Florida's prize rodeo stock in action. The "Wild-South" can be seen at G. C. Thorpe's spectacular Circle-T Championship Rodeo.

[illegible]

and was known as the "Old White Barn" [illegible]

had [illegible] the Indian [illegible]

on the [illegible] world had been used for the [illegible] community [illegible]

to [illegible]

[illegible]

Town about 1909 which was utterly ruined and [illegible]

[illegible]

Where once the only home was a cypress-shingled log cabin, Indian Town now has modern housing sub-divisions, and in addition to the cattle industry and farming, many positions have been made available to residents at the Pratt and Whitney Aircraft Plant.

Like the settlers of old, modern residents fish, hunt and use the St. Lucie Canal at Indian Town that boasts black bass, bream, speckled perch, and catfish. Wild game, such as deer and quail and turkey are mostly to be found on privately owned ranches, but they are reported to be in abundance.

Jensen Beach

Long before the name of Stuart, Ft. Pierce, or Vero Beach could be found on government maps as towns, the name of Jensen was printed plainly on all of them. At one time, Jensen was the most thriving community in this area along the river. This little community was named for John L. Jensen, who had been influenced to come to Florida by a family by the name of Baker who lived at Sewall's Point. This was the year 1882, and John Jensen homesteaded about one mile of land along the river. He became a pineapple grower. Here, John T. Stanley built the El Frisco Hotel, which was a large three story wooden building with five hundred room accommodations. According to Mr. William Tylander, a pioneer of St. Lucie County, it was in this hotel that all the big business deals were made in this area, because it was the best hotel around for many years.

At about this same time, there was a Frederickson family living in New Mexico. The father was employed at a large sawmill and provided a good living for his wife and only child—a son, W. L. Frederickson. In 1893, the year of the great economic panic, the mill closed down, and Father Frederickson knew that he must move elsewhere to provide for his family. He had been reading about Jamaica and thought they should move there. His wife had been reading articles by a Danish writer, named Pio, about the opportunities to be found in Florida, and she thought they should go there. W. L. Frederickson was then in his twenties and he persuaded them to let him make the decision. They agreed, and he took a coin from his pocket and said: "Tails for Jamaica, heads for Florida." The coin landed heads up and the family started for Florida. They traveled by rail to Titusville, then booked passage on the river steamer St. Lucie, to Jensen.

It was close to midnight when the Fredericksons went aboard the steamer to start their trip down the river. When morning came, W. L. Frederickson said, "The sun was shining, green and picturesque palm trees lined the shores on either side, and fish were jumping everywhere in front of the boat. It was the most wonderful sight I ever saw, and I told my parents we must be headed for heaven for sure." When the steamer arrived at Jensen the next afternoon it was unable to dock. A hurricane had hit shore just the week before, and had washed away most of the docks. All along the way settlers would row out to the steamer to get their mail and any freight that was on board for them. At Jensen, John Jensens' brother-in-law, a Mr. Sorensen, met the boat in a lighter and took the passengers, numbering about a dozen, ashore. As they landed the mosquitoes swarmed on them, covering every inch of bare skin. Some of the women screamed, and they were hustled into the hotel, as one of the local settlers brushed the mosquitoes away from the door with a long brush that had been made by stripping a palmetto bud into long fine strips. These brushes were standard equipment and were kept hanging on all doors of all the dwellings up and down the coast for many years. These and the smudge pots were the only insect control available to the early settlers.

The Frederickson's purchased ten acres of land, high on a bluff overlooking the river. They paid one thousand dollars an acre. This was a big price for land in a country where land was so plentiful, but Jensen had become the pineapple

capital of the nation, the growers were getting wealthy and didn't care whether they sold land or not.

As was the custom, the Fredericksons cleared their land by hand, using a grubbing hoe. As they cleared it, they planted it in pineapples. While they were waiting for their first harvest, young W. L. sought employment elsewhere to provide a livelihood for the family. He was employed by the railway to work the pumps at the train station for twenty-five dollars a month, and he was also employed as a mail carrier for seven and a half dollars a month.

Life in those days was not all pioneering and clearing of land. Wherever there are young people, there is always time for romance, and so it was in Jensen in the year 1893. For many years there was a shortage of marriageable young women in these parts. Frederickson told that it was a popular pastime for young men to put ads in papers that they would like to correspond with young ladies of a certain age. It seems that one Sam Stewart of Jensen had a paper called "The Match-Maker". W. L. Frederickson decided to buy an ad, and soon he was corresponding with about a dozen young ladies. One "Pen Pal" attracted him more than the others, and their correspondence became a daily exchange with Frederickson accepting an invitation to visit her. Their pineapple crop had not been harvested, so he arranged to borrow one hundred dollars for the trip.

The young lady's father was a doctor in Bremen, Georgia, and she had five sisters and a brother. To his embarrassment, he found that she had been reading his letters to the entire family. Bill Frederickson was tall and very personable, the young lady was brunette and beautiful. During his week's stay, they fell in love and were married. He warned her that he had come courting on borrowed money and that they would have to live with his parents until the pineapple harvest. She returned to Florida with him, bore him three children and shared fifty-six years of married life with him.

The pineapple growers soon found a need for a mechanical means of hauling their pineapples down from the high ridges to the railway cars. Frederickson had been selling a few gasoline motors for the Palmer Brothers Motor Company, and he felt he could build a gasoline powered car that would pull up and down the ridge. Prior to this time they had to be moved down in wheel-barrows, and the sandy ridge made it a slow process. Frederickson wrote to the motor company and to the railway, asking to purchase a motor and railway wheels. Each sent the part needed as a gift, for they knew that any new invention using their materials would help their respective businesses. The car was built, and about fifty townspeople gathered to witness the maiden trip. Bill took it half way up the hill, but it refused to pull all the way up the ridge. He got hoots and horse-laughs from the spectators who had doubted it from the first! This didn't discourage the young inventor. He shortened the eight inch pulley for his belt type levers to four inch ones to give it more power, invited the crowd back the next day, and victoriously went to the top of the ridge and brought down thirty crates of pineapples. Frederickson built forty of these cars for growers in the Jensen area. Wooden tracks, made from 2″ X 4″'s were laid throughout the fields for the cars. In those days, Jensen was important enough for a twenty car circus train to travel there for a performance. Frederickson remained in Jensen through the decline of the fabulous pineapple crop. This decline was said by the growers to be caused by three factors: a nematode attacked the plants, fertilizer obtained from Germany couldn't be purchased with the coming of World War One, and the Cuban market offered too much competition. The winters were becoming increasingly colder and during one winter, 1895, a freeze killed not only the crops, but the fish and crabs in the river. The next morning thousands of dead fish were washed ashore, and the settlers went down with horse and wagon carrying away wagon loads of dead fish to use as fertilizer for their various crops.

The property for the first church in Jensen was donated by R. R. Ricou of the Ricou pioneer family. Henry M. Flagler donated the pulpits for it.

Today Jensen Beach is known as a resort town and, as in pioneer days, it is visited by many sportsmen because Jensen has become known all over the country as a fishing vacation land. It is Martin County's "closest community to the sea". From a one-time thriving and busy pineapple kingdom, it has grown to be a fine vacation and retirement town.

Captain Hugh H. Willoughby

The history of this section of Martin County would not be complete without the story of Captain Hugh L. Willoughby. Captain Willoughby was a mining engineer, and after a fishing trip to Florida in 1877 he decided that he liked it well enough to make it his permanent home. He established his family in St. Augustine, and later, because of the mild climate of south Florida, he purchased a five acre plot on Sewall's Point. He was elected president of the Sewall's Point Land Company and they spent $200,000 to build ten miles of roads, docks and the first Sunrise Inn.

Captain Willoughby was one of the first to travel through the vast Everglades and swamplands through which he made a survey in 1899. As a result of his explorations and experiences he wrote a book entitled "Across the Everglades" which was published by J. B. Lippincott and Company. In 1908 and 1909 he made soundings of the St. Lucie Inlet, with the hopes that he could persuade the Rivers and Harbors Committee in Washington that it was ideal for a harbor.

"Fly," a pioneer aviation magazine, wrote of Willoughby as being the first man in America to become interested in the bicycle, auto, submarine, motor boat and aeronautics. His cruiser, a sixty foot vessel, was the first cruiser to be equipped with the wireless telegraph, and he was one of the founders of the new Aero Club of America. He made a large number of ascensions in balloons in Paris, St. Louis and Philadelphia. He was influenced to come to this section by Captain Henry Sewall, for whom Sewall's Point is named, and helped in putting homesites of that section on the market.

Salerno

The pioneer B. W. Mulford family is given the credit for establishing the community of Salerno. In 1910, Mr. Mulford used his savings to purchase the south half of the Hanson Grant which is located in the present Martin County. There was a small settlement there called Aberdeen. He had the name changed to Mulford, built a fine home, business buildings, laid out and paved streets, and platted town lots and farms. With each ten acre farm purchased the purchaser was given a town lot. This attracted a large number of investors, and soon new citizens were moving down to this river country and to the little community that is now known as Salerno.

Pioneers

Henry Sewall, unlike most of the early Martin County developers, was born in Florida. In 1848, his father and mother, the Rufus K. Sewalls of New England, came down the river as tourists. Their son was born in St. Augustine, and he returned to the state of his birth in 1889 to permanently settle Sewall's Point. He cleared the land, set out pineapples, built a wharf and established a post office. He and other early settlers relate how grassy the Indian River was and what a terrible odor arose from the river in the area that is now Martin County. They noted that the waters of the river around the Ft. Pierce inlet did not have this vegetation and odor due to the influx of the salt water there. Also, with the salt water, the river at that point had many fine oyster beds. The citizens set about digging an inlet in their section to do away with this problem. The task in those days were accomplished with shovels that were operated by hand.

One pioneer family who meant a great deal to the early settlers and the development of the area is that of Walter Kitching. He came from England, a son of cultured and educated parents. In 1882 he homesteaded land at Wabasso, and later purchased land on the St. Lucie river for $1.25 an acre. He built a home there, and he and his wife, Emma Michael itching, started beautifying it with palms, avocadoes and flowering shrubs and trees. Walter Kitching operated one of the trade boats on the river, and because of this business he was known by all the families living on the one hundred miles of his river run from Coca to Stuart and Jupiter. The trade boat would stop opposite the dock of each settlers' home and wait as they rowed out to shop. He served as a notary public, sold patent medicines, performed marriages, and of course, was the main news agency of the day, delivering letters, messages and news of new families moving along the river. After nine years of being a river trader merchant. he constructed a general department store and sold it in 1922 to the Raulerson Grocery Company of Ft. Pierce.

While operating his store, Kitching was also a large grower of pineapples and was developing an orange grove on the North Fork of the river. He and his wife gave a lot for the Methodist Church and parsonage. He also gave the property for the Danforth Hotel where U. S. Presidents visited. It was located on the river a few hundred feet southwest of his home. He was president of Stuart's first bank, which was organized in 1912, and was superintendent of Sunday School and served on the board of stewards. He died at the age of 86.

Commodore Stanley Kitching was also a builder of this region. Chairman of the Florida Inland Navigation Commission, he piloted the Stuart pioneers through the Indian River Narrows as a teen-age boy. The name of Kitching in Martin County will always be synonymous with its courageous beginnings and later development.

Mr. C. E. Schroeder, a pioneer, for many years a City Manager, has recorded many pioneer incidences and memories of the early days in this section in a book-length feature called "Early Settlers of the St. Lucie River". In this saga he mentions river captains John Miller of Eden; Thomas E. Richards of Eden (first permanent settler to plant pineapples commercially), John Sorrensen and John Jensen, of Jensen; Hubert Bussie, one time Keeper of the House of Refuge on Gilbert's Bar; the Frank Prescotts who were the first to settle near the St. Lucie River; Doctor Baker, physican and post master at Waveland; all pioneers together with the Tyndalls, the Dyers, McPhersons, Simmons, Parks, Gullers, Wrights, Pomeroys, Fraziers, Stypmann and others too numerous to mention.

The county seat of Martin County, now known as Stuart, was called "Potsdam" in the beginning. There are two stories as to how the community came by the name of Stuart. One is that H. H. Stuart, a law graduate from Dartmouth College, decided he would rather come to Florida and hunt alligators than practice law. He and a German, George Gosling, built a one room house for living quarters. When the railroad came through, as the train would cross the river, the brakeman would divide the syllables, calling "Pots . . . Dampots." This infuriated the citizens, and H. H. Stuart had a brother who was a good friend of FEC Manager Parrott. When the citizens sent their camplaints to the railway and demanded the station name be changed, Stuart persuaded the company to change it to Stuart. Another pioneer version of the naming of the town is that is was changed from Potsdam to Stuart, naming it for a telegrapher working for the railway whose name was L. C. Stuart.

When the first school was built, the county could not afford the construction, but the settlers thereabouts in 1888 clamored for a building for their children. Finally the board agreed to furnish the lumber, doors and windows if the citizens would erect it themselves. This they did and the first teacher in Stuart was Miss Katie Hamilton. She came to City Point on the Indian River in 1883 and married

W. J. Dyer in 1893. She was a devout woman and held the first Sunday School in her home each Sunday morning for the children.

Ashley Gang, Outlaws

Shortly after the turn of the century, one Joe Ashley moved from the west coast of Florida to establish a home in Martin Couty in the small community of Salerno. He and his wife had four sons and four daughters, and they made their living cutting and selling cord wood and in farming.

One of the sons, John, started trapping for hides and furs with the Seminoles. One day a dredge pulled up out of the water the body of DeSota Tiger, son of the once highly respected chief Tom Tiger. He had been killed by a bullet and his last hunting and camping companion had been John Ashley. John was located in Miami with a large supply of furs and was arrested for the murder of DeSota Tiger.

This young criminal was to escape from jail and the state prison farm at Raiford numerous times, and from the time of the murder of DeSota Tiger, for a span of twelve years, the lower coast of Florida was to know a period of bank robbing, boot-legging, and murder at the hands of John Ashley and several of his brothers and friends who were to become known as the "Ashley Gang." This was the most notorious gang to operate on the coast and they kept their headquarters in Martin County, using the Everglades as a hide-out when law-enforcement officers were getting too close on their trail.

John Ashley has often been represented as a modern "robin Hood" for he was known to be generous with his ill obtained funds. This was a large factor in the difficulty the officers had in trying to capture him. One of his benefactors was always close by to give him safe hiding until an escape out of the area could be planned and executed.

In November of 1924, Sheriff Baker of Palm Beach County received a tip that the Ashley Gang would be going up the coast that night to rob a bank at Jacksonville. Baker sent word up to St. Lucie County to Sheriff Merrit and a plan was laid to capture the young criminals.

The Sebastian Bridge, a long narrow wooden bridge, which the Ashley gang would have to cross, was roped off with a rope and lantern. As they came to a stop, they were quickly surrounded by a group of sheriffs and deputies. What happened next is still debated in barber shops and saloons. The officers said the men reached for their guns in an attempt to "shoot it out" and were all killed by the officers. Two witnesses who arrived at the bridge at the same time as the Ashley gang reported that the officers had captured the men and had them hand-cuffed at the time the witnesses left the bridge. This would mean that the members of the Ashley gang were shot and killed while handcuffed. The officers denied this though the family of John Ashley testified at the trial that the marks on the wrists of the men could only be caused by handcuffs. The officers contended that the marks were made by the undertaker when he embalmed the bodies.

The officers' testimony was accepted at the coroner's jury trial, but to this day there is much speculation about what really happened on the Sebastian Bridge that night in November, 1924.

The community of Stuart grew larger and more prosperous than the other communities in the area. In 1913 some of the city fathers were interested in incorporating as a town so that officials could be elected and city improvements started. The population numbered 400, but the turn-out for this first attempt was so poor that the idea to incorporate was defeated. Once again in 1914 a meeting was called and 70 registered voters agreed to incorporate. J. B. McDonald was elected mayor while J. R. Pomeroy, C. W. McPherson, C. E. Shroeder, George Parks, and S. A. Matthews were elected Aldermen.

The City of Stuart was on its way and through the years many of those first pioneer names appeared over and over again in the various public offices.

With the opening of the area by the railway, and motor cars, there was more opportunity for the shipment of produce. The cattle industry grew in the back country, fruits and vegetables were grown in great adundance, and fishing continued to remain one of the major industries. Presidents came to Stuart to fish; Arthur Brisbane, famed editorial writer for Hearst, played a conspicuous part in the early development of the city.

Creation of Martin County

As the area grew and prospered, and enjoyed the false economy of the Florida "land boom," the citizens began to chafe under county control. They set about trying to create their own county, and after much hard work and stiff resistance, they succeeded. In 1925 this new county was created and named for the Governor under whose term it came into being, that of John W. Martin. The reason for the ardent struggle to create a county of their own was the age-old feeling on the part of the citizens that they were not getting enough recognition or representation and improvements for their taxes. It was a time for celebration when the county's creation was officially recognized. Governor Martin came down for the festivities and was a speaker for the occasion. It was a sentimental pilgrimage that he made in 1950, when the county had its twenty-fifth anniversary celebration and once again, this man for whom the county was named and who was such an important influence in accomplishing its creation, was present to speak at the celebration.

Martin County has suffered through the years from hurricanes, droughts, and the depression . . . and the citizens have withstood all of these setbacks with the same courage, stamina and faith of their pioneer ancestors. Indeed, many of these pioneers are still taking an active part in the growth of the county.

In 1933, the Stuart Bridge was built for $384,817. It was built mostly with federal funds and the employment it gave to local citizens marked the beginning of the end of the depression in Martin County.

Today Martin County consists of the following communities: Stuart, Jensen, Rio, Sewall's Point, Palm City, Salerno, Hobo Sound, Indian Town and Port Mayaca, and has a population of over 14,000 that practically doubles in the winter season from November through April. It is the home of the 10,484 acre Jonathan Dickinson State Park, named for the devout shipwrecked Quaker.

Farming, beef cattle, dairying, poultry, citrus and flower growing are the county's main industries. Recently "Miss Harris' Florida School," a private preparatory school for girls, was moved from Miami to Palm City in Martin County. This school joins the fine public school system and the Catholic schools already established there.

Cut flowers, sold strictly to wholesalers, are one of this county's largest industries. Flower growers ship out about 4,500,000 bunches of cut flowers per year to a general area east of the Mississippi River. The main crop raised by local flower farmers are "pom-pons," a small chrysanthemum about one third the size of the better-known mums. The majority of the growers start their flowering or cutting process by Thanksgiving, and this lasts until the middle of June.

Frances Langford Evinrude, Star of Radio, Movies and Television

One of the large investors in property at Sewall's Point is Mrs. Frances Langford Evinrude, a famous star of radio, movies, and television. Mrs. Evinrude is a native Floridian and her holdings in Sewall's Point, which include her permanent home, are the realization of a childhood dream.

As a child of eleven or twelve, according to her mother, Mrs. Ann Langford, Frances would travel with her parents and brother between Miami and Lakeland.

The highway at that time was the old Dixie Highway that followed the winding river coast-line. High on a bluff overlooking the Indian River was a large two story white house. It had been built by a pioneer Scotch river captain, Benjamin Hogg. He had chosen this site on the bluff at Sewall's Point because he could see three bodies of water from his upstairs window. These bodies of water were the St. Lucie River, the Indian River, and the Atlantic Ocean. This was the same reason why Frances Langford liked the site. She too liked being surrounded by water.

After Miss Langford became a singing star, the first thing she did was to travel to Sewall's Point and negotiate for the property that she dreamed of owning as a small girl. Today, she has added to the original tract of land and owns cottages that sit like gulls on the bluff and beside the water's edge facing the river and ocean. It is here at Sewall's Point that she and her family make their permanent home.

Memorial Hospital

Martin County will soon have an $875,000 Memorial Hospital. Recently C. O. Rainey, drive chairman and chairman of the board, reported that the entire amount for the hospital had been raised. This is a great achievement for a county of so small population and reflects the leadership of Mr. Rainey. This fairly newcomer to Stuart was instrumental in getting the Elliot Museum established in Martin County.

The Elliot Museum

Harmon P. Elliot, a seventy-two year old Cambridge, Mass., manufacturer, sold his manufacturing business and retired to Stuart. He planned to establish a museum depicting the evolution of the wheel somewhere in New England for the purpose of proving and perpetuating the proof that his father, Sterling Elliot, invented the car. Sterling Elliot was a manufacturer and inventor. He had a large hall with a hardwood floor where customers could learn to ride the bicycles he manufactured. In 1887 he invented the steering mechanism that is used on all cars, to make it possible for his quadricycle to turn around on the floor without making a loud screeching noise. This invention was so simple and yet so perfect that it will live as long as there are vehicles with wheels. The story of Sterling Elliot and his son Harmon's business career together is a story of father and son inventions. These two men together have several hundred patents and the automobile manufacturers have paid royalties to Sterling Elliot for his invention of the steering mechnaism.

The beautiful modern building which will house this museum is a gift to Martin County by Harmon P. Elliot and is located in the vicinity of the House of Refuge Museum. He has set up a trust fund so that the museum will be endowed and taken care of financially after his death.

Thus it is that this small, recently created county, located on the Indian River and containing the St. Lucie River, will not only be the sailfish capital of the world, but a cultural center as well.

CHAPTER XXV

PALM BEACH COUNTY

By Ada Coats Williams

THE EARLIEST HISTORY of Palm Beach County has been recorded in the diary of the earth and translated for us by archeologists.

Mrs. John R. Dubois, a resident of this county and one who has made an intensive and extensive study of the history of this region, records:

"The Herrera account of Ponce de Leon's first voyage, in 1513, indicates that he came into Jupiter Inlet for food and water and to investigate the Indians. The renowned Menendez visited the inlet in December or January, 1555 and 1556. Here he found a tribe of the Jeaga Indians who called themselves the Jobes, living on the high shell mound near the Inlet. It was the custom to name the rivers for the nearest Indians so the river flowing into the Inlet became the Jobe River, pronounced by the Spaniards as Hoebay.

"The town eight miles north of Jupiter is still known as Hobe Sound, as is the northern part of the intervening stretch of the Indian River between the two towns.

"When the English arrived in 1763, the word Hoe-bay seemed the Spanish version of Jove, which they in turn changed to Jupiter, the name by which it is known today.

Oyster Shell Mound

"The great shell mound overlooking the Inlet was at that time 600 feet long and over 20 feet high. Its layers of oyster shell still show in places the blackened remains of the campfires of those pre-historic tribes who lived here as long ago as 500 B. C. Tribes from far and near must have come to feast on the luscious oysters, fish and game."

A very authentic description of the Indians inhabiting the area in the seventeenth century is to be found in the diary of Jonathan Dickinson, a shipwrecked Quaker for whom the Jonathan Dickinson State Park is named.

According to details set forth in this diary, "the barkentine Reformation" was driven ashore at Hobe Sound Beach, August 23, 1696, on a voyage from Port Royale, Jamaica, to Philadelphia. The crew and passengers, comprising a company of twenty-five under the leadership of Jonathan Dickinson were "set upon" by the native Indians. These were hostile redskins, naked except for a dress of an apron made of plaited palmetto that was tied in the rear with a tail of silken grass. They approached the company with"blood-curdling shrieks" and drawn knives. It was at this point that Johnathan Dickinson appealed to his company to place their faith and destiny in the hands of God, for resistence seemed pointless as they were not adequately armed and were greatly outnumbered.

"Their faith and trust did not prove for naught, for the savages paused, put away their knives and took the little shipwrecked band as captives. After much humiliation and torture suffered at the hands of their captors, they managed to survive and reach St. Augustine, hungry, sick and exhausted".

Thus, this is a fact documented by archeologists and historians that Jupiter is the oldest settlement in what is now known as Palm Beach County.

The Jupiter Inlet, and a body of water known as Lake Worth, again made their appearance in historical documents during the Seminole Indian Wars. At that time the whole area from the head of the lake to the community now known

as Boynton was called Lake Worth. The Indians called this area Hypoluxo, but the white man named it in honor of Brigadier General William Jenkins Worth, of Hudson, New York. The soldiers who had been sent to this area to round up Indians to transport them to reservations in Tennessee and Indian Territory named the body of water for the Brigadier General.

It was at Fort Jupiter that Thomas Jesup, a commander in the Seminole War, imprisoned 678 Indians and Negroes until they could be transported to the west. The fort was abandoned in 1842.

The red brick Jupiter Lighthouse is one of the famous landmarks on the east coast of Florida. This historic lighthouse stands one hundred and five feet high and overlooks one of the most breathtaking, beautiful scenes to be seen in the country. Under its vigilant gaze can be seen the three branches of the Loxahatchee River, winding west; the Indian River on the north, the Atlantic Ocean with the blue Gulf Stream within sight of its shore, the Indian Waterway and the cities of Hobe Sound, Juno and West Palm Beach. It stands on a sixty-one acre tract that was originally a part of the 9,088 acres of the old Fort Jupiter reservation.

The construction of the lighthouse was started in 1855. The materials had to come by boat a long way along the Indian River and "lightened" over a spot thirty-five miles from the construction location. The hurricane difficulties in the Florida Keys caused an innovation in the lighthouse construction and was brought to the public attention by a young officer who was later to serve in command of the Northern forces at the Battle of Gettysburg as General George Mead.

In 1853 this young lieutenant was in charge of a group of Army Engineers. He supervised the construction of Carysfoot light on an entirely new principle, one that was to be used for all succeeding reef lights. This was the building of a light tower on wrought iron members literally screwed into the rock. The construction has withstood hurricanes that have flattened everything else before them.

During the year 1856 Indian trouble broke out and the construction came to a halt. The red brick lighthouse was first lighted on July 19th, 1859. Its light was not destined to shine for very long for in 1861, with the outbreak of the Civil War, the illuminating equipment was stolen and was not re-established until 1866.

The keepers of the lighthouse were the only white persons in the area for many years. To get to civilization they had to go on foot over a trail that had been blazed during the Indian Wars. It was almost impassable, and stretched across the northern end of the Everglades, past Fort Bassenger and led to Fort Brooke at Tampa.

The Indians who had escaped capture and deportation during the Seminole Wars were beginning to work their way back up from the snake and mosquito infested and marshy Everglades to the more habitable lands of the peninsula. Those who settled in the area of old Fort Jupiter near the newly constructed lighthouse stood out in great contrast to the savage Indians living there in 1696, at the time of Jonathan Dickinson's shipwreck.

This branch tribe of the Seminoles never gave the keepers any trouble though they far out-numbered the few white settlers.

J. Wadsworth Travers, in his "History of Beautiful Palm Beach" relates:

"The bucks were perfect physical specimens of humanity and were noted for their morality. Any immoral act by one of them was punishable by death, but instances of the kind were rare. The Indians and keepers lived on game and fish and for dessert had 'coontie root pudding'."

The plant of the "coontie root" has a fern-like top about a foot high, and the root grows straight down about a foot in length and two inches in diameter. From this grows a portion of the root that is like a pine cone in shape. This has a starchy sustance that is cooked like a pudding and eaten. It is said to resemble tapioca, but is much richer in substance.

J. W. Travers further states that: "In 1867 one George Sears made a trip down the Indian River. He traveled in a 'sharpie' and managed to enter Lake Worth through a small opening between the ocean and the lake near where the present inlet is located. He noticed a man standing by the trees on shore and landed to investigate. The man identified himself as 'Lang' and stated he had a companion named 'Mathews' and that both were deserters from the Civil War. They were surprised and relieved to learn that the war had been over for two years."

The next white men to visit the area were, as far as we have record, a group of engineers who came to survey the area. It was the year 1871 when George W. Lainhart came to Lake Worth in his sail boat. He was the mail carrier between Titusville and Fort Pierce. This mail carrier brought Deputy U. S. Surveyor General Williams and his party consisting of three white men and eighteen Negroes. This was the second trip to the area that Williams had made for surveying. The first trip was in 1856 when Jeff Davis had been U. S. Surveyor-General with Williams working under him. That time the Indians drove them out of the territory and they were unable to complete their mission.

Pierce Family, 1873 Settlers

The story of the next settlers to arrive in the vicinity of Jupiter Inlet and Lake Worth is best set forth by a member of that family, Charles W. Pierce. The story was written by him for Bishop Thomas and is presented here through the courtesy of Judge J. R. Knott, President of the Palm Beach Historical Society.

"When the Pierce family arrived on the lake in October, 1873, there were but five settlers there that came ahead of them. Mr. and Mrs. Malden lived on the north side of the inlet; this inlet was in the same location the inlet of today occupies.

"Charlie Moore had taken possession of the Lang place in the fall of 1872, and was living there when the Pierce family arrived. Lang and his wife had settled there some time during the Civil War. Charlie Moore's place was located a short distance north of the later location of old Bethesda Church. Sidney Maddock years later built a house between Charlie Moore's home and the old church.

"On an island, then unnamed, near the south end of the lake, lived W. M. Butler and Will H. Moore. When the Pierce family arrived the population was increased to eight.

"H. F. Hammon and Will Laneheart came some time the last of November or the first of December. On Christmas day of that year, 1873, there were in all ten people living on the lake; seven men, two women, and a boy. My mother was one of the women and I was the boy (C. W. Pierce). Before coming to Lake Worth we lived a year at Jupiter Lighthouse where my father was one of the assistant keepers during that time.

"In 1872, the mail came from Jacksonville to the head of navigation on the St. Johns River, on the steamer Volusia, with Captain T. W. Lund, owner and manager. The Volusia was a small side-wheel steamer. From the Volusia the mail was hauled eight miles over a sandy road to Sand Point. Here it was transferred to a small cat-rigged boat named 'Blond'. Captain John Houston was the owner of this boat and was the mail carrier.

"The Post Office of Saint Lucie was at the southern end of the mail route, and was located on the site of old Fort Capron, a military post of the Seminole Wars. James Payne was postmaster and Customs Collector of the Port.

"The Payne family, consisting of Judge Payne and wife, sons James and Thomas, and daughter Gertrude, came to this place shortly after the war; during the carpetbag days.

"At this time there was no one living between Fort Pierce and Jupiter. At Jupiter there was only the keeper, his family, his two assistants and their families. From there to Biscayne Bay there was nothing but wilderness and wild-life. Over a period of six years, from 1872 to 1878, the mail service from Saint Lucie post office south to Jupiter and Lake Worth was very uncertain and irregular. Whenever a boat stopped at the little office, the postmaster would inquire if they were going on to Jupiter or Lake Worth; and if they were he would give them the mail addressed to the people there. In this 'catch-as-catch-can' service not a letter or paper was lost or went undelivered.

"In 1878 the settlers of the lake region petitioned for a mail route from Saint Lucie post office to Lake Worth, a distance of fifty miles on Indian River, eight miles down the ocean beach to the head of Lake Worth, thence eight miles by boat to the site of the proposed post office. Mr. V. O. Spencer was appointed postmaster and the office was named Lake Worth. Transportation was by small sail boats on the Indian River to Jupiter, then down the beach on the carrier's back to the head of the lake. From there it was carried by row boat to the office at the Spencer homestead. Once a week, Caperon, the carrier, made a round trip.

"The next improvement in mail service came a few years later when the Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West railroad reached Titusville. They placed two steamers on the river. The steamer 'Rockledge' made daily trips to Titusville from Melbourne and returned. The small stern wheeler, S. V. White, made three trips a week from Melbourne to Jupiter. Along with this Brelsford and E. N. Dimick had a road cut through the scrub from Jupiter to the head of the lake, and placed a hack in operation from Jupiter to Palm Beach, for transportation of passengers to Dimick's hotel. From the head of the lake to Palm Beach, the hack followed along the open sand shore of the lake. With the beginning of steam service on the river the government called for a new contract from Jupiter to the lake and all of its now numerous post offices. Juno, at the head of the lake; Oaklawn, now Riviera; Lake Worth, Palm Beach, Figulus, Jewel and Hypoluxo.

"The contract was awarded to Captain U. D. Hendrickson who carried the mail by wagon to Juno, then by sailboat to the various post offices, down one day and back the next.

"In 1892 the Indian River steamboat company placed three fine new steamers on the Indian River run, giving a daily mail and passenger service to Jupiter and Lake Worth, and the Jupiter and Lake Worth railroad was built to extend this service to the lake.

"The contract for daily mail from Juno to Hypoluxo and way offices was awarded to my uncle and Captain Will H. Moore. He built the small steamboat, the "Hypoluxo," and placed it in service here on this run in January of 1893. She continued to deliver the mail to the post offices of the lake until the coming of the Florida East Coast Railway in 1894-95,

"In August of 1885 a mail route was established between Lake Worth and Miami. E. R. Bradley was the first contractor on this route which later was known as the 'Barefoot-route' from the fact that the mail carrier walked on the ocen beach barefoot. After this route was established he post offices at Palm Beach and Hypoluxo were established.

"A. W. Garnett was Hypoluxo's first postmaster, with C. W. Pierce as assistant. In 1887 the mail route to Lake Worth was extended to Palm Beach, then the mail to Miami started from there. After the loss of the carrier, J. E. Hamilton, in October of 1887, the routes were again changed. The mail route on the beach was kept up until about 1893 when a road was put through from Lantana to Lemon City on Biscayne Bay. A new mail route was started over this road by hack, three times a week, and the beach route was discontinued."

The mail carrier, James E. Hamilton, who disappeared was believed to have been eaten by alligators as he attempted to swim across a strip of water. Charles Pierce was acting postmaster that day in October 1887, and he recalled locking the mail sack, handing it to Hamilton who said: "Well, I'll be seeing you again Saturday." He swung his bag over his shoulder, headed for the beach and was never seen again. When Hamilton failed to return at the end of the week, Pierce sent word to Palm Beach asking for a new carrier and for a search party to hunt for Hamilton.

Concerning this search Pierce later wrote:

"Exactly a week after he was lost, they found everything he had at Hillsborough inlet; his clothes and underwear, shoes, mail, everything but the man himself. He was gone and no further trace of him was ever found. Soon as I had the facts of the case. I got Louie Bradley, son of a former mail carrier and his hunting boat and went to Hillsborough on the ocean, as that was the only way to get there in a boat at that time. We made a close search all around the inlet, hoping to find his body, but nothing was ever found. We did find, however, the inlet and the river near it was swarming with alligators of all sizes. I had visited the inlet many times the previous years, and had spent many days there waiting for fair weather, and in all that time had never seen more than two or three alligators around this inlet. At this particular visit they were all over the place, at least a hundred. The evidence was he attempted to swim the inlet (possibly after failing to get a row boat to carry the mail across) and was pulled under by a 'gator".

In the winter of 1872 and '73, a man came sailing in to Jupiter by the name of William M. Butler. He had been engaged by a Professor Ward of the University of Rochester, N. Y., to collect skeletons of Florida birds and animals. After a few days he continued to Lake Worth whose population then was only three: Mr. and Mrs. Malden, living in a tent on the north side of the inlet, and Charlie Moore who had taken possession of the Lang Place early in the fall of 1872. Butler explored the entire lake during his search for skeletons. He decided the largest and longest island in the lake was an ideal place for a hunter's home. In the spring of 1873 he asked Will H. Moore, who had come to live at the lighthouse with the Pierces, to join him in his bone collecting. Will Moore accepted the invitation and they arrived on the lake in October, 1873, and headed for the hunter's camp on the island. The island was a beautiful spot at that time, but had no name. When they arrived the island was parcelled out among the three men by mutual agreement. H. D. Pierce was to homestead the southern third of the island, Butler was to have the middle section, and Will Moore the north third.

One day while they were living at the Butler shack which he chose to call a "Virginia Cottage", a party of Indians came and camped near the house. Mrs. Pierce attempted a conversation with an old squaw and succeeded very well as the old woman could understand some English and could speak it to some extent. In the course of this talk Mrs. Pierce asked the name of the lake. The old Squaw answered "Hypoluxo" which she said meant "Water all around, no get out". Around the camp fire that night Mrs. Pierce told what she had learned from the Indian woman and it was agreed right then and there that "Hypoluxo" would be the name of their island, just as it is known today. When the post office department asked the settlement to name the post office awarded in 1886, Hypoluxo was the name selected. Charles Pierce was acting pastmaster at Hypoluxo the year Hamilton met with his tragic and fatal accident with the alligators.

There has long been the erroneous story that there were no coconuts growing around Lake Worth until the wreck of a Spanish vessel that was carrying a cargo of the nuts. This has been a popular story, for it was the explanation of where the many coconut palm trees came from that caused the early settlers to call the town Palm Beach, and later to name the county Palm Beach County.

According to the memoirs of Charles Pierce, the Confederate deserter, Lang,

planted trees on Hypoluxo Island and around the lake. These nuts were washed ashore, brought by the Gulf Stream from the West Indies. Many of these nuts sprouted and grew along the shore and the trees were grown and bearing when the Pierce's and other early settlers arrived in 1873.

It was in January of 1878 that the settlers heard a ship's whistle blowing and hurried to the beach in time to see the Spanish barque "Providencia", loaded with a cargo of coconuts and hides, land high and dry on the beach. The Spanish captain claimed he had lost his way and inquired if he was on the coast of Mexico. Some believed the old ship was well insured and this was the captain's way of finding a convenient resting place for his old ship and collecting a good price for her and his cargo. Two settlers who were the first to arrive at the wreck were given the salvage rights, and fourteen thousand of the coconuts were planted in the area. M. W. Dimick and his two sons, Frank and E. N., purchased some of them at $2.50 per hundred. They planted these all over their land along the lake, and together with Geer and Brown, set out the palms that later were the inspiration for the naming of the future Palm Beach County. It was on the land Geer cleared that the Royal Poinciana Hotel was to be built.

In addition to the Pierces, Moores, and Dimicks, other pioneer family names were Spencer, Pendelton, Wilder, Robert, Gale, Geer, Hoagland, Potter, Sanders, Highsmith, Stiles, Mulford, McCormick, Bradley, Saunders, Anthony, Beach and a host of others.

Some of these families were homesteaders, while others bought land at a very low price. They all worked together and helped one another. They lived in peace and harmony with the Indians thereabouts, having no luxuries as we know them today, but they kept happy hunting, fishing and clearing land. They attended each other during illness, and had bright visions of the land as it would be in years to come.

The first honeymooners in this tropical paradise were Charley Moore and his bride, the widow Wilder. This was the first marriage to take place in Palm Beach and was the event of the social season of 1875.

The First School House

The story of the first school house, and the first school to be held in what is now Palm Beach County, has been written in an interesting manner by Judge James R. Knott, president of Palm Beach Historical Society. This story appeared in a 1959 issue of "The Weekly Guide of the Palm Beaches":

"From accounts given by the early settlers in Palm Beach area, which was then a part of Dade County," says Judge Knott, "we have an accurate description of the events surrounding the building of the first schoolhouse in this area of Florida, and the original classes held.

"During the early years in the history of Palm Beach (then known as Lake Worth), the settlers were much scattered and the problem of living in primitive surroundings was the only one they could undertake to solve. There were few children and these were far apart. Their mothers were their teachers, or in some instances the youngsters were sent away to school. But as time went by, the hard-working men and women had time to give thought and effort to the building of a school-house.

"So it came about that one bright day in May, 1885, these busy pioneer women, who had gotten accustomed to overcoming difficulties by sheer force of energy and will, met to consider how to build a schoolhouse where their children might be given a more formal education.

"In all the great county of Dade, itself as large as the State of Massachusetts, there was neither school nor schoolhouse. It was left for these few women to make the first move in the educational development of the county.

"When women wanted to raise money then, they organized a sewing society.

This case was no exception to the general rule. The Ladies' Aid Society came into existence, and meetings were held at the homes of the various members, which grew to be social events.

"The Ladies undertook to purchase the school lot. The county gave the district $200.00 which was sufficient to buy materials for a building 22 feet by 40 feet. The lumber was brought from Jacksonville by schooner and unloaded on the building site.

"Then the men took a hand in the enterprise and donated their labor. The schoolhouse frame was soon up and the schoolhouse grew under the management of Mr. George W. Lainhart and the willing hands of nearly every man in the settlement. At length it was finished, and no stately school hall was ever regarded with deeper interest or greater pride.

"Meantime, the sewing society accumulated garments and fancy work, and decided to hold a fair in the schoolhouse. As a result of that first fair and the year's work of the society, the treasurer's books showed a balance of $226.80. This was no trifling sum when one considers the size of the community at that time.

"It seemed impossible at this time to supply the house with desks, and as the building was to be used each Sunday for religious services, a quantity of chairs were purchased. No further attempt was made that year to secure furniture.

"Though the winter was nearly gone before all this was accomplished, the patrons were anxious that a short school at least should be held that spring. Arrangements were therefore made for a term of three months, and one Monday morning early in March, 1886, pupils and teacher began the first day of school in that first school in Dade County. There were seven pupils that morning, ranging in age from six to seventeen. A rough table, running lengthwise of the house, had been built of scraps left from the building. This was where the pupils sat. There were no blackboards, and very little of the usual equipment of a school. The school books were such as could be gathered up in several homes, and were, as may be imagined, a curious medley. The school had been open only a few days when three more pupils moved into the district. These, with two who had not entered at first, brought the roll up to twelve. But before the term closed, the Geer family moved away, taking a third of the school enrollment away with them. them.

"The school roll read as follows: Teacher, Miss Hattie L. Gale, (who was younger than some of her pupils); Belle Dimick (Mrs. Belle Enos, the mother of the present mayor of Palm Beach, the Honorable Claude D. Reese); Rena Dimick, Ella Dimick, Ruby Dye, Ned Brown, Eugene Dimick, Nellie Gale, Levi Geer, Everard Geer, Robert Moore, Walter Moore and Willie Moore.

"The teacher was teaching for the first time, and it was the first school some of the pupils had ever attended, but when the term closed both pupils and teacher knew something had been accomplished. When the last day came, the little schoolhouse was gay with flowers and most of the patrons were there to see the first school close. The simple exercises were soon over, the books gathered up, the goodbyes were said and school was out for the season.

"Year after year school was held in this schoolhouse, which still stands on the east side of the lake on the Phipps Estate, about a mile north of Royal Poinciana Way, in Palm Beach. It is no longer used as a schoolhouse, of course, but its historical associations surround it with an air of romance."

The Celestial Railroad

A narrow-gauge railroad was built between Jupiter and Juno in 1889. This railroad was eight miles in length and had four station stops at Jupiter, Mars, Venus and Juno. A repairman, known as a track-walker, would walk the track

to inspect the road-bed to furnish the necessary repairs when the road-bed got dangerous.

This line was christened "The Celestial Railroad" by a writer from Harper's Magazine who was visiting in the Lake Worth area. The name was inspired by the names of the four station stops that were the names of small communities there.

During the period of the early 1890's Jupiter was the transportation center of Southeast Florida and the area was a part of Dade County with Juno the county seat . . . Indian River steamers would dock across from the red brick Jupiter Lighthouse, and another steamer, too large to navigate the shallows, was tied up at Jupiter and became a floating hotel. Many important guests came there to hunt and fish, including President and Mrs. Grover Cleveland. Travelers from the north, coming by steamer, were met by the engineer of the Celestial Railway. The engineer would greet his passengers by playing "Dixie" on the train whistle. It was also one of the usual courtesies of the engineer to stop so that guests could shoot a deer or turkey that might be sighted on the trip. Time was not so important an element in those days, and trips were more leisurely. Passengers and crew got well acquainted on the trip. The fare was reported to be ten cents a mile.

This little railway took on a gala air the day of a dance as it would transport the ruffled and flounced ladies from the various homesteads and the men from the lighthouse and Jupiter Life Saving Station. Passengers who desired to travel further south continued the trip by boat at the end of the railway.

Flagler Comes To Palm Beach

It was during the era of the 1890's that Henry M. Flagler was to visit the southern tip of the East Coast of Florida and make a decision that was to greatly affect Flagler and Florida.

Flagler was preceeded a few years by Robert R. McCormick, a Chicagoan of harvester fame. This financier (McCormick) had bought several large tracts of land and had built a home on Lake Worth as a winter home to visit a few months each year. He was considered one of the first, if not the first, real developers of any large consideration.

George W. Lainhart, one of the early pioneers who helped to select the name "Palm Beach" for the community in 1887, built McCormick's home. It was a very pretentious building, having marble floors, mahogany staircases, and an artificial gas plant.

Others heard of this beauty spot with its mild climate and soon additional winter homes were being built on the east side of the lake. At this time the community there was known as Lake Worth. The first post office established there was in the year 1878 with V. O. Spencer as postmaster. This name did not become permanent, however, and after a few years E. M. Brelsford persuaded the settlers to re-name the community "Palm City". The request was sent to the postal department in Washington and was refused because there was already a town by that name in Florida. A prospector from Philadelphia, Gus Ganford, suggested the name of Palm Beach, and a request for this name was sent to Washington. Three weeks later, March, 1886, the name of Palm Beach was confirmed by the Postal Department in Washington.

It was about this palm-studded tropical area that Henry Flagler heard glowing reports. He had invested heavily in St. Augustine and had extended his railway to Titusville. He visited the area personally and in 1893 purchased some of the McCormick property for seventy-five thousand dollars for the purpose of building another of his fabulous luxury hotels.

This man who helped to develop the east coast of Florida was one who had worked hard, suffered much, and who had foresight, industry and determina-

tion. He accomplished almost everything he set out to do no matter how tremendous the odds were against him. He was a man short in stature and gigantic in foresight and ambition. He started out in the business world as a five dollar a month store clerk in 1844. This was in Republic, Ohio, and by the time he was fifty-three, he had for several years been a partner of John D. Rockefeller and was ready to retire from active business. He and his family traveled to St. Augustine to spend the winter months of his retirement. He was charmed by the historic atmosphere surrounding that city and felt that the historic city, together with the mild climate, made it an ideal location for a large tourist hotel. He tried to induce some of his friends to invest in this venture, but they all felt it was too remote to be a success. Flagler decided to go it alone and he built two palatial hotels in St. Augustine. He realized the poor and complicated travel accommodations would prove a hindrance to his hotel venture, so he built, out of his own pocket, a railway which was to become known as the Florida East Coast Railway.

When word went out that Flagler had purchased property on the east side of Lake Worth and that he intended to extend his railway that far, the price of property started soaring. Homesteaders suddenly found themselves rich. Flagler started moving in workmen for the construction of his first hotel on the beach. There were no housing facilities for such an influx of workmen, so small shacks and tents began to spring up in one little community which was eventually called the "Styx".

May 1, 1893 was an important day to Palm Beach, for on that day Flagler started the construction of his new hotel that had already been named "The Royal Poinciana".

It was a gigantic problem to get the construction materials to Palm Beach, having to ship it by rail to Eau Gallie (the terminus of his railway that year), by boat from Eau Gallie to Jupiter, by rail for eight miles on the "Celestial Railway" from Jupiter to Juno, and finally, by boat or barge across to Palm Beach. Some of the material was shipped by steamer down the coast and Henry Flagler purchased several Mississippi steamers for this purpose.

There were only a few families living in the area now known as West Palm Beach. Flagler was desirous of keeping Palm Beach free of commercialism, so he purchased several hundred acres of land on the west side of the lake and moved his workmen's camp there. He planned to extend his railway as far as West Palm Beach and make that the terminus of the railway. The extension of the railway was essential to provide transportation for his hotel guests.

As the hotel guests alone could not support the railway, Flagler started encouraging farmers and citrus growers to increase their crops. They could be assured of quicker and more regular transportation for their produce, and the railway would in turn receive revenue from the freight hauled. This was especially necessary to the railway during the summers or "off-tourist" seasons. Florida had very few summer tourists in those days.

Flagler staked many communities of farmers along the line of the railway. He would furnish seed and fertilizer and a weekly wage of three dollars for bachelors and five dollars for family men. Thus it was in the early development of the east coast of Florida that Flagler definitely accelerated the economic progress of many communities, not only because of the extension of the railway, but by actual investment and loans from his personal funds. His faith in the area matched that of the first pioneers and, as they staked their lives and future, this great developer staked his financial gains earned by years of hard work. He was a man of great generosity, "generous to a fault", as expressed by his long-time gardener, Wm. Fremd, who later became superintendent of grounds for Flagler's two large Palm Beach hotels. During the 1894-95 freeze, when most farming and citrus growing communities on the coast suffered disastrous losses, Flagler sent one

of his employees to walk the streets and find those who were the most in need, and present a gift of money to help them recover and get a new start. The recipients of these gifts were never told the identity of their benefactor.

It took nine months to construct the Royal Poincianna Hotel. Its construction cost was estimated at a million dollars. It was a wooden building and was the largest resort hotel in the world at that time. It seemed a foolish venture to many for Flagler to construct such a large building in an almost deserted area. The hotel was a large sprawling structure, with 540 bed-rooms that would accomodate 800 guests. The building was enlarged from time to time and had final facilities for 1200 guests and a seating capacity in the dining room for 1600 people. It was only six stories high and covered several acres of land. The inside of the hotel was in a color scheme of green and white, while the outside was painted yellow with white trimmings.

Here at this large hotel in a sparsely settled tropical Eden, hundreds of guests from the world of wealth, fashion and society gathered. The hotel employed 1400 persons during the season from December to April, with a waiter for every four diners, a chamber maid for every few rooms and a bell-man for every hall.

The highlight of the social season at the hotel was the Washington Birthday Ball, held on February 22nd of each year. This was a greatly anticipated event and a very brilliant one. Thousands of dollars were spent in preparation for it.

The town of West Palm Beach was laid out in August, 1893, and had boundaries of Lake Worth on the east, extending west to Lake Clear. All of the streets were given the names of tropical flowers, trees, and friuts. Flagler put one of his engineers in charge of laying out and constructing the town. This was to serve as living quarters for his beach employees, the commercial center of the area and the terminus of his railway.

Many of the names first given to the streets of West Palm Beach have never been changed, such as Clematis, Fern, Datura, Banyan and Althea, running east and west; with Lantana, Narcissus, Olive, Poinsettia, Rosemary, Sapodilla and Tamarind, running north and south.

The fire department was the first organization in West Palm Beach. J. E. Ingraham, one of Flagler's most able assistants, felt that this was of utmost importance because of the many highly inflammable shacks used in the area. The members of this fire-fighting outfit were called "Flagler Alerts" and they were called to service by a large bell on top of a building that was used as a city hall. The fire-fighting equipment was a machine with a long hose that had to be operated manually.

West Palm Beach grew much faster than Palm Beach due to its commercial and economic activity. Stores moved into the town, and one of the first merchants was George S. Maltby, a furniture dealer and undertaker from Kansas. Captain E. M. Dimick, one of the first pioneers in the area, opened a drugstore; E. M. Hyer of Orlando opened a small store.

Soon the town felt a need to incorporate and on November 10th, 1894, John S. Earman was elected first mayor of West Palm Beach by seventy-eight voting citizens. Those elected to serve as the first aldermen were: George Potter, E. H. Dimick, J. M. Garland, J. F. Lamond, George Zapf, H. T. Grant, and H. J. Burkhardt. Eli Sims was elected city clerk, and W. L. Torbet was elected Marshal. At the time of its incorporation, West Palm Beach was in Dade County and had a population of about 1,000.

Flagler did not stop at starting the development of Palm Beach and West Palm Beach. He played the role of benefactor for many years. Houses were built for his employees; he gave a plot of land for a municipal cemetery; he built the Catholic Church because a large number of his employees were Catholic, though he himself was Protestant.

Creation of Palm Beach County

Largely through Flagler's efforts, Palm Beach County was created in 1909 with West Palm Beach as the county seat. By this time West Palm Beach had a population of around 1700 and had outgrown Palm Beach in size and commercial importance. Palm Beach continued to be the resort city as it is today, and did not become a separate municipality until 1911.

Flagler was not satisfied to have only one hotel on Palm Beach. He started construction of another large luxury hotel on the island. This was situated closer to the water and faced the ocean. It was not as large as the Royal Poincianna and was first called the Palm Beach Inn when it opened its doors for guests in 1895. Flagler had a pier built out from the Inn, and established a line with the Nassau steamers. He also erected a draw-bridge over to the island and the guests could go to the hotels by rail rather than having to transfer to his ferries as in earlier days. The Palm Beach Inn was enlarged in 1903 and renamed "The Breakers" when it was burned to the ground. Flagler ordered the hotel rebuilt and as it was nearing completion, it again caught fire and burned. This would have discouraged many another man, but Flagler ordered it rebuilt a third time, and it proved a favorite for vacationing wealthy visitors until it burned again in 1925. The President of the East Coast Hotel Company, Mrs. Flagler's brother, ordered the hotel rebuilt again, and it is the present beautiful structure still known as the Breakers. This construction meant a great deal to the economy of Palm Beach County, for it provided work for many persons during the dark days of the depression and certainly carried out the spirit of Flagler, who continued to invest in the area and help the local citizenry during a time of great economic stress.

Flagler's personal life was dogged by tragedy as much as his business life was blessed with success. His first wife died, and his second wife became hopelessly insane. This was a great tragedy to Flagler who loved his wife dearly and depended upon her and their close friends for his social life. He was a quiet person and enjoyed his family life. After many years of trying to restore her to health, he finally followed the advice of his doctors and resigned himself to the fact that she would never again be normal or well. He provided lavishly for her, sent her flowers twice a week, set up various trust funds so that she could live in luxury and have the best of care in the event of his death. Since his visits only upset her and made her condition worse, he again followed the advice of her doctors and ceased to visit her. Years later he persuaded the state legislature of Florida to pass a bill making it legal for him to divorce his insane wife so that he could remarry. Strict laws in many states, including Florida, prohibited divorce under such circumstances. A special session of the legislature gave Flagler the proper legal permission to divorce his wife and remarry. As soon as this had been accomplished the legislature again adopted its former bill prohibiting one from divorcing an insane mate. Flagler and the state received much criticism from interested parties all over the country for this action. Flagler could never again see his wife, and she was as lost to him as though she had died. This was the only reason he wished to remarry, for though he was a man of great wealth, and was married three times, each time he remarried because of a tragic loss of his wife and not because he lost interest in her. He rewarded the state by donating generously to the state university at Gainesville, Florida.

For his third wife, Flagler built a palace-home, which was called "Whitehall." It was completed in 1902, the year following their marriage, and its mistress was Mary Kenan Flagler, a young woman from a socially prominent family of North Carolina. The ballroom was a replica of those used in the time of Louis the Fourteenth. The music room was really more like an art gallery with its paintings by famous masters. The home was filled with handsome mirrors, elegant carpets, richly ornamented panels and furnishings imported from the finest artisans all

over the world. There were jewelled chandeliers, marble staircases, rich laces, velvets and tapestries.

On the second floor were sixteen guest chambers, each representing an epoch in the world's history. Only one bed-room was in modern American style.

Whitehall was long used as a hotel after the death of the great developer of Florida's east coast. It was reopened in February of 1960 as the Henry Morrison Flagler Memorial Museum, sponsored by Mrs. Richardo Gonzales, daughter of Henry Harkness Flagler, son of Henry M. Flagler.

The restoration of Whitehall is complete and appears almost as it did in 1902 when its great bronze portals were thrown open, dazzling not only Palm Beach, but the whole world. The Flagler mansion cost two and one half million dollars.

A great search through art galleries and private collections is uncovering and returning to the mansion practically every rug, tapestry, picture and object of art which was there when it was the home of Henry and Mary K. Flagler.

Grant R. Bedford is in charge of the restoration and he has for his use the original plans of the house as drawn by architects Carrere and Hastings, as well as pictures of every room in the house that were made in 1902 and were kept in St. Augustine. The son of the weaver of the original rich brocade wall coverings took samples back to Europe where they will be duplicated. Because of the size and appearance of Whitehall, it has often been referred to as the Taj Mahal of America.

At the time of its construction Whitehall had the very latest in world conveniences. It boasted the first needle shower in America, the first twin beds (in the modern American bed room) and the first indirect lighting.

Helen Van Hoy Smith, in an article in the Miami Herald quoted a writer as describing Whitehall thusly, "more wonderful than any palace in Europe and more magnificent than any other private dwelling in the world . . . the Vatican, the forests, the quarries, the old salons, art shops and looms have contributed some of their choicest treasures . . . there is nothing in the world to equal Whitehall."

Sidney Walter Martin, in his book "Florida's Flagler," described Flagler as always being optimistic ,and growing less reserved with old age. He tells of the accident Flagler had when he fell from one of the bottom stairs onto the marble hallway floor. This was the beginning of broken health and finally death for Flagler, at the age of 83, May 10th, 1913. Flagler's only son was called to his bedside and the end came peacefully.

It was Flagler's wish to be buried in St. Augustine where he first began his Florida enterprises. By this time his railway had extended to Miami and Key West, with Miami known as the "city Flagler built".

His funeral service was held in the Memorial Presbyterian Church which he had given to the city of St. Augustine, and a vault had been included in the construction for Flagler and his family, including his mentally ill wife, Alice.

The man Flagler died, but the development he started and financed is still growing, and throughout the east coast of Florida the name Flagler appears on streets, hotels and in the name of one of its counties. He was a great developer and like those pioneers who came before him, a great believer in the Almighty and the principles of "Help thy neighbor". Visitors in Palm Beach County may visit the Flagler Museum, once the home of Henry and Mary Flagler. They may walk on the same carpets, gaze upon the same paintings and listen to the music of the magnificient organ. Their hands may slide along the bannisters of the marble staircase just as Flagler's did, and perhaps some of the foresight and initiative and kindness of this man may be transferred from it to them . . . so that all who enter the mighty portals of this marble palace may be inspired by the examples of Flagler and the courageous pioneers who gave their all to open and settle this region around Lake Worth.

Flagler's wife was not the only Kenan who brightened his life. Her brother,

William R. Kenan, a brilliant young engineer when Flagler met him about 1901, was given several assignments with the Flagler organization. He was well educated and became one of the leading members of the firm. His official title, at first, was Consulting Engineer, but in 1904 he was promoted to a Vice-President and Director of all the Flagler Corporations. He was so thoroughly trusted by Mr. Flagler that he was empowered to make important decisions and sign checks without the approval of Mr. Flagler. Further information concerning the Kenans can be found in Sidney Martin's book. "Florida's Flagler."

Journalism

The first newspaper to be published in Palm Beach County was the *Tropical Sun,* established at Juno by Guy Metcalf when the County seat was located there. It was moved to Palm Beach in 1895. There was a *Lake Worth Historian* in the mid-nineties. The *Gazateer,* which had made its appearance in Lake Worth in 1894, was bought in 1895 by two brothers from Alabama, S. Bobo Dean and Joel Dean. They changed the name to the *Lake Worth News* in 1897, and in 1904 sold it. S. Bobo Dean went to Miami to become co-owner and later full owner of the *Metropolis.* In 1906 R. O. Davies of Cleveland bought the *Lake Worth News* and changed it to the *Palm Beach News.* Davies' son succeeded his father as publisher in 1926. Associated with the paper through the years was Miss Ruby Edna Pierce, who died in 1960. In 1948 the Davies group of papers included also the *Palm Beach Life* and the *Palm Beach Daily Program,* and in that year they were sold to the John H. Perry Associates. The Perry interests now publish the *Palm Beach Post* and the *Palm Beach Post-Times.*

The Palm Beach Post had been established about 1915 by Joe Earman, with D. H. Conkling as part owner. Earman was the son of West Palm Beach's first mayor, and Conkling was founder in 1911 of a weekly, *The Palm Beach County,* which later became semi-weekly. Earman sold his interest in the *Palm Beach Post* and in 1925 established a weekly, *The Palm Beach Independent.* He sold this is 1930.

Present Day Palm Beach

For many years, with the exception of bicycles and afromobiles (wicker chairs on wheels peddled by colored boys), no wheeled vehicles were allowed in the city of Palm Beach. Later motor cars were admitted, but rolling chairs and bicycles are still popular modes of travel. There are no commercial parking lots and no tourist camps.

The early architecture of Palm Beach, mostly steep-roofed gable-type frame houses with cupolas and turning-lathe ornamentation, was dominated by the huge wooden hotels painted in the Flagler choice of colors, yellow and white.

Addison Mizner, artist-architect, prize fighter, and miner, shortly after World War 1, introduced the Spanish style of architecture, which has resulted in a transformation of architecture along the lower east coast of Florida. Mizner established plants to manufacture the tile, iron-work, furniture, and pottery needed for the millionaire mansions that he built in this type of architecture.

After the building and land boom of the '20's, the Mizner period vanished and the newer buildings followed—the British-Colonial type of architecture.

Today the mayor of Palm Beach might be said to hold a hereditary position in the city government. Mayor Claude D. Reese, a native, and grandson of E. N. Dimick who was Palm Beach's first mayor in 1911, and son of T. T. Reese who was also mayor for one term, executes his office under the gaze of the statue of Grandfather E. N. Dimick which keeps watch over this fabulous municipality.

Elegance is still the keynote of rich Palm Beach. Mike Morgan of the *Miami Herald* has said: "Born in elegance, the brain child of Henry Flagler, Palm Beach still follows the grand tradition of quiet elegance, of a downright exclusiveness

that was its hallmark when first the Wanamakers, Cluetts, Binghams, Swifts, Stotesburys, Phipps and others of the world of international society raised vast and beautiful mansions here set in acres of meticulously tailored tropical landscapes.

"This is the gold-plated mink-lined town of Palm Beach, one of the world's social centers where you can live in opulence but if you die they've got to call in an undertaker from West Palm Beach across the way."

This points up the fact that just as Flagler planned and executed in his day, the present day Palm Beach has not become a commercial town in any way.

Its lack of commercialism is only one of its unique features. The town has no financial problems. The few shopping centers look like palaces, the garbage is collected every day at no extra cost. This is the only "simon pure manager form of government in the country . . . absolutely no politics," according to City Manager B. Arnold. Nominations for city officials are made from the floor during a town hall meeting.

Palm Beach differs from all of the other east coast cities with their burst of expansion and growth. Palm Beach cannot grow because all of the space is taken. The few vacant lots are most probably not for sale, thus it is that the lush resort city alone stays the same, while all around it mushroom new buildings and new business enterprises. Flagler could walk the streets of Palm Beach today and feel very much at home.

According to Mrs. Lillian Ray, director of Palm Beach Chamber of Commerce: "Worth Avenue during the season has more money tied up in its two blocks in merchandise than any comparable two blocks in the world." During the winter season the population grows from the year round population of 6,000 to around 25,000, filling the hotels and homes and anchoring millions of dollars in yachts from one end of the island to the other.

Palm Beach has a beautiful new "little Theatre" called the Royal Poincianna Playhouse and it has a Four Arts Center. (The county's first theatre was established in 1907 by Charles Kettler). Palm Beach's children's clinic would do credit to a large city.

Anthony Family, Pioneer Merchants

"This is my good boy . . . he heard the angels sing" was a description E. D. Anthony heard his mother give of him while conversing with a friend. It made quite an impression on the little boy and gave him something to try to live up to all of his life. He had great admiration for his mother, Gertrude Holden Anthony, who was very intelligent, foresighted and original.

The Anthony family were school teachers and E. D. Anthony was born on the third floor of a school in which his parents taught. They moved from Georgia to Florida and finally down the coast to West Palm Beach in 1895.

One brother, A. P. Anthony, opened a store which was owned and run by the Anthony Brothers. Their business prospered under honest and courteous management and soon Anthony stores could be found on Palm Beach, throughout the state of Florida and in other states as well.

Mr. E. D. Anthony, still actively running the business in his West Palm Beach store, has many interesting stories to tell of the early pioneer days of the area. He has not only been a merchant but also an originator of styles in resort wear. It was he who first stocked all white shoes for cooler feet in the tropics. He also noted a man wearing a pair of two tone shoes made in England and called the attention of one of his American shoe manufacturers to the style. The manufacturer liked the idea and Anthony ordered over six hundred pairs and sold them all. Since that time the brown and white and black and white combination shoes, are a part of every well dressed person's wardrobe. Mr. Anthony knew Henry Flagler well and Flagler would often go to the Palm Beach Store to dis-

cuss various projects with Mr. Anthony. Both were civic minded and invested their time and money for the betterment of the area.

Mr. Anthony recalls the days when there were no roads on the lower East coast of Florida and all travel was done by boat. He attended a funeral of a friend that made a lasting impression on him, for it was very different from any other he had ever attended. It was a "sail-boat funeral" for all of the friends who gathered to pay their last respects had to sail to the location of burial and the body of the deceased was transported the same way.

When Palm Beach County was created in 1909 there was only one bank there with $400.000 deposits. The Anthony Brothers organized and opened a bank in Palm Beach, in October of 1909. In less than two years both banks had grown to $800,000 each in deposits. This is a small example of the growth of the area after the county was created.

Recently. Mr. and Mrs. Anthony celebrated fifty years of membership in their church in West Palm Beach. They recall the first church was a Congregational Church and that later, there was a Methodist Church. As the population increased the various denominations were established in the city of West Palm Beach. Today the Anthony's are still West Palm Beach merchants, though their stores are well established elsewhere. They are still very prominent in civic, cultural and church affairs. They have kept pace with the growth of the area, and share with the other pioneer families a pride in the development of the Lake Worth area, this beautiful and sparsely settled section of the East coast where they put down the roots of their destinies.

A history of Palm Beach County would not be complete without including the story of one Col. E. R. Bradley and his Beach Club. His story is well presented by Judge Knott, president of the Palm Beach County Historical Society. He writes as follows:

"Colonel Edward Riley Bradley, who, incidentally, was the only four-time winner in the history of the Kentucky Derby, is said to have ranked second only to Henry M. Flagler as the most important man in Palm Beach social history.

"Born about 1860 in Johnstown, Penn., Bradley, like Flagler, left home at 14. In 1890, having engaged in the hotel business in Chicago and in a successful gambling enterprise in Silver City, New Mexico, he established his famous racing stable in Lexington, Kentucky, the Idle Hour Farm which produced his Derby winners.

"Moving to Florida with his brother, he ran the Bacchus Club in St. Augustine, in the early nineties.

"In 1898 he opened his famous Beach Club in Palm Beach, the greatest gambling house that ever operated in this country.

"The Beach Club, which was located near Lake Worth on the north side of Poincianna Way (then Main Street), served Palm Beach continuously from 1898 until a short time before Bradley's death in 1946. From 1905 on, neither taxes, reform waves, gambling investigations nor any other outside influence ever disturbed its operation. With its own platoon of 18 Pinkerton men, substantial control of local publicity media, political contributions, generous donations to charity and churches of all denominations, it was virtually a law unto itself.

"Under the terms of Bradley's will, the club was torn down after his death, the land was given to Palm Beach as a public park, and the gambling equipment was towed out to sea and sunk. Bill Corum, columnist for the New York Journal-American said in the issue of the August 16, 1946, the day after Bradley's death, 'There won't be any more Ed Bradleys . . . And one thing that guarantees the truth of that sweeping statement is the income tax.' . . . Bradley was as honest as the day is long, and nobody could possibly play in these days for the sort of stakes that almost surely made that modest-looking Casino in Palm Beach the home of the highest rolling gambling the world has ever seen . . .

When they were rolling them big in the lush money and boom days, and nights, at Palm Beach, more was won or lost on one whirl of the little ball or the turn of a card than ever in the history of the world.

"The gambling Casino was located on Lake Worth just north of the railroad bridge, where trains backed across the lake to deliver passengers to the entrance of the Royal Poincianna and Breakers Hotels. The building was a sprawling white frame structure, commodious and comfortable in appearance, surrounded by broad lawns and palm trees. It was a gambler's paradise where fortunes sometimes changed hands with the spin of the wheel.

"The Octagonal gambling salon at the end of a long corridor leading from the dining room which itself was serviced by a crew of fifty employees, contained six roulette tables and two tables for hazard, an old Western game similar to chuck-o-luck. For the hazard tables, Bradley employed old-time western professional dealers whom he had known in the west during his youth. Later, a back room was added containing one hazard table and 7 roulette tables. In the beginning men only were admitted to this room, being those whose wives habitually objected to their gambling for high stakes; however, the prohibition against women was eventually lifted when it became apparent that many ladies were fond of high stakes themselves. Many of Bradley's patrons had been used to playing Chemin de Fer (a game similar to Baccarat) in Europe, and asked Bradley to install a table for that purpose. To accomodate them, he built a second floor during the 20's, where three of these tables were set up with French dealers brought over from France to deal the game.

"Bradley kept this social clientele not only toeing the mark of decorous behavior, but carefully hand-picked his membership. A new member had to be introduced by an old member, who thereby accepted responsibility for his social and moral character. As a concession to reform and the morals of the state of Florida, and also because Floridians served on juries, no resident of Florida could qualify for membership. No man who did not appear to be at least 24 years of age, no man who was under the influence of liquor, and no man not in evening clothes was permitted to enter the club.

"From 1899 on, ladies who were escorted were admitted; from 1899 on, the Beach Club prospered. In 1912 it moved to new quarters but was still a model of decorum.

"Around the walls, high above the heads of the players in the octagonal room, there was a white trellis, behind which there were guards armed with machine guns. Bradley employed about 25 guards, and Bradley said that if any professional gangsters or robbers ever got in, 'they would have to fight their way out'. In the entire history of the club, there was never a hold-up.

"Bradley was meticulous about his income tax returns. At one time the officials rather suspected that he might be cheating the government, but after a two week's inspection tour by two agents it was reported that Bradley's reports, if anything, favored the government.

"Col. Bradley's philanthropies were many. He annually gave a charity-day race meet at his Idle Hour Farm, with proceeds going to orphanages in Kentucky without regard to creed or color. In 1940, he donated the property of his Oasis Club at Palm Beach to a cancer research organization. A devout Roman Catholic, he is said to have contributed the major portion of the cost of the St. Edwards Church in Palm Beach. In one year alone he contributed $100,000 to the Red Cross. He financed at least half the cost of the original Good Samaritan Hospital in West Palm Beach, and matched the entire community dollar for dollar in raising funds to build St. Mary's Hospital. He gave generously, but anonymously, to churches of all denominations.

"It seems rather odd that Bradley, a famous sportsman and gambler, greatly

enjoyed the companionship of the clergy, but such was the case. He respected their intelligence and valued his close association with a number of them.

"To a friend who asked why he contributed so much to charity, he replied, 'I believe that God intended those who prospered to help others who didn't and it gives me a lot of satisfaction to do this. Besides,' he added with a smile, "it brings me good luck'."

Present Day West Palm Beach

This community that was established primarily to house employees of wealthy Palm Beach and to be an economic center for the island, has grown to full cityhood, and is entirely independent of the island. Possibly it was the fact that the first settlers on this side of Lake Worth were of the working class that made the community grow and prosper. They were willing to work and knew how to take pride in a job well done. Today West Palm Beach is a shopping center for many surrounding counties, and it holds its own with any part of the east coast of Florida as a tourist resort city. Since the Palm Beaches are closer to the Gulf Stream than any other section of the Atlantic, excellent fishing is at their front door.

Palm Beach Junior College is located in West Palm Beach. It offers two years of higher education, including courses similar tc those of Florida State Universities, and technical and vocational courses as well. It is accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Florida State Department of Education, and both State Universities.

In addition to the public schools and Junior Colleges there are two Parochial schools in West Palm Beach. The city houses two very fine, well equipped hospitals, the Good Samaritan and St. Mary's.

In addition to the railway that Flagler established, the county has access to many fine highways and the service of numerous air lines, both passenger and freight. Water travel for pleasure as well as commercial uses, is still popular. The port of West Palm Beach is a busy one.

West Palm Beach does not depend upon its tourist trade to as great an extent as it did at one time. It is now the home of many different types of industries. There are manufacturers of awnings, aluminum products, cement products, chemicals, furniture, dairy products, electronic equipment, insecticides, electrical equipment, dress manufacturers, radiation research, Pratt and Whitney Aircraft Corporation and many other industries.

In a community where there was once only a Congregational Church, there are now over twenty-five different denominations and many beautiful churches.

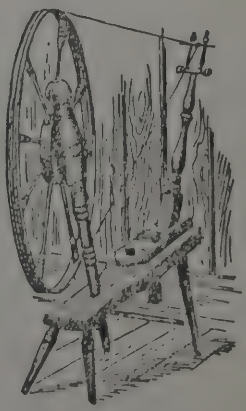
West Palm Beach is a strange mixture of "big-city sophistication" and "small town folksy-ness". It makes a rapidly growing progressive city with many advantages for pleasure and business, yet it retains the pace and friendliness of a smaller town. The hard working founders of this city left a great legacy, and today's citizens still take pride in work and their organizations that will help it to continue to grow and prosper.

Riviera Beach

Riviera Beach is at the headwaters of the eighteen mile long Lake Worth. Its beach on Singer Island is one of the widest on the lower east coast.

Incorporated in 1923, the town of Riviera Beach is a thriving small city which is growing at a rapid pace because of the great influx of retired persons, tourism and new industries.

This Palm Beach county community boasts a world seaport, a busy and modern gateway to the sea of Riviera Beach and all Palm Beach County. Foreign-flag ships call by for cargoes and port services. There are daily sailings of Florida-



Havana railroad car ferry vessels of the West Indian Fruit and Steamship Company, with limited passenger accomodations.

Since 1950 this port has led all Florida in money value of imports and exports to and from the West Indies, Europe, Canada and South America. Great quantities of Everglades ramie are shipped to Europe from this port.

Boynton Beach

Boynton Beach is located in the heart of one of the richest agricultural sections in Florida. Dairy farms, chicken ranches, large truck farms, citrus groves, and nurseries all add to the economy of the community. Orchids and many kinds of cut flowers are grown for northern markets. Skilled workers in almost every field are available, and labor is plentiful.

Boynton Beach, like other communities in this county, is a favorite resort town and has fine beaches and all other enjoyable activities usually found in a southern resort town.

Lantana

Lantana has an appealing village-like air. It too boasts a splendid ocean beach and scenic frontage along Lake Worth. The Lantana Airport is suitable for most types of private planes. This community has many farming interests which give it a good balance in off-tourist seasons.

Hypoluxo

This community was settled in 1873, is one of the oldest communities on Lake Worth, and is the home of the romanticized "Barefoot Mailman" as written under that title by Theodore Pratt, a resident of Palm Beach County.

Boca Raton

Boca Raton, today a jewel of secluded charm, was once the bailiwick of history's wildest and wooliest pirates. It is the home of the sumptuous Boca Raton Club, "Africa, U. S. A.," and "Ancient America".

Delray Beach

This is another popular tourist town in Palm Beach County. It is the home of Theodore Pratt, writer, who has used this section of Florida for a background of most of his novels and plays. One of his best known books, "The Barefoot Mailman" has its setting in Palm Beach County.

This community was settled in 1901. Many of its earliest residents were Michigan farmers of German ancestry. Today, besides being a resort center, the area produces beans, peppers, tomatoes, sugar cane and citrus fruit. It is also the headquarters city of the Southern Publishing Company of which Robert Towne is President.

Lake Worth

Immediately south of West Palm Beach is the second largest city in the county. It is the town of Lake Worth, named for the lake upon which much of the county borders. Lake Worth is primarily a tourist city, but like the rest of the county it is getting its share of light industry.

The Glades Area

This section of Palm Beach County that flanks Lake Okeechobee, the second largest lake entirely within the United States, is a part of the vast Florida Everglades. The mucklands are often referred to as "black gold". This section of

the county was mostly under water and fit only for snakes and alligators, inhabited by a few Seminole Indians who were pushed back from more desirable lands, and feather hunters.

Today, this vast section of the state has been drained, and the mucklands vegetation that has been decaying for centuries has been turned into large and prosperous farms and cattle ranches.

Pahokee

Pahokee is one of the important agriculture and cattle centers of the Everglades. It serves the area with a huge State Farmer's Market and many modern packing plants. Its airport is designed to handle commercial traffic, and its docks on Lake Okeechobee serve yachts using the cross-state waterway.

Canal Point

In this Everglades city and at nearby Bryant was the first sugar plantation and mill in Florida. This is still being used as a branch of the United States Sugar Corporation. Muck City and Sand Cut are adjacent towns. This whole section is a great farming and cattle producing center.

Belle Glade

Belle Glade is the county's third largest city. One reason for this is that the packing house section of Belle Glade is the state's largest and most modern. Direct rail and truck connections bring New York markets just seventy-two hours away. Its brokers and cooperatives deal with every state in the union. The livestock auction market here serves the entire 'Glades area. Its golf course, modern parks, fishing and hunting attract many visitors. The community of Chosen, a neighbor of Belle Glade, is mostly residential.

At the junction of two main highways is South Bay. This community, together with Lake Harbor, Bean City, Bare Beach and Okeelanta are thriving farm communities on the southeastern shore of Lake Okechobee.

Research

Scientific research, in the laboratory and in the field, conducted during the last decades by the men of Everglades Experiment Station, has been responsible for development of many new and important crops and methods. It has increased the annual production of millions of dollars worth of vegetables, cane, fiber and cattle. A branch of the University of Florida is supported by the State and employs a staff of highly trained men whose vision is to help the farmers in the development of agriculture. These men are Specialized Scientists, laboratory and field men. In addition to this free service the county employs trained agents in agriculture and home demonstration work to serve the area. Improved cattle feeding and improved methods of growing corn, potatoes, celery, Ramie and Kenaf fibers are among the more recent successful projects of the Experiment Station.

Water Control

Palm Beach County is in the heart of the 17 county Central and Southern Florida Flood Control project, under construction since 1949. Ultimately to cost several hundred millions, the project will shortly afford protection for the entire Everglades agricultural area. Key point of the system in Palm Beach County is the world's largest low-level pumping station, west of West Palm Beach. The project will guard against salt water intrusion in coastal municipal water supplies and remove flood waters from the flat muck lands of the 'Glades. A storage

area of 860,000 acres is also a fishing and hunting paradise under controlled use, under direction of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service in Palm Beach county.

What Is Palm Beach County?

Diversified opportunity . . . this is Palm Beach County. This is a place where millionaires and workmen walk the same paths; it is where the tourist, the businessman, the farmer, the manufacturer, the rancher and the retiree make up a family who are looking for new horizons, and they are settled in a county where they may well find what they are seeking.

NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE HISTORY OF PALM BEACH COUNTY

Through the kindness and keen interest of Judge James R. Knott, President of the Palm Beach County Historical Society and an Advisor on the publication of this work, and Miss Lena Clarke, Church Woman and historian, both of West Palm Beach, the Editor received a dozen articles and public addresses by or about pioneers and pioneer days which were typed and designated for inclusion in this section on Palm Beach County. Unfortunately lack of space makes it impossible to use all of them. But for the benefit of the students of history and future historians we can list them here and announce that they are available in the library of the Palm Beach County Historical Society. These historic items reveal the customs, hardships and experiences of the pioneers—or they reflect the values and outlook of the people who lived in those far away times:

1. West Palm Beach—Its Beginning and Growth—By G. E. White
2. Backward Glances of a Pioneer—By Marion E. Geer
3. Lake Worth—By Ruby Andrews Myers
4. Truck Gardening—By Lydia Bradley
5. Transportation From 1876 to 1896
6. The Royal Poincinana Chapel—By E. T. K.
7. Animal Visits in the Old Days—By N. A. H.
8. Mail Routes—By Clara B. Perry
9. Lake Worth's First Post Office—By Mattie A. Heyser
10. Before Lake Worth Was Salted—By George S. Bowley, Pioneer News, April 27, 1912
11. Now & Then—By Lena Clarke
12. Brief Information Concerning Southeast Florida Jurists
13. Histroic Ground Covered By Loftin's Fine Speech
14. Pioneering in South Florida—Chillingworth Gives Data on Early Days

PACKWOOD

CHAPTER XXVI

BROWARD COUNTY

By Ada Coats Williams

BROWARD COUNTY IS located on the lower east coast of Florida, and encompasses 780,800 acres of land. This county is bordered on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, on the north by Palm Beach County, on the west by Hendry and Collier counties, and on the south by Dade County. This portion of the lower east coast of Florida contained in Broward county was known to the early Spanish explorers and pirates.

Ft. Lauderdale, the county seat of Broward County is known as the "Venice of America" due to its many miles of natural waterways. Nature was exceedingly benevolent in her bestowal of golden beaches, river waters, and a lush growth of tropical scenery on this county.

One of the water-ways is the New River, and the history and romance surrounding it is the history and romance of Ft. Lauderdale and Broward County, for it was on the banks of this beautiful river that this area had its beginning in the experiences of the nation-family to which it now belongs.

During the second Seminole War, about 1838, Major Maitland, Commander of the second Tennessee Regiment of Mounted Militia, was sent to organize fortifications on New River to prevent supplies from being landed for the Indians from the Bahamas and Cuba. After scouting along the river banks, the Major decided to camp permanently at the ocean inlet to the river. The first camp was made, it is believed, some distance up the stream and there a fort was erected. This was like the other forts along the east coast, a two-story structure built of cabbage palm logs, surrounded by a stockade of the same kind of logs.

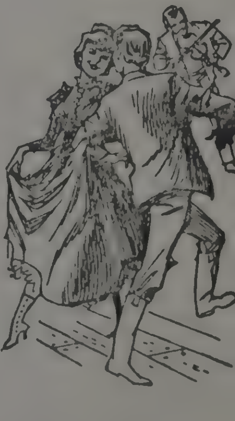
New River

According to the researchers for "The Federal Writer's Project" the New River Inlet did not exist until shortly before the American Revolution. This source states that one William de Brahm, surveyor for the king of England, described its creation, reporting that "the great rains . . . . filled this river to its marshes with so much water that its weight within and the sea without, by force of the northeast gales, demolished the northeast bank and made this inlet between the 25th and 30th of May, 1765."

This little stream, known as "Himmarshee" or New River, is one of the mysteries of nature whose physical facts are unique and of major interest to historians and scientists.

The river is nine miles long, a natural tributary, and is considered the deepest river in the world for its length and width. The mystery and legend surrounding this river is that it appeared in a single night after a terrible shaking of the earth.

Scientists believe that the section from the whirlpool just west of the city of Ft. Lauderdale to Tarpon Bend below the Federal Highway bridge was once an underground stream flowing forty feet below the surface. In some places the river was one hundred feet deep, but there has has been a continuous silting in since the North New River Canal was opened to connect with Lake Okeechobee, and the river is not nearly as deep as it was thirty or forty years ago.



Battle of Fort Lauderdale

There is some variance of opinion as to how this Fort was named. It was established as a military fort by the United States Army in 1838, near the site of the present Coast Guard Base. Some historians say the fort was named for the commanding officer, Major Lauderdale, whose trail down the state was marked on old maps of the Seminole Wars. Others contend that the fort was named for Major Maitland of the Scottish Lauderdale family, and this contention is backed by documentary evidence which proves that Major Maitland was actually in command of the fort.

One night in August, 1857, so the record says, a party of Seminoles collected at Colohatchee for the purpose of attacking the soldiers stationed there. They floated down Middle River in their dug-out canoes, and silently made their way to New River and the location of the fort. Their surprise attack was foiled by an alert guard who aroused the soldiers. The Seminoles repeated their attacks on the fort for three days, but were repulsed each time. This battle was called "The Battle of Fort Lauderdale."

New River was the witness to another attack by the Indians which proved fatal to the enemies. On the shore of Tarpon Bend, in the New River, a massacre occurred in 1842 in a hammock known as Colee Hammock. This massacre was led under the command of Arpeika, known also as "Sam Jones-be-Damned", a powerful medicine man of the Mikasuki.

A member of Arpeika's tribe was caught trying to warn the whites of the intended attack, and was bound to a tree where he was forced to witness the killing of these whites whom he had befriended. The tribe then cut the Indian traitor's ears off, a slice from the upper part of the right and one from the lower part of the left ear. He was deprived of his Indian name, and told that he must live in exile for seven years. At the end of that time, if he survived, he could approach his people and ask for a new trial. Dressed in rags, he was given a hunting knife and driven off into the Everglades. He became known as "Crop-Ear-Charlie", and at the end of seven years, in June, he returned to his camp for a new trial at the Green Corn Dance. This was a celebration when the council held court for all tribal violators and gave recognition for all tribesmen of merit. "Crop-Ear-Charlie" was given permission to live near the tribe, but was still forbidden to eat, sleep, hunt, or marry with his people. He also had to continue through life with his nickname, for his Indian name was forever banned from his personal use.

First Permanent Settlers

The first known white man to locate in the area was Washington Jenkins, the keeper of the Government's House of Refuge. This house was one link in a chain of ten such dwellings established at twenty-five mile intervals along the coast to offer refuge to shipwrecked persons. This settler arrived in 1876. His was indeed a lonely existence for there was no settlement in the area at that time and no regular line of ships.

Frank Stranahan, First Permanent Settler

On January 31, 1893, a young man twenty-seven years of age migrated down to the area that is known as Ft. Lauderdale and Broward County. His name was Frank Stranahan and he came from Ohio where he had worked in the steel mills. This work had impaired his health and was the major factor in his decision to come south with a group of young men of his acquaintance.

His first job was the reason he selected this particular location. He was to take care of the overland mail from Lantana to Coconut Grove just after the time of the "barefoot mailmen." He used a horse and wagon for this service. He became the first postmaster in the little settlement that began to grow up around New River. He would travel to the House of Refuge to get the mail as it was brought down by government carriers and return with it to his tent post-office.

Frank Stranahan was an enterprising young man. Soon he had established "Stranahan Camp," a camp of tents, which provided food and sleeping facilities for overland travelers.

A ferry was established across New River and Frank Stranahan was put in charge of it. It was operated by cables strung across the river and was a Dade County Ferry. The ferry provided transportation for all people passing that way, and for wagons and teams of horses and mules. There was a ferry bell on the south side of the river for persons coming from that direction.

The ringing of this bell not only brought business to Frank Stranahan and the Dade County Ferry, but it also brought him a bride, and the first school teacher for the children of the few families living there.

Miss Ivy Cromartie, Teacher

In 1899, there were five or six families settled in the Fort Lauderdale area, in the near vicinity of Stranahan Camp. Frank Stranahan had established a trading post on New River and had built up a thriving business trading hides and furs with the Indians. He was still in charge of the ferry and continued to hold his position as postmaster. In this capacity he met the new school teacher when she arrived and called for her mail.

Miss Ivy Cromartie was appointed as teacher to a school in Fort Lauderdale which at that time was a part of Dade County. The families had requested a teacher and the school board agreed to furnish a teacher and the building materials for a school building, but stated there were no funds in their budget available for the construction of a school building. The families all joined together and erected a school building consisting of one room that was twenty-five feet by thirty feet.

Miss Ivy (as she was called by her students and their parents) was still in her teens. She qualified for the position by graduating from high school at Lemon City and being tutored by teachers for the State Teacher's Examination. School opened that term in 1899 with an enrollment of nine students who represented the families of Marshall, Powers, King and Cromartie. She boarded with the E. T. King family for fifteen dollars a month and received a monthly salary of forty-eight dollars.

It was destined that this young pioneer school teacher would not only play a great part in training and shaping the lives of the children thereabouts, but that she would also play an important part in the development of Fort Lauderdale and Broward County, and become a champion for the rights of the Seminoles in the state of Florida.

Teachers were a part of the community in which they taught. They were held in high esteem and parents and children vied with each other for the privilege of having the teacher in their home as an overnight guest. All grades and all subjects were taught by this one teacher in the same room with all students sharing the same recess and noon hours. Teacher and children carried a cold lunch from home, a water bucket was filled each day. The school "campus" was an area surrounding the school that had been grubbed clear of weeds, palmetto roots and the wild tropical growth that had been there since creation.

A typical school day started with the reading of the Bible, the Lord's Prayer, and the Salute to our Flag. Faith and patriotism were considered very much a part of the public school system, for it was remembered and taught and cherished by these pioneer folk that this great country that was theirs to open and settle had been founded by men who fought and died to established a nation where there was freedom to worship . . . not "freedom not to worship" as so many choose to interpret that historic document today.

Academic aids in teaching were: individual desks (used ones from other Dade County schools), a teacher's desk, one large blackboard, chalk, erasers, and a large globe on a stand that was placed on the teacher's desk. The curriculum included

spelling (from the Blue Back Speller), reading, geography (Red Back), writing, arithmetic, and physiology.

The teacher and pupils all walked to school or came by boat down New River. Miss Ivy walked a mile and a half to and from school along a dug-out trail and it was a common thing for her to see coveys of quail, turkeys, and wildcats on her daily sojourns.

Memory work played a great part in lesson assignments. All students not only memorized long passages from their literature books, but were required to "recite" at school programs that were held regularly and were attended by all members of the settlement. This was not only good training for the mind, but it was training for the boys and girls to be on their feet and alert—expressing themselves orally in the presence of others. These recitations occurred every other Friday afternoon rather than at night, for the school was not lighted. This little school, located at waht is now known as South Andrews Avenue and 5th Street, boasted an enrollment of thirteen by the end of the year, and the grounds had been beautified by a group of mothers who called themselves the "Improvement Club" and who became the embryo of the present Fort Lauderdale Woman's Club.

At the end of the school term in 1900, Miss Ivy Cromartie, teacher, and Frank Stranahan were married. This ended the formal school career of Miss Ivy, but her teaching continued as she began to make friends with the Indians who visited her husband's trading post and spent many hours teaching the Indian children and young women. They trusted and liked her husband, and soon they grew to trust and love her. It had been her life-long ambition to teach the Seminoles to be friendly "to the United States Government, to believe in education, and the Christian religion." She felt compelled to use her energies and influence in their behalf to make some small contribution to the Indian peoples who were so greatly wronged in earlier years.

The Presbyterian churches in Florida for years have sent large colored pictures to Mrs. Stranahan to use in her work, and other materials as well. It is interesting to note that though much of the material which first interested the Seminoles in her section in Christianity was furnished by the Presbyterian church, the denomination claimed by a large majority of the Seminoles is the Baptist. Most of their missionaries from their own race and from the Oklahoma reservation who have worked among them are Baptists and this explains why they embraced this faith.

As the Indians warmed to Mrs. Stranahan, the girls displayed a great curiosity about her clothes. They would try on her hats, shoes and dresses, giggling and laughing all the while.

While the Indians were friendly to the settlers, for the most part they were very reserved and deeply resented any prying or meddling by the white man.

During the days when Mrs. Stranahan would put out pictures of Christ, the Shepherds, and other brightly and beautifully colored Bible story pictures to arouse the curiosity of the Indian children so that their questions would open the way for her stories and teachings of the Christian faith, the settlers were sharing in the Seminole Medicine men's knowledge of medicinal herbs. No doctors had settled in the area, and while for the most part the pioneers were a hardy lot, they still fell prey to diseases and infections.

Mrs. Stranahan recalled that one remedy learned from the Indians was to boil the roots of the sarsparilla plant and give doses of this brew to the family as a tonic in the early spring. The Indian collard plant, which grows in the interior of the state, was gathered and the thick leaves were held close to a fire and used as a poultice on infected and inflamed areas. At the present time, the Upjohn Pharmaceutical Manufacturers are negotiating with one of the oldest medicine women still living, Josie Billy, to purchase her herbal remedies, as one in particular has been declared effective in the treatment of arthritis.

In 1900, when the Stranhans were married, the population of Fort Lauderdale

numbered about fifty-two. When the city was incorporated in 1911, the population was a mere one hundred and seventy-five. The people hunted and fished and engaged in agriculture. Beans and peppers were grown in the greatest volume, and a few tourists were venturing down from Palm Beach. The majority of these tourists were sportsmen who came for the hunting and fishing, and promoters who were looking over the entire southern tip of the peninsula with thoughts of developing the most promising parts. Among these tourists was President Grover Cleveland. He and his companions were golfing enthusiasts and they would practice shots in the open places of the piney woods. The Indians would hunt among the pine straw and pine cones for the balls and were paid the large sums of ten and twenty-five cents for each one recovered.

The settlers in Fort Lauderdale were not lacking in social life. Once a year the school had a family picnic at the beach; dances and box suppers were held and the entire family would attend. Small children and babies were put on pallets on the floor as their parents whirled to the music of an accordian and fiddle. The dances were held on the second floor above the Trading Post. It was a large open hall and the women would spend several days decorating and preparing refreshments.

A Community Church was organized which later became affiliated with the Methodist denomination and became known as the First Methodist Church of Ft. Lauderdale. This church is in existence today.

The first class to graduate from the Lauderdale school had only three candidates for a certificate and they were all boys. Two of these are now residents of Fort Lauderdale: W. Gordon who serves in the city fire department, and Martin who serves as a minister in one of the city's Methodist churches. Their graduation exercises were held out of doors near the school. There was no auditorium to accommodate public gatherings.

Henry Flagler, who had such a great part in hastening the development of the state and its economy by laying a railway the entire length of the state, was a frequent visitor at the Stranahan Trading Post. He is remembered by Mrs. Stranahan as a very humble, inconspicuous man. He was small of stature, had white hair and moustache, and very seldom initiated a conversation, mostly speaking when spoken to or questioned.

As the community grew and prospered with the increasing number of tourists, the local settlers became more community conscious. They would go over to the House of Refuge and have beach house-parties. Boating was used for pleasure as well as a necessity and all youngsters learned to sail a boat and swim. Trips were made up to West Palm Beach for the express purpose of walking through the Royal Poincianna Gardens, looking at the fashionable folk who were staying there, meeting and chatting with them, and for the rides in the wicker carriages that were driven by colored men on bicycles.

Trips were made to Miami and to the Royal Palm Hotel for the same purpose and to listen to the band and watch the swimmers.

Woman's Club, City Developers

To the Fort Lauderdale Woman's Club must go much of the credit for the early development of the city. The men were busy making a living and clearing the land by hand, so the women assumed the role of improving the face of the community and pointing out and encouraging increasing advancements. This group of energetic and enterprising young mothers and wives promoted the millage for education and they were instrumental in securing the right of way for Andrews Avenue, the main street, in a single summer season, after the Board of Trade (a fore-runner of the Chamber of Commerce) had tried to accomplish the same task for five years. This group of women promoted the first fire department by purchasing the first fire hose in the city, a large hand-rolled fire hose.

At an early date they backed the passing of an ordinance which protected the birds in the city. They started the first library which in the beginning consisted of shelves of books kept in the various homes, later housed in one building, and resulting in one of the largest and finest city libraries on the east coast of Florida.

In 1911 or -12 the Woman's Club voted to ask the city fathers to place a one-fourth millage tax for the purpose of establishing a city park. This was accomplished and the funds started accumulating.

By 1915 the settlers in this area had succeeded in getting their own county created. They were no longer a part of Dade County and chose for their county name, that of Broward, after the Florida Governor N. B. Broward who served as governor from 1905 through 1909.

Broward County was being visited more and more by tourists. Flagler's railway made it accessible and the many natural waterways charmed all who visited the area. The town of Ft. Lauderdale was lacking in proper accommodations for travelers and tourists but the local settlers felt that such accommodations would mean a great deal to the area. They would provide quarters for prospective developers. These earliest settlers were men with courage and vision, but now they were lacking in the funds to develop their resources properly so that their city could grow and eventually bring prosperity to their various enterprises.

In 1917 or -18 a George E. Henry, a lumberman from New England, stopped off the train and spent a few days in Fort Lauderdale on his way to Miami. He was scouting around the areas of Palm Beach, Lauderdale and Miami with the idea of investing a considerable sum of money. The real estate men and the newspaper men of Ft. Lauderdale suggested the great need for a commercial hotel in the city. They tried to interest him in making his investment in a new hotel. Henry agreed that it had great possibilities, but he wanted the city to back up their faith in the prospects of the venture by putting up twenty-five hundred dollars. The townspeople tried desperately to raise the funds. The city simply did not have the money to invest in such a proposition and no single citizen was prosperous enough to advance the sum.

That morning Mrs. Frank Stranahan went to town to do her shopping. She met John Sherwin, the editor of the local paper, who was walking the street and wringing his hands. As they exchanged greetings, he said, "Mrs. Stranahan, that man (referring to Henry) is leaving town tomorrow . . . can't the Woman's Club do anything about raising that money?"

Frank Stranahan was a member of the City Council. He had given the Woman's Club a lot on the front of a block. That night at the meeting, which the whole town was in the habit of attending, he offered to give the rest of the block to the city as a park if the council would vote the millage funds that were accumulating for such a park to Mr. Henry for the required bonus to build a hotel.

Mr. Stranahan's offer was accepted, the papers were drawn up in the proper legal manner, and the money was paid to Mr. Henry who built the Broward Hotel.

The park was named for Frank Stranahan and today bears his name. The county school athletic field also bears his name.

Tom Bryan and Tom Oliver furnished the fill and filled in the park which was originally a cypress Bay Head. The cypress trees that remain in the park are over one hundred years old.

It was Representative Dwight Rogers of Broward County (who later became Congressman from his district and was succeeded in this post at his death by his son Paul) who introduced the Homestead Exemption Law to the Florida Legislature. He was encouraged to do this by the Woman's Club of his city of Ft. Lauderdale. Home-owners in the entire state owe a debt of gratitude to these good women of Broward County.

Friend of the Seminoles

Of all of the civic organizations that are now in existence in Broward County, one of the most interesting is a local organization known as "Friends of the Seminoles." It was organized by James L. Glenn who was the Federal Indian Commissioner. Mrs. Frank Stranahan who had long worked with the Indians as a personal friend, was secretary of the organization and carried on the work after Mr. Glenn left in 1928 or -29. This work was close to her heart. She had no children of her own, but took special interest in the Indian youngsters and their welfare. After Frank Stranahan passed away it was to Mrs. Stranahan that these proud and somewhat helpless people turned. She would travel hundreds of miles into the Everglades to explain the various benefits and projects the government was offering to the Seminoles, but which they were afraid to accept for fear that once again the government was trying to take their few remaining acres of land away.

Mrs. Stranahan and her "Friends of the Seminoles" had many opportunities to serve the interests of the Seminoles. Broward County embraces one of the largest Indian reservations known as the Dania Reservation.

According to information gathered and compiled by the Seminole Agency Staff of the Indian Bureau under the supervision of the Superintendent, Kenneth A. Marmon, there are three Federal Indian Reservations and one State Indian Reservation in Florida. The Federal Indian Reservations are under the jurisdiction of the Seminole Indian Agency of Dania, Florida. The Dania Reservation is located in Broward County about twenty miles north of Miami and four miles west of Dania. This reservation contains 475 acres of land where about two hundred Indians reside more or less permanently. Two other Federal Reservations are located in Glades County and in the southeastern corner of Hendry County. The state Indian Reservation is located in western Broward County and contains 109,400 acres which join the Big Cypress reservation on the east. These lands in Broward County were set aside by acts of the Florida State Legislature in 1917 and 1935 and are held in trust by the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, for the perpetual use and benefit of the Seminole Indians.

Seminole Indians

The economic condition of the Florida Seminole has improved materially during the past ten or fifteen years. Many families have been located permanently on the three reservations where they find opportunities for employment. They work as ranch hands, tomato pickers, and mechanics.

In 1936 the Government furnished the Seminole tribe with a foundation herd of a few hundred head of beef cattle, repayable in kind. This herd has increased under the management of trained extension workers. The cattle program was operated as a tribal enterprise until 1953 and the tribe made its final payment for cattle received from the government a year in advance of the date it was due.

In 1953, cattle was issued to heads of Seminole families as individual owners. Eighty-eight families were issued 3,854 head of cattle for which they signed promissory notes and executed livestock mortgages. The amount owed is to be paid back to the tribe over a period of eight years at three per cent interest, beginning October 1, 1954. Stock-raising has become the outstanding industry on the two larger reservations. Besides cattle, many Seminoles own horses, hogs and chickens.

The government furnishes certain free health services to the Seminoles. A Public Health field nurse visits the reservations and Indian camps where she holds regular clinics. Hospitals are designated where Indians may go for free hospitalization.

Although many attempts at establishing schools were made over the years, only recently have the Seminoles shown an interest in education. Indian children are encouraged to attend public schools and they make good records as citizens and in their classes. Several have gained recognition by excelling in athletic games. The

State of Florida furnishes Seminole car owners with a specially designed car license tag but a few proud ones prefer to purchase their licenses from a tag agency.

The Green Corn Dance, one of the aspects of the Seminole religion, is held in areas far removed from the public eye. They want no visitors at the ceremony and only a few have seen a part of it. This Dance is held in the late spring and early summer, the time being governed by the moon. Medicine and religion are clearly united in the Seminole mind. God (the Seminole Indians believe in one universal God), according to their beliefs, gave the medicine to the medicine men years ago and this knowledge has been handed down to medicine men through the ages. They are the wise men of the tribe and in some instances they are the wise women.

The Green Corn Dance usually lasts a week, and it is the time for transacting business, hearing cases as a court to try those who have broken tribal laws, and the passing of sentences on such cases. It is a time of festivity also, with dancing, feasting and fasting, and a religious time for the purification of the body.

Missionaries have worked among the Indians for years and recently churches have been established, mostly Baptist, with a native minister serving in each church on the reservation. These churches and their trained Christian workers have been given much credit for the improvement in the education and social advancement of the Seminoles.

Practically all the marriages and divorces among the Florida Seminoles are known as "Indian Custom" marriages and divorces. They are recognized by the Federal Government and the State as legal. Now that many Seminoles have accepted Christianity, more and more marriage ceremonies are being performed in their churches.

It has been a custom of the Seminoles to bear their dead far into the swamps and hammocks and place the body, enclosed in a reed litter, in the fork of a tree above the ground. Today a few, especially the Tamiami Trail Indians, continue to bury their dead in this ancient way. Most of the Seminoles, however, especially the Christians, now use the cemeteries provided on the reservations and usually have a minister conduct the service of burial.

Nearly all Seminole Indians in Florida live in "chickees," thatched shelters, open all around the sides, with a raised platform floor. Several posts of cypress or pine are set in the ground and form the support for a roof framework of cypress poles, the lightweight cypress wood. Palmetto fronds are fastened to this framework and form a tight shelter against the rain and sun. The platform floor is about three feet up off the ground. In rainy or extremely windy cold weather the sides of the shelter may be enclosed with canvas or palm fronds.

The reservation at Dania is the first to have a housing project for the Seminole Indians. This was first sponsored by the "Friend of the Seminoles" organization of Ft. Lauderdale and has since been taken over by the Federal Governments Housing Bureau. The homes are two and three bedroom cement block houses, with one and two baths and completely modern up-to-date kitchens. There is a stark contrast between the old and the new in the Seminole life as these modern structures are lived in and kept by Indian women dressed in their colorful native dress.

The dress of the Seminole women, which cannot be equalled in complexity of design and color, consists of a long full skirt made out of hundreds of small pieces of brightly colored material sewed together on a portable, hand-operated sewing machine. Beautiful, original designs and patterns are made . . . indeed, no two skirts are ever alike, for each one is an original in the true sense of the word. A cape forms the upper part of the dress, fitting around the neck and extending in full gathers below the waistline. The Indian men, for the most part, have adopted the complete dress of the white man, though many will wear the shirt made in designs like the skirts of the women, and a few of the older men continue to wear their native dress of a colorful shirt that extends to the knees, with leghorns of buckskin below the knees.

About fifteen years ago it was the custom of the Seminole Indian women to wear

large quantities of beads around their necks, in long strands of many bright colors. Today the younger women wear fewer strands which is more comfortable to wear and to work in during the warm months of the year.

The hair styles of the women change from year to year as they do in the feminine world elsewhere. In earlier days the hair was shaved away across the head, with enough hair left for bangs in front and a bun in back. A few years ago the women fashioned their hair to resemble a broad-brimmed hat. The hair was brushed forward over a cardboard frame, and tucked under it towards the face. This was indeed a unique hair-do and certainly must have proved a popular one in sunny Florida. A few years prior to that the women wore their hair in a pompadour, just as the white women did at the turn of the century.

Today most of the women wear their hair in a short or shoulder length bob and have their hair permanented into curls. The older women of the tribe cling to the pompadour style.

Broward County is one of the young counties in the State, yet it has grown with a rapidity almost beyond belief.

The population of Ft. Lauderdale alone exceeds a permanent population of 90,000. It is one of the most popular tourist cities on the coast, and has a Venetian charm with its many natural and man-made waterways where a boat is almost as practical as a car. Beneath this holiday veneer lies a clean, wholesome, economically healthy city with metropolitan vigor. The Stranahan Trading Post still stands by New River, with a fine restaurant on the first floor, and the home of Mrs. Frank Stranahan on the second floor. There, she and this historic building are witnessing the construction of a tunnel that will run under New River, a tunnel to accommodate the growing flow of traffic along the U.S. Highway.

Broward County started with the establishment of the Trading Post on New River, but today it is made up of many growing and thriving communities. The incorporated cities found there are Dania, Deerfield Beach, Hollywood Ridge Farms, Hallandale, Hillsboro Beach, Hollywood, Lakeview, Lauderdale-By-the-Sea, Lighthouse Point, Oakland Park, Plantation, Pompano Beach, Wilton Manors.

Fort Everglades, adjacent to Fort Lauderdale, offers port and dock facilities for large ocean shipping. The busy port, dredged to clear thirty-five feet, is a considerable asset to Broward County. A wide variety of light manufacturing industries is located here, and Broward County has experienced rapid growth in recent years with great numbers of new residents and industries.

Many recreational facilities are available in the county, and the cities own extensive beach fronts and maintain city parks and recreation centers. Gulf Stream Race Track is located in this county and dog races, jai alai games, and automobile races are held during the seasons. The Toronto Maple Leafs hold spring training here. In this county is located Hugh Taylor Birch Park, and Storyland.

From the little Methodist church that was established in pioneer days the churches now number two hundred and thirteen, with two libraries, many golf courses, civic clubs, music associations and Little Theatre groups.

There are fifty-four elementary and secondary schools in the county, and one of the most modern schools in the nation is South Broward High School, located at Hollywood, Florida.

The city of Hollywood in Broward County is unique in that, unlike most of the coastal communities, it did not grow, but rather was planned and built.

Located at the heart of Florida's fabulous Gold Coast, midway between Miami and Fort Lauderdale, Hollywood is sometimes called the "dream city come true."

Originally, Hollywood was the private dream city of Joseph W. Young, the pioneer developer who, in 1921, hacked Hollywood out of a palmetto jungle.

Young was an expert developer. When he began his Hollywood project he had helped in the development of Hollywood and Long Beach, California. This new project in Florida was to be his crowning achievement and he planned it accordingly.

The city was incorporated in 1925 and the following year the area was hit by the most devastating hurricane known to the newly settled coastal towns. Hollywood, though only a year old, survived the storm and the depressions.

Today it is primarily a resort city. Hollywood is known as Florida's "golfingest" city, a nickname it has earned by virtue of the fact that no fewer than six golf courses are located within a few minutes' drive of the city center.

The city's Administration Building is located in the center of one of the three large circles laid out by Hollywood's founder. There city officials work in the shadow of Joseph W. Young, who, were he alive today, would be happy in the knowledge that his dream city has at last come true.

Some of the first families who settled near Stranahan's Trading Post were farmers from Georgia. Today, Broward County is the sixth largest county in farming in the state and its dairy industry is the largest in the state. In addition to the dairy farms there are nineteen large beef cattle ranches in the county.

Pompano was originally a fishing village on the ocean, but moved inland to its present location after the great damage suffered from the 1928 hurricane. There is an interesting story concerning how the town got its name. A railroad engineer who was surveying the area for the railway was delighted with the flavor of a fish that was a new variety to him. Upon learning that its name was "pompano" and that it abounded in the waters thereabouts, he wrote the name "Pompano" on that location on the railway map, and so the name stayed as the railway came down and stopped there.

The entire area around Pompano and Deerfield Beach is known for its agriculture. Beans, peppers, tomatoes, watermelons and other crops make this area prosperous and non-dependent upon the tourist trade.

There are about two hundred and fifty nurseries in the county doing an estimated business of over three million dollars annually.

CHAPTER XXVII

DADE COUNTY

By Ruby Leach Carson

Colonial and Territorial Days

AS EARLY AS 1567 the area we now know as Dade County, Florida, stepped into the pages of world history with a dash of color not only characteristic of that era of Spanish exploitation of the New World, but with color just a little suggestive of the demands of modern Dade County tourism.

Scholars have discovered and made available for source material a letter written by a Jesuit missionary, Brother Francisco de Villareal on the twenty-ninth day of January, 1568. He wrote from the mission, or fort, which Pedro Menendez de Avilies had established for the Tequesta Indians near the mouth of the Miami River in 1567. That was two years after Menendez had founded St. Augustine and while he was skirting the south Florida coast as a part of the Spanish colonial policy of conquering and occupying the New World for "gold, glory and the Gospel."

Probably no other Florida historian has been so plagued as was Brother Villareal who, in his letter, gave "glory to God who helps us to endure in this land trials which would appear insufferable in another place.

"I say this," he continued, "for we have had for the past three months or more a plague of mosquitoes so bad that I spent several days and nights without being able to sleep an hour. On top of this we suffered some days for lack of food."

Regarding his work, he wrote that the Indians up to 15 years of age who had attended his classes in doctrine had learned four prayers and nearly all the commandments. "There are many here now," he continued, "because some of the nearby villages have come in to help in building a house for the chief. They now have food from the whales they kill and from fish . . ."

Dade County's modern tourist can look back to those first visitors for a precedent in expecting entertainment. The company of soldiers who had been left with Brother Villareal put on two comedies. "One on the day of St. John when we were expecting the governor," he explained, "had to do with the war between men and the world, the flesh and the devil. The soldiers enjoyed it very much."

Menendez had made friends with the Tequestas because of his alliance with their friends, the more powerful Calusas, who were a confederation of tribes on Florida's gulf coast south of Tampa Bay. The missionary work with the Tequestas did not prosper after the soldiers killed an uncle of the chief, and by 1570 the Spanish withdrew. The Tequesta population has been estimated by Mooney as totaling 1,000.

In 1743 another mission known as San Ignacio was established near the Miami River, toward the southeast. The Jesuit fathers in their records mention "the Miamias" as a people.

North of the Tequestas lived the Ais Indians who were located near the Indian River Inlet. On the Northeast coast of Florida peninsula were the Timuqua tribe and west of them were the Apalachee.

When England began its twenty-year occupation of Florida in 1763, nearly all the Tequestas and Calusas departed for Havana in order to remain under Spanish rule. Their remnant left in south Florida and other remnants of mixed Indian and Spanish groups known as the Spanish Indians, brought the Seminole War of 1835-42 into this area. The aborigines in the upper part of Florida, unable to survive the

white man's wars, slave-raiding expeditions and diseases, had practically vanished by the middle of the eighteenth century. They were replaced by the Seminoles.

And who are Seminoles? Their ancestors included, among other tribes, the eighteenth Upper Creeks (or Muskogees) and Lower Creeks (or Micosukees) of Georgia, the Yamassees from the Carolinas and possibly a remnant of the Florida aborigines. Their name "Seminole" is believed to be the Indian word for "separate," and so was applied to these Indians because they had separated from their native tribes when they moved into Florida.

There were no incidents of historical importance in the Dade area while it was a part of the British colony of East Florida during the Revolutionary War, nor had the area become important during the second Spanish occupation, 1783-1821. The border troubles which resulted in the transfer of Florida from Spain to the United States in 1821 produced no earth-shaking events within the present borders of Dade County. Even the First Seminole War of 1818 resulted from border difficulties with the Indians in northwest Florida. The Indians had made an attack on an American boat on the Apalachicola River and had killed the Americans on board. General Andrew Jackson then brought his Tennessee Volunteers into Spanish Florida and, among other things, destroyed Indian towns.

The Seminole War of 1835-42 began brewing after Jackson's rise to the presidency, at which time the United States government decided that the Florida Indians should be moved to government lands west of the Mississippi River.

The incident which touched off the smouldering Second Seminole War resulted in the choice of the name "Dade" for a new county being planned in the Florida State Legislature. The tragedy, however, took place in another part of Florida.

The Dade Massacre

Although the Seminole Indian was on the warpath in Florida, the vigilant Major Francis L. Dade and his 108 officers and enlisted men saw no danger in the pine barren which they approached at nine o'clock on that cold, bright morning of Dec. 28, 1835.

The pines, with their undergrowth of palmettoes and tall grass, lay westward to the left; and beyond them was the Wahoo Swamp. At the right was a small pond. Ahead, and just one day's march northward, the coveted security of Fort King (Ocala) awaited them. So motionless were the palmettoes and the tall blades of grass, that the soldiers marching slowly, two by two, were entirely unaware of the savage faces and the drawn rifles.

The soldiers had begun this third day's march exultantly, each man with his powder box buttoned under his overcoat; and each carrying a knapsack which the ladies near Fort Brooke (Tampa) had made and filled for them before they left. Just four miles back on the Fort King trail, after their third night's bivouac, Major Dade had addressed his men at breakfast time. He had told them that the most dangerous part of their journey was over. They all knew, of course, that an Indian attack might be expected at any time, since the Seminoles under Osceola's leadership were determined not to be moved to Arkansas, in accordance with President Andrew Jackson's plan. Because of this danger, Major Dade's men knew they were being sent to strengthen the garrison at Fort King.

As the soldiers marched between the pond and the hidden Indians and their Negro slaves, Jumper, a chief, gave the signal to shoot by breaking the silence with a warhoop. Major Dade and over half of his command were shot down before they scarcely had time to realize they were ambushed. All but three who escaped to Fort Brooke were massacred.

Exactly one month later, on Jan. 28, 1836, the Florida legislature honored Major Dade by passing an act to create a new county to be named for him. The act was approved Feb. 4, 1836. This was present Dade County, now the most populous

county in the state. The gallantry of this hero of Florida's second Seminole war was recognized in 1921 by the state in the creation of Dade Memorial Park at Bushnell in Sumter County, which was the scene of the massacre.

That the dividing of Monroe County at that time was a project of special interest to Indian Key's owner and developer, Jacob Hausman, is indicated by state records. Historian Dorothy Dodd wrote that Hausman's desire to keep Indian Key independent of control from Key West may have prompted his letting his name head the petition which resulted in the creation of the new county. Dr. Dodd pointed also to the fact that after Dade County was created Hausman "took the most effective means of keeping the county seat at Indian Key by building a courthouse there out of his own private funds."

The legislative act which created Dade County set down its first boundaries as follows: Commencing at the west end of Bahia Honda Key and running in a direct line to Lake Macaco; thence on a direct line to the head of the North Prong of the Potomac or Hillsborough River, and down said river to the ocean. These boundaries were changed later as new counties were formed.

Because of the possibilities of attack by the plundering Indians, who were mysteriously supplied with arms and ammunition, Hausman on January 1, 1836, organized ablebodied men for the defense of the island. Not until the following July, however, did the Indians make an attack in Dade County. This was on the Cape Florida lighthouse about 4 p.m. July 23, 1836, when only the keeper, John W. B. Thompson, and a Negro assistant were there. The wounded Negro died during the night while the Indians were burning the lighthouse, but Thompson finally was rescued by the United States schooner Motto.

The Perrine Massacre

Dade County's greatest tragedy during this war was the Perrine massacre, perpetrated August 7, 1840, by Indians under leadership of the sub-chief known as Chekika. One authority, Sprague, writes that Chekika's warriors numbered about one hundred. On the morning of this attack the inhabitants of Indian Key had been awakened about 2 or 3 o'clock by Indian warwhoops and the discharge of guns.

Dr. Henry Perrine, noted botanist who had been released from consular service by our government so he could direct the experimenting with tropical plantings in Florida, was living with his family on this key. Although Dr. Perrine lost his own life in this attack, he had saved his wife and children by assisting them through a trap door into a cellar from which they escaped.

Records show that Dr. Perrine had been sending specimens of tropical plants to Indian Key for several years before he went there in 1837, and that by 1838 his nursery included 200 varieties. That year the Tropical Plant Company of Florida was incorporated with Dr. Perrine, District Judge James Webb of Key West and Postmaster Charles Howe of Indian Key as the directors. Also in 1838 Congress granted to Dr. Perrine and his associates the Dade County land which he had been trying to get for his experiments.

As a result of the massacre, some of Dr. Perrine's notes, reports, seeds and slips were destroyed. But not only by his horticultural research is his memory perpetuated in Dade County, but by the now-booming community which bears his name and by descendants who have distinguished themselves in various ways. For example, a great, great grandson of the doctor, Perrine Palmer, Jr., who is now secretary-treasurer and general manager of the DuPont Plaza Center in Miami, served as mayor of Miami from 1945 to 1947, and as city commissioner from 1945 to 1953. Then there was the late T. W. ("Tub") Palmer, a great grandson, who in one day only, back in the early twenties, won two State amateur championships—one in golf and one in tennis. So despite Dr. Perrine's untimely death, his name is important in Dade County to this day.

Settlers and Statehood

In one way, Dade County benefited from the Second Seminole War. While Zachary Taylor was in command of the soldiers he established four forts on the lower east coast to keep supplies from being brought to the Indians in ships. These were Fort Dallas, Fort Lauderdale, Fort Jupiter and Fort Pierce. General Taylor also opened up the area with trails, and all this prepared the way for the future development.

Among the earliest settlers to the area were West Indians popularly referred to as Conchs. The late George E. Merrick described their influence on the lower East Coast of Florida in the 1941 issue of Tequesta. He pointed out that they began coming in the early 1800's and that they continued this occupation throughout the century, until their influence reached its peak from 1870 to 1890.

Merrick wrote that from the seventies through the nineties the Bahaman Negroes were practically the only available workers, since the Georgia Negroes did not come down until after the railroad came. The "cracker" influence began in the 1850's.

After Florida achieved statehood on March 3, 1845, becoming the 27th State, Florida crackers and other Southerners began settling in the Dade County area. A third Seminole War was started in 1855 by a military surveying party, but hostilities did not affect Dade County history.

Monroe County had never been happy over the loss to the new county of Dade of so much of her northern area, and not until 1866 was she to get back within her boundary all the islands from Old Roads Key, to Bahia Honda. In the preceding decade, in 1855, Manatee County had been created from a portion of the mainland of Monroe County, and when Lee County was created in 1877 Monroe was reduced to its present form and area. Dade County's present neighboring county to the north, Broward County, was created in 1913; and Dade's western neighbor, Collier County, in 1923.

Famous grants of land made to early Dade County residents were the Lewis grant in 1796, the Davis grant in 1805, and the Eagan grants about the same time. Richard R. Fitzpatrick acquired the Eagan and Lewis grants in 1830 and developed a great plantation along the Miami river.

Mrs. Henry J. Burkhardt in an article on "Starch Making A Pioneer Florida Industry," for the 1952 issue of Tequesta, suggested that Fitzpatrick may have been one of the early growers who shipped arrowroot, as well as cotton and limes. Fitzpatrick was Dade County's representative to the Constitutional convention held at St. Joseph, December 3, 1838, and his holdings on each side of the Miami River were under cultivation by slaves he had brought from Columbia, S.C.

From Senate Document 2, 29th Congress, 1st session, p.664, Mrs. Burkhardt proved that the arrowroot (or starch) industry was a thriving business as early as 1835. She quoted the following statement made by Senator Stephen R. Mallory in 1845: "The section of the country on the coast south of Jupiter inlet, and east of Cape Sable, produces a native arrowroot, commonly called "coontee', which is manufactured by the settlers to some extent, not to exceed 20,000 lbs. per annum. This commanded in northern markets in 1835-40, 8 cents per lb.; and is now, in 1845, in the same markets, worth 5 cents."

That the name Miami was applied to this area (which many referred to as Fort Dallas) as early as 1845 is proved from cases sighted in the published volumes of the Florida Supreme Court. Mrs. Burkhardt referred to a record which showed that one George W. Ferguson "was engaged in manufacturing and shipping arrowroot to Key West from Miami" during that year.

Mrs. Burkhardt believed this arrowroot business caused certain developments, for she stated:

"Miami was made the county seat of Dade County in 1844 and by a bill approved December 21, 1846, the Miami river was declared "a navigable stream in its whole

extent." A postoffice existed at Miami as early as October 1850, according to a register of all officers and agents in the service of the United States on September 30, 1951.

Ernest G. Gearhart, Jr., past president of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, wrote in the 1952 issue of Tequesta that long before Miami came into existence, nearly every family living in this area had its own little starch mill. "Whenever any extra money was needed, the whole family would get together and make starch," he wrote. "Some mills were operated entirely by hand, while others employed mule and horse power. In later years there were a few motor driven mills . . ."

Industry and local development could not advance during the years of the War Between the States, nor during the subsequent tragic Reconstruction Era. In the election of 1867 many Democrats in Florida were not allowed to vote because they had fought for the South during the war; and the federal troops were placed at the polls to see that the Negroes voted.

When Harrison Reed, a Northern Republican, became Governor in 1868, he appointed William M. Gleason, a Wisconsin man who had settled in Dade County, as his lieutenant governor. The feud between Gleason and Reed belongs to State history, except that it resulted for a short while in Gleason declaring himself to be Florida's acting governor. That was during the first of the three impeachments attempts against Governor Reed.

In the elections held in 1876, Dade County records show that Gleason was serving as County Clerk.

Dade County's Seat of Government seemed to move about. Tracy Hollingsworth wrote in his "History of Dade County" that by 1840 the county seat was wherever W. C. Maloney, the county clerk, happened to be. Dade County records show that Juno was made the county seat as a result of the election in 1888, and that it remained the county seat until 1899.

Juno was located at the north end of Lake Worth and so the county records were taken up by canoe. A ceremony there on April 19, 1890, marked the laying of the cornerstone of the first court house to be built by the county.

Early Education

During the following decade public education in Dade County got its start. "It was in 1885," wrote Constance MacMurray in the December 21, 1958 issue of the Miami News, "when the Seminole was still a power to be reckoned with, and the Barefoot Mailman dodged cotton-mouth moccasins and alligators on his way to the Miami River, that we find the first record of The Board of Public Instruction of Dade County."

Miss MacMurray, as executive secretary to the Dade Board of Public Instruction, has access to old records. "On June 27 of that year," she continued, "Superintendent C. H. Linn and a three-member Board met for the first time to inaugurate a new school system."

The records show that the board met twice in 1885 and twice again in 1886. "At that last meeting in 1886," wrote Miss MacMurray, "they agreed to pay the superintendent $2.50 for his services." She found that the first public school house for Dade County was built at 2916 Grand Avenue in Coconut Grove in 1887. A second was built shortly after that at Elliotts Key. The first teacher, she reported, was Mrs. C. L. Trapp, who taught a five-month school term at the Coconut Grove school for $35 a month. One year before Miami was incorporated as a city, appropriation was made for a school house in the vicinity of the Miami River.

Dr. John G. DuPuis in his "History of Early Medicine" wrote that Lemon City had a public school in Dade County in 1887 and that it was taught by Miss Alice Brickell who, with her sisters, made the trip from Brickell Point to Lemon City by boat daily. She received no public compensation for her services, he wrote, and she taught 20 or 25 pupils.

This brings into Dade County history one of the area's most important families—the Brickells, for whom Miami's world-famous avenue is named. Historians date the arrival of William B. Brickell as 1870, when he settled on the point of land on the south bank of the mouth of the Miami River. There he established an Indian trading post. In Cleveland he had married Mary Bulmer, an English girl who had come to America via Australia. With her approval he began buying the Fitzpatrick holdings which had been inherited by Harriet English. Thus they became owners of an unbroken tract of hammock land which reached southward from the Miami River for three miles, almost to Coconut Grove.

The Brickells had three sons and four daughters: Charles, George and W. B., Jr., and Edith M., Belle B., Maude E. and Alice. Besides having taught school, Alice was at one time postmistress.

The story of the beginning of the City of Miami should include the cooperation of the Brickells with their neighbor across the river, Julia Tuttle, who is now known as the "mother of Miami." This author's account of those early years was first published in the 1956 issue of Tequesta, and is reprinted here in part with the magazine's permission.

Miami: 1896 to 1900

While the founding of the city of Miami in the year 1896 was the ultimate result of several national trends, the one connected directly with the development of the Florida east coast southward to Miami was the tourist rush of the eighties.

Florida in the eighties was rediscovered.

While many "unreconstructed" Floridians of the decade referred to this influx of northerners as "the second Yankee invasion," (the Union Army invasion of the sixties having been the first), they nevertheless rejoiced in the recognition which the state's warm winter climate was receiving. Not only invalids, but vacationists and wealthy pleasure-seekers were coming in increasing numbers.

How this trend caused the Standard Oil millionaire, Henry M. Flagler to begin the development of his railroad and resort hotels down the east coast of the Florida peninsula has been told. Although in 1892 he obtained a charter to extend his railroad as far south as Miami, his reaction upon occasions when pressed to do this would indicate that he had no real plan. It remained for Miami's Julia Tuttle, with the aid of the three Big Freezes in 1894-95, to influence him to do this.

Neither Flagler nor the State of Florida were ready for this Florida east coast development in the seventies. Neither did Miami's co-founder. Mrs. Tuttle, have title to the city's future site, with the land-bait of alternate sections all ready for the entrapment of a railroad man who would make possible a city. These three—Florida, Flagler and Julia Tuttle, were not ready yet in the seventies to merge their interests.

Mrs. Julia Tuttle's father, Ephriam T. Sturtevant, in a small way was following the land-grabbing trend of the times and was homesteading land on Biscayne Bay, in the Lemon City area. He had come from Cleveland, Ohio, when William B. Brickell began homesteading land south of the mouth of the Miami River.

Early Dade County courthouse records show that Sturtevant was active in local politics. He is shown in 1872 to have been a Judge of the County Court of Dade County that year, as well as one of the Board of Inspectors in the November, 1872, election, and also a successful (by two votes!) candidate for the State Senate from the Dade-Brevard district.

Although Julia Tuttle visited her father in the seventies, the illness of her husband, Frederick Leonard Tuttle, in Cleveland had kept her there, managing his business interests. This business experience was to be used in Miami's behalf later.

Through her father's inside information concerning the economic plight of the State of Florida during the years he was state senator (1872-73 and 74), Mrs. Tuttle watched developments with a trained eye. After the death of both husband and

father, by 1886, she remained alert for the proper time to push a development around Biscayne Bay, near the Miami River.

By 1891 Mrs. Tuttle had envisioned a city at the mouth of the Miami River, where the Fort Dallas buildings were standing, and was buying the land. Her first bid for a railroad was revealed by James E. Ingraham, who was at that time the president of Henry B. Plant's railroad in Florida. It was upon Mrs. Tuttle's return to Cleveland to prepare to move to Florida, that she invited the Ingrahams to her home for dinner. She then told him about her land and expressed the belief that someday a railroad would be built to the Miami River. She hoped the railroad would be his; but to whatever railroad came, she said, she would give enough land for a town site. Ingraham was sufficiently interested later to make a survey, but he found that plan impractical.

In the early nineties, Mrs. Tuttle made this offer of land for a town site to Mr. Flagler—not once, but frequently. The Brickells joined her, offering some of their land also for a town. There came a time, of course, when the offer was gladly accepted.

The "Big Freezes" of December 24 and 28, 1894, and February 6, 1895, had by their combined disastrous effects upon the citrus and vegetable industry brought ruin and suffering at every turn. The desolation about him and the sight of settlers deserting their homes and returning north, drove the unhappy Flagler to action.

Of course Mrs. Tuttle took advantage of this situation to send word to him that these freezing temperatures had not touched the Miami River area. Flagler sent her old friend, James E. Ingraham, who was now his land commissioner, to investigate. The famous bouquet of orange blossoms which Mr. Ingraham took back to Flagler at St. Augustine—a bouquet which Ingraham and Mrs. Tuttle had picked, was all the added inducement Flagler needed. Here was proof, beautiful and fragrant, that there had been no freeze in the Biscayne Bay area. So he would extend his railroad south from Palm Beach, where it had terminated in 1894.

The railroad had reached as far south as the site of Fort Lauderdale when on March 3, 1896, Flagler sent John Sewell with a crew of twelve Negroes to Miami "to start the city," as Sewall describes his assignment in his book "Memoirs and History of Miami, Florida". Sewell came on one of the two boats which were running at that time from Fort Lauderdale into Miami through the canal which had just been completed into Biscayne Bay. He had brought along his younger brother, E. G. Sewell, "to start a store in the new settlement."

With this letter of introduction to Mrs. Tuttle, John presented himself to the "Mother of Miami" and began consulting with her about the proposed Royal Palm Hotel site and its boundaries, and the city boundaries.

Miami had begun to experience growing pains from the moment Flagler's first crews of engineers and surveyors arrived. They were housed in tents. John Sewell found that Mrs. Tuttle had opened up Miami Avenue from the river north to 14th Street and that on this clearing were several shacks and tents.

One month before, On February 6, Isidor Cohen had arrived with merchandise for a store. Under the date of February 8, 1896, in his published diary, Cohen wrote: "A bank is about to be opened. Dr. Graham is planning to publish a newspaper which will be named the Metropolis. Buildings are springing up in every direction as if by magic." Cohen opened his store on the south side of the River on February 12.

On March 26, 23 days after their arrival, the Sewell brothers opened a shoe store, the first store to be located north of the Miami River. Eight hours later, J. E. Lummus opened a general store. Dr. James M. Jackson was invited to come from Bronson, Fla., to start a Miami practice, an invitation which the doctor accepted.

The following month, on April 15, 1896, the first train arrived in Miami. The

event is described by J. N. Lummus in his book, "The Miracle of Miami Beach". J.N. (brother of J. E.), had come here from Bronson, Fla., and "remained in Miami until after the first train of the Florida East Coast Railway puffed its way into the village over wobbly tracks," and he added that "the old wood burning engine, with its big bell top, was spouting smoke and the whistle and the bell were going full tilt."

Beside the locomotive, that first train into Miami consisted of a mail coach, baggage car, day coaches (first and second class) and a chair car. Cohen's diary shows that Miami's railroad station was first located on its present site, then moved to the bay near N. E. 6th Street.

It was logical that with a train to bring printing equipment, a newspaper would be the next big event in the new town, but the Miami Metropolis did not get out its first issue until exactly a month later, on May 15. It was, Cohen wrote, "a Flagler paper" and its publishers were Dr. Walter S. Graham, and attorney, listed as editor; and Wesley M. Featherly, listed as local editor.

The Bank of Bay Biscayne had opened on May 3, in time to get good press notices in the paper's first issue. The president was William Mark Brown and Julia Tuttle was one of the directors. The editor's "plug" for Mrs. Tuttle is a measure of the respect which the publishers held for her business ability.

The restrictions which Mrs. Tuttle demanded in connection with the sale of lots were mentioned by several writers of the day as the cause of some grumbling. No liquor could be sold within the city limits. There was a fire clause, a provision for residences to be placed at least 25 feet back from the street line and a clause for the confining of factories and colored people in certain areas. Her daughter, Miss Fannie Tuttle, and her son, Harry, were of great assistance to Mrs. Tuttle in her various projects. A. E. Kingsley was her general agent.

The stage was now set for the incorporation of the city. The Metropolis reminded its readers that there was need of a strong municipal government as soon as possible. It stated that there would be 1,500 people there before the first of July (1896). On July 28, the community's 343 voters met and elected Flagler's architect, Joseph A. McDonald, as chairman. The voters then elected McDonald's son-in-law, John B. Reilly, as mayor and established boundary lines and approved an official seat. Aldermen elected were: Walter S. Graham, Wm. W. Brown, Frederick J. Morse, E. L. Brady, Daniel Cosgrove and Frank T. Budge.

The above election had not been conducted without some preliminary plotting and scheming between the town's two factions—the Flagler, or "corporation" crowd, and the anti-corporationists.

Cohen, belonging to the "antis," complained: "The railroad crowd is certainly taking control of politics in this neck of the woods." He listed the anti-corporation leaders as being John M. and Thomas L. Townley, Sam Fitts, John Frohock, Guy Metcalf of West Palm Beach and, of course, himself.

The Brickell family, which donated to the city as much land on the south side of the river as Mrs. Tuttle gave on the north side, owned an unbroken tract of hammock land from the Miami River southward for three miles, almost to Coconut Grove.

Besides having the Flagler water and light systems, the new city by the end of 1896 had a city hall, a jail and a volunteer fire department. Miami Avenue was lined on both sides with stores. Julia Tuttle started the first laundry and the first dairy. John Seybold, later of bakery fame, was then a restaurant proprietor.

Real estate agencies were busy. Among the agents were F. S. Morse, E. A. Waddell, A. E. Kingsley, John B. Reilly and Robins & Graham. Dr. P. T. Skaggs started his medical practice. Among the early attorneys were G. A. Worley, Robert R. Taylor, Redmond B. Gautier, Judge H. F. Atkinson, Mitchel D. Price and Judge J. T. Sanders. The Juno law firm of Robbins, Graham & Chillingworth opened a Miami office.

Outlaying areas had already been settled. The first hotel in Dade County was the popular Peacock Inn in Coconut Grove. This hotel, first called the Bayview House, was established by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Peacock. It was the only resort hotel available for winter visitors in the pre-Flagler days. Flagler's Royal Palm Hotel opened formally in January, 1897. Located on the north bank of the mouth of the Miami River, this picturesque institution immediately made Miami a resort of national importance. Visitors with yachts could bring them right up to the Royal Palm Hotel docks through the channel which Flagler had cut across the bay.

In 1897 three more physicians were available in the area, Dr. R. H. Huddleston, Dr. Edwin W. Pugh and Dr. Eleanor Gault Simmons. Dr. John Gordon DuPuis began practicing in Lemon City in 1898.

An issue of the Metropolis dated May 15, 1897 said that Tom Peters (who during the boom was to buy the Halcyon Hotel) had made $2,350 on a tomato crop he had planted in the fall of 1896. He shipped 1,175 crates at $2.00 each.

The Metropolis gave the 1897 Miami population figures as two thousand, with an expectation of an extra thousand during the next tourist season. It boasted that Miami was the only city on the east coast south of St. Augustine with a sewerage system; it had the most paved streets and a good waterworks system, an ice factory, four good hotels, a bank and six church organizations. Moreover, said the paper, "Miami is a moral city. There are no saloons in the place." On February 3, 1898, a Board of Trade was organized.

An unplanned destiny for the new city of Miami, but one which was foreseen by Mrs. Tuttle, made its appearance before Miami was two years of age. This was its projection into inter-American affairs as a result of its proximity to the Caribbean countries. Although the Cuban revolt against Spain had touched the Florida coastline through filibustering activities, the United States did nothing in Cuba's behalf until Congress declared war against Spain on April 25, 1898.

Cohen wrote that the soldiers "kept things extremely lively for several months", and Sewell's memoirs carry an account of the organizing and drilling of Minute Men. Any male Miamian from the age of 16 up was eligible to take part in these nightly drills.

Miamians were saddened during this trying time by the sudden death of the city's co-founder, Mrs. Julia Tuttle. Her death on September 14 followed an illness of only a few hours.

Tragedy struck the city in 1899 in the form of a yellow fever epidemic. On October 22 of that year, the State Health Officer, Dr. Joseph Y. Porter, quarantined Miami. His public proclamation and some of his reports of the epidemic to the State Board of Health have been made available by Dr. John G. DuPuis in his book "History of Early Medicine in Dade County."

Dr. Porter's quarantine statement, with its suggestion for depopulation, is worth reading today. "Five distinct cases of yellow fever have been seen," Dr. Porter stated, "and from clinical histories submitted there are doubtless several others. The infection is distributed over the town, mild in character, but unmistakable in recognition. To limit the spread of and destroy the infection as rapidly as possible, a depopulation of Miami is recomended."

Dr. Porter presented his plan for this.

"If fifty or more persons will leave for Hendersonville, N. C., which place will admit yellow fever refugees from this section," he said, "a special through train will be provided by the East Coast Railway System. A less number than fifty will not be taken by connecting lines at Jacksonville. As soon as possible a detention camp for refugees will be provided, at a convenient point, for those who cannot go as far as Hendersonville, N. C. The quarantine of Miami and the surveillance of this section as far north as New River (Fort Lauderdale), will be maintained as rigidly as human agency can effect it."

Dr. DuPuis quotes a letter dated October 30, 1899, which showed that Flagler said he would provide funds for a hospital. He not only erected a hospital but brought experienced nurses from Key West and Jacksonville and paid all of their expenses. The state records show that Flagler in other ways contributed to the financial relief of the afflicted. The quarantine was lifted on January 15, 1900, with a record of 220 cases, but only 14 deaths. One of these deaths was that of John G. Pope, who had moved from Kissimmee to Miami to construct buildings for the Flagler interests.

In 1900 the four-year-old city of Miami could face the new century with a feeling of security—for its economy and its high enthusiasm had been tested by disasters, and had risen above them.

Heading for the Boom and "Bust"

In 1901, 15-year-old F. G. ("Pat") Railey came from Kissimmee, Fla., to Miami with his family and remained to become one of Miami's most successful merchants, co-owner of Railey-Milam Hardware Co. When he was fifteen, however, he became a clerk in the Sewell Brothers' clothing store on Flagler Street.

"One of my jobs there," Railey recalled, "was to keep the weeds cut down in front of the store on Flagler Street. We used to play marbles in the middle of Flagler Street in the summertime, between customers. Everyone rode bikes then, even the town's leading physicians, Dr. James M. Jackson and Dr. P. T. Skaggs."

Dr. Jackson did not stay with his bike long, according to Pat Railey, for he became Miami's third automobile owner before 1907. He said that L. C. Oliver, who ran an ice factory, bought the first car, and Frank Budge, whose store on Flagler Street remained until 1949, became Miami's second car owner.

Dr. John G. DuPuis, pioneer doctor in the Lemon City area, bought his first automobile in 1906. He wrote in his published memoirs that it was a two-cylinder Maxwell and cost $975.

In 1902 Miami got its second bank—the First National Bank of Miami with Ed Romfh as president.

In 1903 the paper now known as the Miami Herald began publication under the name Miami Evening Record, with Frank B. Stoneman as publisher. In 1910 it became the Miami Herald, with Frank B. Shutts as president and Stoneman as editor. In 1937 it was sold to John S. Knight of Ohio.

The Miami Metropolis was acquired by B. B. Tatum in 1899. In 1905 he sold half-interest to S. Bobo Dean, who acquired the other half in 1915 after Tatum had sold it to A. J. Bendle. Dean became one of the great crusading editors of the South. He controlled the paper until he sold it to James M. Cox of Ohio in 1925. Cox changed the name to the Miami Daily News and moved the paper's headquarters into the 16-story News Tower at Sixth Street and Biscayne Boulevard. It was to be moved again, in October of 1957, to a modern structure on the South side of the Miami River, oposite the new Civic Center. From the time Cox acquired the paper, Daniel J. Mahoney continued as a top executive.

The Halcyon Hotel which first opened in 1901 and which ranked next to the Royal Palm in splendor, was sold to Tom Peters in 1911 for $338,000. He was to refuse over six million dollars for it in 1925. On the site of the Halcyon, the DuPont Building now stands. Two other glamour hotels of the early days were the Green Tree Inn and the Gralyn Hotel. The latter is still operated and its manager is H. E. Tuttle, a grandson of "the mother of Miami".

It was the three foregoing hotels which caused the Withers family to begin in 1910 their transfer business, which is now nationally known. John E. Withers and his son Charles had arrived from Minnesota with an ambition to become Dade County farmers. Before the year was up they decided that the horse and wagon which they had acquired for farming would bring in more money if used for hauling

tourists' luggage between the tourist hotels to the railroad station. Charles' two sons, Wayne and James, are at present the only associates in the business who carry the family name.

In 1904 Dade County got its two-story courthouse as a result of a 1901 bond issue. It was located on the site of the present 28-story Dade County courthouse which was built in 1928. The old City Hall was built in 1907 and the fire department next door in 1909. Henry Chase was the first paid fire chief.

The Florida East Coast Railroad had reached the Homestead area in South Dade County by 1903. Settlers moved in slowly. In 1904 Flagler's engineers began staking the right-of-way over the 128-mile route for the railroad to follow from Homestead to Key West. While in the beginning William J. Krome was location engineer, in 1909 he moved up to the office of chief engineer in charge of the project. Krome made his home in Homestead, where the main street is named for him. By January 22, 1912, trains were able to travel over the railroad extension to Key West.

This line served the public for 23 years before it was destroyed by the hurricane which struck the Florida Keys in 1935. Over the skeleton of this railroad, the State constructed an overseas highway which was completed in 1938. Homestead residents say this highway has done much for the development of South Dade County.

The settlements which had grown up around the little railroad stations between Miami and Homestead became more important. They were, from Miami south ward, as follows: Coconut Grove, Larkins (now South Miami), Kendal, Howard, Perrine, Peters, Goulds, Princeton, Naranja, Homestead and Florida City. Peters was named for Tom Peters, the early tomato grower who shipped tomatoes from that area by train.

Tomato growing was important in Dade County in 1910, as it is to this day, according to Robert and Harold W. Dorn who arrived in Miami that year to engage in farming. In the 1956 issue of Tequesta, Harold W. Dorn wrote that there was an almost equal interest in grapefruit growing and that the Peacock brothers, the Merricks, the Hicksons and many more were taking advantage of the favorable prices for early grapefruit. Dorn believed that by 1910 Dade County had as many as 800 or 1000 acres in the production of this fruit. He and his brother became two of the county's leading avocado and mango growers.

Women's Club activities began in Dade County as early as 1900, when the Married Ladies' Afternoon Club was founded. The members started a public library which in 1903 contained nearly a thousand volumes. In 1905 they opened a public reading room and in 1906 they changed the name of their club to the Woman's Club of Miami. In 1913 they opened up a public library in their own building which they had had erected on land given them by Flagler. In 1925 they changed the name to the Miami Woman's Club. In 1927 the Club moved into a new five-story clubhouse on the bay front at Seventeenth Terrace. A city branch library was maintained there until 1951. The Housekeepers' Club in Coconut Grove was started in 1891.

Aviation got its start in Miami in 1911 when the City of Miami paid the Wright Brothers $1,000 a day for an airplane exhibition in celebration of the city's fifteenth birthday anniversary. In 1912 a municipal airport was built for the City by the Glenn H. Curtiss Company. While the Curtiss Company built an airport at the beach on the site of the Fleetwood Hotel, it was moved in 1914 to an area near the Everglades. When the first World War started, a Curtiss field was acquired for training marine fliers. A base was established at Dinner Key in Coconut Grove for training naval fliers, and Army fliers were trained at Chapman Field, south of Coconut Grove.

A great future awaited Miami as she entered the decade of the twenties. John W. Watson had been mayor, assisted by City Attorney F. M. Hudson, City Auditor

Cliff Reeder and F. G. Erfert, president of the city council. Other city officers before the 1920 election were E. L. Brady, parks and docks commissioner; Dr. James M. Jackson, head of the Board of Health; and J. E. Lummus, John Sewell and W. R. Saunders, school trustees. In the 1920 election, Attorney W. P. Smith was chosen as mayor, and Dr. S. F. Sayles was made president of the Board of Health. The population of Dade County then was 42,753.

Change to a commission form of government for Miami was approved at a special election in 1921. Charles D. Leffler was the first mayor-commissioner and the following bankers were named as commissioners: Edward C. Romfh, James H. Gilman, J. E. Lummus and J. I. Wilson. All five of these bankers were re-elected in 1923.

As Miami began "the dance of death", as the boom has been called, Edward C. Romfh in 1924 was elected mayor-commissioner. The bank of which he was president, the First National Bank of Miami, was the only one which did not fail when the boom "burst".

Before considering the phases of the historic Florida boom, the reader is invited to consider the development of Miami's sister city across Biscayne Bay.

Miami Beach: 1882 to 1925

It was nearly two decades after Miami was incorporated as a town before the challenging, ocean-front strip facing it across Biscayne Bay was considered ripe for development. Not until March 26, 1915, did Miami Beach, boasting 33 voters, make its bow as an incorporated municipality, bidding for a share of the area's fast-growing travel market.

Much has been said in recognition of the city's dramatic history. The pioneers, the economists, the statisticians and the press,—all have been delightfully informative. These contributions will be valuable, along with the record books, when the historians close in during some future year to follow only the long shadows to their origin. Of those shadows, the longest will be the one cast by John S. Collins, for he was the first favorably impressed visitor to start the formidable task of reclamation necessary to turn palmetto scrubb and fast-marching mangrove into gardens and parks and pleasant home sites.

Almost immediately after Collins, however, five other men of destiny appeared on the mangrove-palmetto scene in this order: Collins' son-in-law, T. J. Pancoast; the Lummus brothers, J. N. and J. E., Miami bank presidents; and finally the sportsman millionaire, Carl Graham Fisher, and his marine engineer, John H. Levi. Looking over old records, it is inspirational to note that these six men, by their willingness to come to each other's assistance, brought success to themselves beyond their fondest dreams and gave happiness to others. One of them, J. N. Lummus, helped the resort celebrate its forty-fifth birthday in 1960.

The concatenation of events which brought these men together in their epic struggle for reclamation could not have happened precisely at this time had not Henry M. Flagler brought civilization to the bay's edge. His railroad and his Royal Palm Hotel in Miami had established a resort economy, creating the travel market which has continued to expand.

If Flagler ever envisioned the bright future in store for the Miami Beach area, he made no further contribution to it. His main interest was transportation. Therefore, in 1903 he turned his attention to the building of the extension of his railroad to Key West, where passengers could connect with the steamship company of which he was president.

By the time his locomotives began moving over the rails to Key West in January, 1912, the travel picture was changing. Automotive transport was "the thing," and its future would have tremendous impact upon Florida's economy. For the development of Miami Beach, John C. Collins was the first to recognize this fact, and by building

a bridge for vehicles, he did something about it. By July of 1912, when the construction of this bridge began, Collins had spearheaded other developments on the beach area.

Collins was a distinguished and successful horticulturist in his native state, New Jersey, when in the 1880's his interest was aroused in the area that is now Miami Beach. He had become curious about the horticultural possibilities after the failure of a coconut planting venture in which he had been an absentee investor.

The project which had intrigued Collins had been started in 1882 by Henry B. Lum and his son, Charles Lum. That year the Lums, after years of thinking about the economic possibilities of planting coconuts along Florida's southeast coast, acquired both land and business associates for the project. The land which the Lums had acquired included the present south Miami Beach and the Lummus Park area. For this ocean-front land they paid the government 35 cents an acre. The land which two of their associates, Elnathan T. Fields and Ezra Osborne, purchased totaled 65 miles of ocean front extending from the Lum property northward to Jupiter, and from the Lum property southward to Cape Florida. They had to pay from 75 cents to $1.25 an acre for their land.

In 1885, when the business was failing, Collins was told about it and he advanced the sum of $5,000.00 to his friend Fields in an effort to help save it. Of course, the venture failed. There were about sixty stockholders in this first big effort to commercialize Miami Beach. They had overestimated a coconut tree's yield of fruit, underestimated the expense of the project, and practically ignored transportation and marketing problems.

Collins came down to look over the Field and Osborn beach acreage in the 1890's. Mention already has been made of his favorable reaction. Collins' grandson, Arthur Pancoast, told this writer that as early as 1900 Collins and Field had been acquiring the ocean-front land at Miami Beach by buying up shares of the coconut-planting company from the other stockholders. By 1906, Collins was a Miami Beach landowner, with a land-clearing project under way.

After thought and study and conferences with other experts, Collins decided to begin by planting an avocado grove. To protect the young grove from the wind, Collins planted the twin lanes of Australian pine trees which later became the Pine Tree Drive of today. In 1909, when the apprehensive Field was glad to sell his half of the enterprise, Collins bought Field's share and became the proud owner of the largest avocado grove in the world.

From this point on, Collins had the enthusiastic support of his family. His son-in-law, T. J. Pancoast, arranged his business affairs in New Jersey so he could live at Miami Beach and help with its development.

He arrived in 1911 and helped Collins direct the work on his canal. It was dug from what is now Lake Pancoast, to Biscayne Bay, and quickly became one of the most beautiful features of Miami Beach. It still retains his name. Both Collins and Pancoast realized at this time that the canal would not only provide a quick way to get his avocados to market, but also would help open up an area which would soon be in demand for residences. If homes were to be built, then a bridge for vehicles would be needed.

The Collins family organized the Miami Beach Improvement Company on June 3, 1912, with Collins as president and Pancoast as secretary-treasurer and active manager. The following month, July 22, work began on Collins Toll Bridge which, when finished in March, 1913, was to connect the beach at Dade Boulevard with Miami at Northeast 15th Street, a distance of two and a half miles. It was to be known as the longest wooden bridge in the world. At the formal opening on June 12, 1913, Mayor J. W. Watson of Miami was speaker.

The wooden bridge was not finished, however, when the unexpected expenses caused a temporary halt in the construction. At the outset, Collins and Pancoast had borrowed $25,000 for the project from two local banks—$15,000 from the Bank of

Bay Biscayne, of which J. E. Lummus was president; and $10,000 from the Southern Bank and Trust Company, of which J. N. Lummus was president. That was early in 1912. By May of that year J. N. Lummus had resigned as bank president to organize and direct a Miami Beach improvement company to be known as the Ocean Beach Realty Company. J. N. Lummus was born in Bronson, Levy County, Florida, and had first visited Miami in 1895. He returned in 1904 to live.

In a booklet condensed from his book, "The Miracle of Miami Beach," Lummus stated that he and his brother, J. E. Lummus, and a few stockholders in 1912 purchased 605 acres of swamp land from Lincoln Road south and "immediately put men chopping down swamp, clearing and grading the ocean front at the south end. We paid from $150 per acre to $12,500 per acre for swamp land. The large price was paid for small tracts but we had to have them to put streets through. . . . Our development was south from 15th Street and was known as 'Ocean Beach'." Most of this purchase had been the Lum holdings.

Lummus pointed out that his company was the first to file a plat and sell lots for a subdivision. It was filed July 9, 1912.

Collins' first plat was filed December 11, 1912. Collins' sale of lots was stimulated by his announcement that Collins Bridge had been refinanced and was on its way to completion! The fact that a patron saint had appeared upon the scene to give needed financial aid, not only to Collins and Pancoast, but also to the Lummus brothers, makes the year 1912 stand out as the year that gave birth to the City of Miami Beach. Of course, almost every Miami and Miami Beach citizen knows who this "patron saint" was:

It was Carl Graham Fisher.

This Indianapolis millionaire of Prest-O-Lite fame and fortune had come to Miami to make contact with his yacht, brought here by his marine-engineer friend, John H. Levi. The original plan had been for the two men to meet in Jacksonville. In January of 1912, Levi wired Fisher: "Arrived safely. Miami pretty little town. Why not meet me here instead of Jacksonville. John."

Fisher came, was captivated by the climate and tropical beauty everywhere, and bought a home on Brickell Avenue. He was so impressed with the wooden bridge which had been built half way across the bay by a gentleman in his 74th year, that he made Collins' acquaintance and advanced $50,000 on the project. The total cost of the bridge was about $100,000.

Collins, not to be outdone, not only put up the bridge bonds as security, but as an outright gift gave Fisher his first chunk of Miami Beach real estate—200 acres, a strip 1,800 feet wide from ocean to bay and nearly a mile in depth.

Fisher was so enthusiastic that he bought 200 acres south of the Improvement Company's land, and 60 acres on the bay front. Then he hunted up the Lummus brothers, whose work had slowed down, judging from J. N.'s own record. Lummus wrote:

> In 1913 by Brother and I met Carl Fisher, who had a winter home on Brickell Avenue, Miami. Fisher asked me why we did not do all this work at once. I told him we had an awful good reason and that was we did not have the money, so he loaned us $150,000 and we paid him 8 per cent interest for the money and gave him 105 acres of swamp land from Lincoln Road south to 15th Street as a bonus for the loan. We had paid $150.00 per acre for the land that we gave Fisher. That, and that alone, is what started Miami Beach in a big way. . . .

On July 1, 1913, according to Lummus, he and Fisher signed a contract together with the First Clark Dredging Company of Baltimore to move six million cubic yards of bay bottom from the bay to the bay side of the beach. This was to fill in the bay land and deepen the bay for a Motor Boat Race Course. It was January 15, 1914, before Fisher's first plat was filed.

Fisher was only 38 years of age when he began cooperating with Collins, Pancoast and the Lummus brothers in the creation of Miami Beach. Levi was in charge

of Fisher's developments, which were to include man-made islands, hotels, polo fields, golf courses, streets and subdivisions. The work advanced despite the agonizing physical labor involved in the clearing of the mangrove trees and the accompanying discomfort caused by the hordes of mosquitos, and the constant danger of being bitten by poisonous snakes. Fisher's company was the Alton Beach Realty Company. It was bounded on the south by 15th Street, on the north by 20th Street, on the ocean, and Purdy Boat Ways on the bay.

Even after the town was incorporated in 1915 under the name of Miami Beach, many visitors thought of the beach strip as Alton Beach, so well advertised had been the Fisher interests there. Only the Collins interests were previously referred to as Miami Beach; and the Lummus area was called Ocean Beach.

Before the Collins Bridge was built all visitors and workers and the beach area's few residents were obliged to cross the bay by boat. Even for the auction sales of lands in the Collins and Lummus developments, the bidders for lots in the still-swampy area went to the sales by boat. E. E. ("Doc") Dammers, famous auctioneer of those days, presided at these events. He was best known for his policy of handing out new pieces of china to his delighted audience.

After the Lummus Company began selling real estate they operated three passenger boats from the foot of Flagler Street to the beach at Biscayne Street. Five cents one way was the charge. And business was good!

The bathing casino business got an early start at Miami Beach. The history of Miami by the American Guide Series tells of the first one, which was a one-room shack built on the Lum property in 1901 by Dr. Gillespie Enloe. He leased it occasionally to Miamians for a week or two at a time. Then came Richard M. Smith of Hartford, Connecticut, who got the financial backing of a Miamian, Charles H. Garthside, for the two-story pavilion known as Smith's Casino to all old-timers. In 1908 another Smith, Avery C. Smith of Norwich, Connecticut, bought out "Dick" Smith's share and made improvements and innovations. He built two ferry boats for cross-the-bay service for passengers from Miami.

A more pretentious bath house was built by Dade County's sheriff, Dan Hardie, on the ocean front near Smith's casino in 1914. The Hardie Casino was popular for its bathing facilities, restaurant and semi-weekly dances.

The Pancoasts built the Miami Beach Casino during 1912 and 1913 on the ocean at 23rd Street. This two-story structure was the finest the area had known, built of driftwood inside and shingled outside. In 1914 a swimming pool was added. Arthur Pancoast had from time to time managed the Casino, even after Fisher took it over in 1916 and spent large sums on its improvement. Another interest was now consuming Arthur, however, and in 1923 he made the plunge—the building of the ocean front's first large luxury hotel. He opened it to a distinguished clientele in 1924 and operated it for 20 years, selling it in 1944. It was the Grossinger Pancoast after that, until 1955, when it was razed for the erection of the larger Seville.

In answer to the speculation as to who built and occupied the first home in Miami Beach, it is interesting to recall that 72nd Street and Collins Avenue was the site for the Biscayne House of Refuge, established in 1876 and operated until 1926. Its purpose was to "afford succor to shipwrecked persons who may be cast ashore and who, in the absence of such means of relief, would be liable to perish from hunger and thirst in that desolate region." It was manned by one keeper and had facilities for a family, if the keeper had one. William J. Smith was the first keeper. So probably he should receive credit for being the first home-maker on the beach.

Then there was that portable house which Captain Richard Carney, one of the stockholders in the Lum-Osborne coconut planting company, brought to the beach in 1882 and kept there as his residence until 1886.

And even before Captain Carney moved that house to the rear of his estate in Coconut Grove, the house had a companion structure. Charles Lum built a two-story

dwelling nearby and brought down his bride. The beach's first honeymooning couple lived there three years.

In J. N. Lummus' book there is a photograph of a tiny cottage which Mrs. Philip Clarkson had shipped from Chicago in 1913, and set up at 3rd Street and Collins Avenue. Lummus built his own home in 1914 on the ocean front at 12th Street, next to the present Tides Hotel. Some of the others who built in 1914 were S. A. Belcher, E. B. Lent, Willie A. Pickert, George A. Douglass, T. E. James and Mrs. John McSweeney. Collins built by the ocean in 1917. In 1914 T. J. Pancoast built a mansion on the edge of the deepened wading pool which connected Collins Canal with Indian Creek, and which had been named Lake Pancoast. Carl Fisher's first home was built on the Ocean and Lincoln Road in 1915.

The first hotel was built in 1914 and operated by its owner, W. J. Brown. The Wofford Hotel and Apartments was second, on the site of the present Wofford Hotel. The Breakers was third. By 1915 the beach had one of the largest Marconi wireless stations in the South. It had telegraph service, two bath houses, an 18-hole golf course, mail service, a free school bus and winter boat racing!

The cream of the sports world was brought to the beach by Fisher. The first annual regatta was held January 15, 16 and 17, 1915, by Fisher, who not only dredged the course, but built the grandstand for the spectators and provided the trophy cups for the winners. He had secured the fastest speed boats and cruisers to compete. The national magazine Power Boating featured the event.

The beach was really getting under way, and the developers and the several hundreds persons living there decided that NOW WAS THE TIME for incorporation.

On March 26, 1915, the town of Miami Beach was incorporated. Meetings were held in the Lummus office building and 33 voters were registered. J. N. Lummus was given the deserved honor of being the first mayor. In his abridged booklet he wrote that "the Lummus Company paid all the cost of incorporating Miami Beach and paid the City Clerk's salary and all other bills until the Town could get in some tax money in 1916."

Lummus Park, from the time it was given for public use in 1912, has been one of the city's favorite attractions. The gift of J. N. and J. E. Lummus, it cost their Ocean Beach Realty Company more than $40,000 for creating and maintaining between 1912 and 1917. The company built board walks, planted Bermuda grass and coconut trees and put in twelve pumps and two tennis courts when the park was given to Miami Beach. J. N. Lummus recorded these achievements in the 1952 abridgement of his book. He considered the park by 1952 to be worth at least sixteen million dollars.

When it became apparent another bridge across the bay was needed and that the wooden bridge could not last much longer, the two Lummus brothers and Carl Fisher each donated $2,000 toward expenses involved in planning a $600,000 county bond issue to build a three-mile causeway across the bay. When completed in 1920 it connected Miami's 13th Street with 5th Street at Miami Beach. Two lines of street car tracks were laid on it at a cost of $740,000. Of course, later the tracks were pulled up and the causeway widened, and a modern bus transportation system established. World War II resulted in its getting a new name—the McArthur Causeway. The causeway was planned by the Lummus Company's engineer, Roy Wilson.

Several distinguished civil and construction engineers pioneered the Miami Beach developments. Although John H. Levi was Fisher's directing engineer at the outset, W. E. Brown remained throughout the Fisher developments at the beach. The first city engineer employed by Miami Beach was Robert M. Davidson, who stayed with the job for seven years, until he became city manager of Coral Gables. Later he became a real estate broker at Miami Beach. J. I. Conklin was the civil engineer in charge of the Collins Bridge construction.

In 1916 the Lummus Company sold part of its holdings to a group of northern millionaires: James A. Allison, who was Fisher's Indianapolis banker and his Prest-O-Lite partner and who was to be a Fisher partner in the Miami Beach developments; James and George Snowden, Carl Fisher and Henry McSweeney. They built Star Island and made roads, built residences and planted trees and shrubs on the peninsula west of Washington Avenue.

The first building to be erected on Lincoln Road was Fisher's ocean-front residence in 1915. His office was built in 1917 on Lincoln Road and Washington Avenue. Then followed the Lincoln Hotel, the Community Church and, in 1921, the Miami Beach First National Bank at Alton Road. From the beginning, August Geiger was Fisher's architect.

When the Lincoln Road Association was formed, D. Richard Mead became its first president. Geiger served later for ten years. The Community Church from its beginning maintained a real community spirit. The Rev. Elisha King, who became the pastor in 1921, remained as leader of his flock for 18 years.

The men did not do all the work in the early building of Miami Beach. Mrs. T. J. Pancoast, president of the Miami Beach Woman's Club for 13 years, from 1928 to 1942, had been a guiding spirit in the development of the Miami Beach Public Library. This was started by the Woman's Club, and Mrs. Pancoast helped in the planning and also in the financing.

Mrs. Jane Fisher, then Mrs. Carl Fisher, was beautiful and popular socially. She aided in civic projects and later distinguished herself by her writing and radio and TV broadcasts.

Russell Pancoast promoted fine architecture. He designed the Surf Club, the Church by the Sea and later helped with the Miami Beach Auditorium.

Before the Flamingo Hotel (now demolished) opened early in 1921, the Lincoln Hotel housed the celebrities. President-elect Warren G. Harding came to "straw hat land" for his pre-inauguration vacation in January of 1921 and occupied a villa on the Flamingo grounds. As a publicity stunt, Carl Fisher's young elephant Rosie caddied for Harding on the golf course. Harding's friendly interest in Miami Beach was not forgotten. Harding Avenue was named for him.

One of the Fishers' noteworthy contributions was the Flagler Memorial placed on a tiny island in the bay. It was made in 1820 at a cost of $125,000. H. K. Peterson was the sculptor of the four symbolic figures on the monument. The figures represent Pioneering, Engineering, Industrialism and Prosperity. It is located between Hibiscus, Rivo Alto and Belle Islands and can be reached only by boat. In 1939 it was deeded to the City by the Alton Beach Realty Company. In this contribution, Fisher was assisted by John B. Orr and James A. Allison.

A Chamber of Commerce was organized in 1921 when the population of Miami Beach was about 644. It was planned on July 13 of that year by T. J. Pancoast, Line Harger and Charles W. Chase Jr. By-laws were adopted nine days later at a meeting at Smith's Casino and at that time T. J. Pancoast was elected president. By December over 350 members (over half the Beach population) had joined. The Miami Beach Chamber of Commerce occupied its first building, located at the entrance of the causeway, until 1954, when it moved into its new headquarters at 1700 Washington Avenue.

Pancoast remained at the head of the Chamber of Commerce for twenty years. He served as mayor of Miami Beach from 1918 to 1920 and for several years was president of the Miami Beach Realty Board. As business executive, he was president of the Miami Beach Improvement Company and later vice president of the First National Bank and the Pancoast Hotel Company.

The Venetian Causeway, built during 1922 and 1923, replaced Collins Bridge, which had been sold after seven years of continuous use. The Venetian Causeway was built by the developers of the Venetian Islands at a cost of approximately $2,505,300. Hugh M. Anderson was one of its leading promoters.

During 1923 and 1924 Fisher's dredges poured bay bottom land along the bayshore at 43rd Street for another luxury hotel and for polo grounds. The hotel was the Nautilus, not to be confused with the equally swanky Nautalus built later on the ocean front. Fisher's Nautilus hotel was taken over by the Mount Sinai Hospital. Fisher's fourth hotel was the King Cole, erected on North Meridian Avenue and Surprise Lake. It is now the home of the Miami Heart Institute.

Typical of the gilded trends of the boom days was the Roney Plaza Hotel, erected in 1925 by N. B. T. Roney on the ocean front at 23rd Street. Its ten acres of gardens are still intact, still make it a tropical paradise. Its present owners are J. Meyer Schine and his son, David. By 1925, Roney had built and owned 200 shops on Collins Avenue and had built about fifteen hotels. He once owned Elser's Pier.

As Miami Beach approached the boom year, 1923, the state census showed the city to have 2,342 voters. Its assessed property valuation that year was $44,094,950. And its newly appointed city manager was Claude A. Renshaw, a position he was to hold for 33 years.

1925-1926: The Frenzy and the Fall

All the areas in Dade County walked together toward the boom and the "bust." Consider the year 1925:

"Credit soared to such dizzy heights," wrote Charles Edgar Nash in his book, "The Magic of Miami Beach, "that small-timers came to swing big-time propositions on a little cash and a lot of confidence." He said that "paper millionaires came to blossom as the rose."

Fisher, Collins and Pancoast were said to have retained most of their unsold property until the hysteria died down, which came about after a stock market crash in November of that year. The boom continued to develop. At the beach two more bayfront hotels had appeared—the Fleetwood and later the Floridian, the latter on the site where James A. Allison had built an acquarium.

Under Louis F. Snedigar's administration as mayor of Miami Beach, from 1922 until 1926, the real estate boom in that city was working itself up to a frenzy.

Much has been written about the "binder boys" of the era, their golf knickers, and their ability to "sell each other." By 1925 lots were being sold for the 971 subdivisions which had been laid out in the Miami area. Records show that during that year 481 hotels and apartments were built in the county and 174,530 deeds and papers were filed by the county clerk. The Tatum Brothers Real Estate Company by August of that year had sold $40,000,000 worth of real estate.

Future municipalities for the county had been launched: Coral Gables, which was granted a city charter on April 8, 1925, two years after its development began; Hialeah, also launched in 1923; Miami Springs, Opa-Locka and Miami Shores. These deserve to be discussed separately.

CORAL GABLES: To understand the beauty and unity of the city of Coral Gables is to understand its founder, George Edgar Merrick, whose biography is recorded in Volume 3 of this work. Dr. Frank B. Sessa wrote in the 1951 issue of Tequesta that "when Fisher began to expand his real estate operations on the beach, Merrick's thoughts turned toward having a development of his own, a suburb of Miami that would be a model city "wherein nothing would be unlovely.' Merrick added to his holdings as he could and, by 1921, he had 3,000 acres. In November, the first sale was held with E. E. Dammers as auctioneer."

Busses brought prospective investors to the area and daily William Jennings Bryan made speeches at the Venetian Pool at a rumored salary of $50,000 a year. Within a five-year span, about $150,000,000 worth of building was done in the new city. In 1925, a million dollars was spent in advertising alone and 3,000 salesmen were working.

By January, 1926, the ten-million-dollar Miami Biltmore Hotel was open, along with its 18-hole golf course. The building later was to become a Veterans' Hospital.)

When the hurricane and the bank failures of the fall of 1926 were followed by financial failures of 1927, both Merrick and the City of Coral Gables were bankrupt. Not until 1934 did he return to the real estate business. From 1935 to 1939 he served as chairman of the Dade County Planning Council. The county zoning code adopted in 1939 while Merrick was chairman of that commission became a model for country area codes in the United States. He was serving as postmaster for Miami when he died on March 25, 1942. His wife, Eunice, shared his popularity and shared also in the bad times as well as during prosperity. She is the granddaughter of the Coconut Grove pioneer, Charles Peacock, builder of the pre-Miami Peacock Inn at Coconut Grove.

HIALEAH, MIAMI SPRINGS and OPA-LOCKA: James H. Bright had lived in the Hialeah area, which he owned, for two years when the Curtiss Exhibition Company, headed by Glenn Curtiss, the pioneer aviator, established their airport southwest of Miami. Before Curtiss developed the cities of Miami Springs and Opa-Locka and before Bright founded Hialeah, the Curtiss-Bright Company developed some of their land for cattle grazing. In 1916, Bright went into partnership with Curtiss in the establishment of an aviation school on Bright's land in Deer Park.

Later, when they were interested in promoting settlements, they gave land for schools and churches and for the Miami Springs Country Club with its golf course, and for the Hialeah City Hall. They loaned the county money for building the bridge over the canal running between Hialeah and Miami Springs. The cities were incorporated in 1925, and Bright became Hialeah's first mayor. The name Hialeah is the Seminole Indian word meaning prairie or open country. Glenn Curtiss developed Opa-Locka on northwest 27th Avenue into a city following the Moroccan style of architecture. It has a 250-acre air base, not always in use.

Glenn Curtiss built his own home in Miami Springs on the estate now developed into a luxury hotel—Miami Springs Villas. The former Country Club Hotel, also called the Pueblo Hotel, was built as a small luxury hostelry, but after the "bust" was presented to the noted physician, Dr. John Harvey Kellogg, in 1930 for a Miami-Battle Creek Sanitarium. It operated as such until 1959, when it was purchased by W. C. Herrell and Jay Morton for a health institution which they called the Palm Spa.

MIAMI SHORES: This part of Greater Miami which was to experience great boom-time development is located north of north 91st Street, between Biscayne Bay and N.W. 2nd Avenue. It had been purchased in 1906 by a prominent pioneer, T. V. Moore, for a pineapple plantation. After the first World War it was bought by the patent medicine manufacturer, L. T. Cooper of Dayton, Ohio. Cooper was about to put it on the real estate market when he changed his mind and sold it to the Miami Shores Company. This company was headed by Hugh M. Anderson, who was also president of the company which had developed the Venetian Causeway and Venetian Isles. When the "bust" descended, the Phipps Estate of New York took over the holdings to cover their loans. Miami Shores became a municipality on January 2, 1932. Its population today is estimated at about 8,500.

FULFORD-BY-THE-SEA (NOW CALLED NORTH MIAMI BEACH): As early as 1901 the settlement of Fulford began making Dade County history. That year the site was selected and founded by Captain William H. Fulford, who began homesteading 160 acres there. The land began changing owners in 1913. By 1923 the name encompassed an area of 557 acres which M. C. Tebbetts and Edgar C. Linn bought for a sub-division. They gave it the name Fulford-by-the-Sea, which it kept until 1931, when it was changed to North Miami Beach. Many lots were sold during the boom, but like other areas it had to wait until after the hurricane of 1926, the "bust" and the depression of the thirties were over. Today it is a modern city.

Miami Chamber of Commerce

Miami's Chamber of Commerce was organized at a mass meeting held January 1, 1915, by merging of two other groups—the Board of Trade and the Merchants' Asso-

ciation. This new organization was fortunate from the beginning in having Everest George Sewell as chairman of the publicity bureau. "Ev," as he was affectionately called, was a genius in this field. In 1916 he became president and is considered as the one most responsible for securing appropriations for the development of Miami's harbor. Through his efforts, the Chamber of Commerce secured over $7,500,000 for harbor and channel and inland waterways. He was president of the group from 1916 to 1919 and from 1920 through 1921. While on the city commission from 1929 to 1940, he was elected mayor in 1931, 1933 and 1939. He died in office.

Just as the boom was dying, the University of Miami was born. The "bust" made the University's first years financially difficult. Most of the endowment was lost. The efficient management of President Bowman F. Ashe and his loyal faculty inspired community cooperation, so the University opened as planned in the fall of 1926.

Working with Dr. Ashe was his gifted assistant, Dr. Jay F. W. Pearson who, like Ashe, had hailed from the University of Pittsburgh. Dr. Pearson served as dean of the faculty and later as executive vice president. He helped Dr. Ashe with the many research projects started and planned. Since the death of Dr. Ashe, Dr. Pearson as the University's second president has led the University to achievements which had been anticipated and to many which were beyond their expectations.

By 1960, the University's enrollment had reached 14,000, and a two-million-dollar Medical Research Building for the University's School of Medicine had been dedicated on the grounds of the Jackson Memorial Hospital. (See History of University of Miami in Vol. 2 of this work.)

Among the boom-time stories is this one which touches history. The late Mrs. R. W. (Sarah) Palmer was a descendant of Dr. Henry Perrine and as such had inherited what was left of the original Perrine Grant. When Flagler extended his railroad to Homestead, Mrs. Palmer gave him some of that land for a right of way. In 1925, at the height of the boom, she refused an offer of ten million dollars for what was left of the grant. Perrine Palmer, her grandson, was able to smile when he told the story. "Then, during the depression of 1929 my father sold what was left of the grant for two million dollars," he said. "She began to think about that ten million which she had been offered, and employed Bart Riley to break up the sale and return the binder which had been put into the Bank of Bay Biscayne. She then lost everything for taxes."

In 1926, the Miami Beach citizens elected for mayor the 26-year-old son of their first mayor. J. N. Lummus Jr. is a native of Miami Beach and was aware of its problems. He was kept on the city council from 1922 to 1952. During his term as mayor the piping to carry water from Hialeah to Miami Beach was installed, and the planning of the present City Hall and street widening were undertaken. Later he served as Dade County Tax Assessor, from 1929 to 1952. His wife, Martha Lummus, followed the profession of journalism before becoming real estate partner to another Miami Beach pioneer—Cornelia Allison Frazure, daughter of the date James A. Allison.

Development of Miami Beach after the boom, the "bust" and the depression will be discussed later.

On January 10, 1926, an accident occurred which helped precipitate the "bust" in a most unforeseeazle manner. The four-mast barkentine Prins Valdemar got grounded while attempting to leave the Miami harbor, and rolled over on its side.

Its 241-foot length completely blocked the ship channel leading into and out of the harbor. In was 25 maddening days before an 80-foot channel could be cut so ships could pass around it. Ships in the meantime had lined up on the Gulf Stream, waiting with boom-bought cargoes which were to be delivered to awaiting merchants and builders. Even the causeway was lined with impatient freighters, and many ships inside the harbor were unable to leave. The results were fatal to the rising tide of the boom.

On January 1, 1926, the Miami Herald reported that building permits were issued in metropolitan Miami during 1925 to the amount of $103,272,192. According to one

authority on the boom, Frank B. Sessa, Miami in 1925 had ranked ninth in the nation's cities for building permits issued.

For the best account of the hurricane of September 18, 1926, read Sessa's "Miami in 1926" in the 1956 Tequesta. Sessa gives the estimated total damage at $76,000,000, excluding losses in personal property which were expected to run into several millions more; and a 40 per cent damage to the estimated 55,000 homes in Greater Miami. Losses in dead and injured, he said, were set in the first few days at 107 known dead, 1,400 persons injured and 225 missing.

Old-timers who experienced the disaster recall that before the American Red Cross had time to take charge, the city had set up relief headquarters at the McAllister Hotel, with three men and two women in full charge. The women were Mrs. Carl E. Dunaway and Mrs. Floyd Knight.

Added to the hurricane and the "bust" came the depression of the thirties which at one point caused a third of the citizens of the county to seek relief from the Federal Emergency Relief Association. Despite calamities, however, the county in many ways made progress in that decade.

A tragic event in 1932 occurred in Miami's Bayfront Park when Chicago's mayor, Anton Cermak, was shot fatally by Zangara, who was executed for the crime. As the shooting took place at the close of a speech by President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt, it was believed that the shot had been intended for him.

County Developments

Dade County's Park and Recreation System, rated nationally as one of America's Top Ten, has never had but one director, A. D. Barnes. After he became director in 1926, Barnes began developing the system which has brought recognition to Dade County. Arthur Peavy, Jr., is Superintendent of Recreation in this department. The county now has hundreds of parks and recreation areas.

Everglades National Park is the biggest park attraction in Dade County, but only a part of it is located within the county limits. It was established on June 20, 1947, as a result of a movement which started among Florida conservationists about 1928. There is a movement under way to increase its approximate 500,000 acres to 1,300,000 acres. The northern entrance to the park is through Florida City. See the chapter on Monroe County for more about this park.

Another attractions in Dade County is the Dade County Art Museum,**Vizcaya**, formerly the estate of the late James Deering on the bay front on south Miami Avenue.

While Miami's Bayfront Park, developed on dredged-up land along the bayfront, is the great tourist attraction in itself and because of its bandstand, it is outstanding for another reason: **The Miami Public Library.** Dr. Frank B. Sessa has been its director since it was moved into its marble mansion in 1951. At that time 47,078 registered readers had access to its 162,026 volume. By 1960, 66,594 persons held cards and the library boasted 308,798 books.

Southward from Miami the developments have been interesting and sometimes, as in the case of the Homestead Air Force Base, of the national importance. **Florida City**, the southernmost city in the County, received its name in 1914 when it was incorporated. In 1910 the Model Land Company, in promoting the area, had brought down buyers from Detroit, and as a result the town became known as Detroit until it was incorporated. Florida City is a farming area and its State Farmers' Market is one of the largest in Florida.

Homestead, referred to as the capitol of South Dade County, was incorporated in 1914, several years after homesteaders had been settling in the area. Mr. and Mrs. S. L. Mowry homesteaded in 1908 on land through which Mowry Street now runs. As early as 1905 a Baptist Church had been erected in the Redland district of Homestead. After Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Krome came in 1911, Mrs. Krome began the study of grove management. Mr. Krome's position as chief engineer for Henry M. Flagler's

Key West extension has already been mentioned. The first school in Homestead was built in 1907 for the fifteen children from the Caves, Fitzpatrick and Campbell families who were among the pioneer developers. The year 1960 found the population of Homestead in excess of 10,000. Although agriculture is the chief industry, the Chamber of Commerce is bringing in other industries. Two miles from Homestead's southern boundary is the new town called *Leisure City.*

The Homestead Air Force Base, located four miles northeast of the city, has focused national attention upon Homestead. In 1959 the 823rd Combat Support Group operated the base and more than 6,000 officers and enlisted men were stationed there. The field had been selected in late 1942 for the Air Transport Command, and during the last months of World War II, the 24-engine training units there were turning out between 300 and 400 pilots and co-pilots a month.

The 1959 boom in the *Perrine* and *Cutler Ridge* communities mid-way between Miami and Homestead resulted from the demand for home sites there. The shopping center in Perrine was developed by Kenneth Keyes, Jr., son of the Kenneth Keyes of the boom days—the Kenneth Keyes who still heads one of the biggest real estate firms in Florida. Kenneth Keyes, Sr., lives in Miami.

Arthur Vining Davis, multi-millionaire of Alcoa Aluminum fame, is the acknowledged king of Miami realtors. Besides developments through the county south of Miami, he owns office buildings in Miami, the county's largest shopping center (at 27th Ave. and 79th St., S.W.) and vast holdings on the north gold coast.

Fairchild Tropical Gardens, 10901 Old Cutler Road, is an 85-acre botanical garden which was started in 1938 by Col. Robert Montgomery of New York and South Miami. He named it for Dr. David Fairchild, the noted botanist, also of Miami. It has become one of Dade County's greatest showplaces.

Journalism Since the Boom

While Miami's original two big dailies have remained, many other journals have appeared, disappeared and merged in Dade County. Not all of them can be traced. Here are some:

In 1926, John M. Montgomery started the Coral Gables Riviera, which was purchased in June, 1941, by Al Harum. In 1945, as the Coral Gables Riviera-Times, it was sold to Alfred Hill, who in 1958 sold it to the Miami Herald. It is now called the Coral Gable-South Miami Times.

The Illustrated Daily Tab, with Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., as publisher, appeared in January, 1925. It lasted a year and a half.

The Miami Tribune, with financial backing by N. B. T. Roney and with the noted Slayton Sedgwick Cooper as editor, started publication in 1924 and ceased in 1927.

M. L. Annenberg's Miami Beach Tribune, started in 1933, became the Miami Tribune in 1936, with Paul G. Jeans as editor. In 1937 it was purchased by John S. Knight, owner of the Miami Herald, who stopped its publication.

The Miami Beach Tropics was started by John D. Montgomery in 1929. After calling the paper the Miami Beach Sun-Tropics, Montgomery registered it on June 9, 1948, under the name Florida Sun. On September 30, 1949, he sold it to George B. Storer of the Storer Broadcasting Company. The name was changed to Miami Beach Sun.

The Miami Beach Times was founded as the Miami Beach Democrat in 1927 by J. H. Wendler, who changed the name to The Times in 1929. Since the founder's death in 1945, The Times is published by his son, James Wendler.

A daily important to the legal profession in Dade County is the Miami Review and Daily Record, founded in 1926 by G. A. Coup, who still owns and manages it.

Miami Life began as a weekly in January, 1924, with W. H. Sperry and Wen Phillips as publishers. When it went into bankruptcy in 1931 it was purchased by Fred Girten, who sold it in 1933 to Rubin J. Clein.

The Hialeah Home News was started in Hialeah in 1944 by Mr. and Mrs. Jay Morton.

The Florida Veteran, started by Arthur Keene in April, 1936, had acquired a state-wide circulation before it was discontinued when World War II began.

The Dade County Veteran, published since 1948 by the Tropicana Publishers, is edited by a well known Miami writer, Violet Stephens Barker.

The Greater Miami Clubwoman, a quarterly for all women's groups, was started in 1956 by the Tropicana Publishers. Mrs. Barker is editor of this publication also.

In South Miami, Ed Seney bought the South Miami Town & Country Reporter in 1957.

In Homestead, the town's first newspaper was the South Florida Banner, started in 1912 by the Rev. J. A. Kahl. In 1915 he sold the paper to A. C. Graw who named it the Homestead Enterprise. Graw's son, LaMonte Graw, sold it in 1931 to the Homestead Leader, which had started publication in 1923.

Mr. and Mrs. Ben Archer, founders and publishers of the Homestead Leader, changed the name to the Leader-Enterprise. For awhile during the boom, 1925 and 1926, the Homestead Leader became a daily. In 1925 the Archers had started publication of the Key Largo Breeze—the first paper to be published on the Florida Keys. The hurricane of 1926 resulted in The Leader returning to its status as a weekly and in the discontinuance of The Breeze. The Homestead Leader-Enterprise was not to keep that name long, for in 1957 the Archers purchased Howard Van Smith's infant Perrine Post. The paper became the Homestead Leader-Perrine Post.

The Homestead News, published until 1961 by Mrs. Polly Rose Balfe, had started out in Homestead in 1936 as the Redland District News. Its founder was J. W. English. Mrs. Balfe changed the name to the Homestead News. She sold it early in 1961 to S. W. Calkins of Beaver, Pa., who on Oct. 26, 1961 also bought the Archers' paper. The result was the Homestead News-Leader.

Miami Beach Since the Boom

Development was going on at Miami Beach when Val Cleary became mayor in 1930 and it has been gaining in momentum since. As a result of the spilling over of the northern city boundary, new municipalities began to develop. Golden Beach, which had been developing for years as a residential area, was incorporated as a town in 1929, with one of its founders, Henry Ralston, as mayor.

The town of Surfside was incorporated May 18, 1935, with its boundaries running from 87th Terrace northward to 96th Street. The first mayor was Spearman Lewis.

Indian Creek Village, also on the Gold Coast, was incorporated in 1939. The town of Bal Harbour was incorporated in 1946, and Bay Harbour Island in 1947. Bay Harbour Island is on Broad Causeway which opened in 1951 and which connects Bay Harbour Island with the mainland at 123rd Street. This is a toll causeway.

On July 7, 1940, the Miami Herald said that "despite the war scare," permits for construction of twenty hotels had been issued at Miami Beach during the first half of 1940. These permits included the Versailles, the Cadillac, the Sea Isle, the Raleigh, the Tarlton and others. On October 8, 1940, the Miami News declared that 100 hotels in three years was the boast of Miami Beach and the trend was toward more costly construction, with the demand still ahead of the quantity and quality of supply.

In 1941 W. D. Pawley purchased the Miami Beach Railway Company from the Florida Power & Light Company. Seven years later, in 1948, Mr. Pawley purchased the Miami Transit Company from its stockholders, and in 1961 he sold it to the Dade Metropolitan government.

World War II brought the Army to Miami Beach. The hundreds of soldiers, few above the rank of a non-commissioned officer, lived in the plush hotels and drilled in the streets. They were referred to as the Army Air Forces Technical Training Command. Eighty-five percent of the beach hotels were taken over by the Air Force.

After the war, in the late forties, glamorous luxury hotels began making their appearance along the Gold Coast from Lincoln Road northward to the Golden Gate Hotel at Golden Beach. The giant of the hotels built in the fifties was Ben Novak's Fontainbleau, built on the site of the old Firestone Estate. Next to it appeared the fabulous Eden Roc, owned by Harry Mufson. The skill of Architect Morris Lapidus was evident in many of the beautiful structures, one of them being the Americana. To list all the new hotels would require more space than is available here.

During the fifties, with speed that was awesome, many were constructed along the coast from the Haulover to Golden Beach. All this has made Miami Beach and the rest of the Gold Coast a much coveted spot for conventions and for honeymoon trips, as well as for vacations. The new Deauville Hotel is partly owned by Morris Lansburgh, who heads half a dozen other ocean-front luxury hotels.

"HAS THE FABULOUS GOLD COAST REACHED ITS SATURATION POINT?" This question was asked by the Detroit Free Press on Feb. 21, 1960, of Publicist Hank Meyer, referred to as "Mr. Miami Beach."

Meyer replied: "I don't believe we've even scratched the surface as far as growth and progress are concerned. There just isn't any end in sight." As he has been serving Miami Beach as publicity director since 1950, Meyer is in a position to form a logical opinion.

Leon C. McAskill, president of the Miami Beach Chamber of Commerce and past publisher of the Miami Beach Sun; Claude A. Renshaw, Miami Beach's city manager for more than 30 years; Morris Lipp, city manager in 1960; and E. M. Hancock, for years building inspector for Miami Beach and then president of its Pioneers' Club, all of these authorities agree with Hank Meyer that: "You haven't seen anything yet!"

Miami Beach attracted two former governors of Florida—Fuller Warren who practices law in Miami; and the late Dave Sholtz. Former United States Senator Claude Pepper maintains a law office at Miami Beach, although his residence is in Coral Gables. United States Senator George Smathers lives in Miami.

Dade in the Fifties

The decade of the fifties, while General E. A. Evans was Miami city manager, brought the financing and commencement of a twenty million dollar program of various major improvements. General Evans assisted materially in starting the creation of a seaport at Dodge Island. Melvin Reese became city manager on March 21, 1960.

Key Biscayne's first luxury hotel was opened in January, 1953, by its owners, Frank Elliott and Robert Mackle. The four-lane street leading to it was cut through part of the coconut plantation which Commodore Wm. John Matheson had planted after arriving there in 1904. He had 35,000 bearing palm trees on the island in the early days. The land on Key Biscayne which the County has used for Crandon Park and for Rickenbacker Causeway was given, free of charge, by the Matheson family.

Fred B. Hartnett, mayor of Coral Gables, 1955-1957, in 1958 organized the University Federal Savings and Loan Assn., which by 1960 had set a record.

As the population increased in Dade County new municipalities were formed and in the middle thirties these towns and cities began forming an unofficial organization. Finally they were incorporated under the name Dade County League of Municipalities, with a non-profit charter. Their purpose has been to help each other, especially in exchange of points on administration and economy.

Background of Dade's Metro

Dade County in 1935 defeated the attempt of the State Legislature to abolish the City of Miami without a referendum, but recognition was given to the fact that something had to be done about the overlapping services in Dade County. Among those who began a study of the problem was W. C. ("Cliff") Herrell, then mayor of

Miami Springs, but later Dade County's representative in the State Legislature (1954-1960). At his own expense, Herrell made a trip to Toronto, Canada, to study the experiences of that city with metropolitan government. No city in the United States had put such a government into motion. When the City Commission created a board of experts to analyze the county situation, Herrell was included. While he was president of the Dade County League of Municipalities in 1954, the League was first chartered. He instigated the uniform building code which was adopted later by Metro.

Dade's Metropolitan Government

The Metropolitan government of Dade County took effect July 20, 1957. It is recognized by governmental experts as the first comprehensive plan for metropolitan government in the United States. It is an entirely new and unique legal entity created to attack and solve the modern day problems of rapid urban development in the metropolitan area. It provides a means for the county and its cities to work together to improve services and to solve their mutual problems.

The legal authority for this modern form of county government is in two documents—an amendment to the Florida Constitution and the County Charter. The amendment to Article 8, Section 11, of the Constitution granted home rule powers to Dade County. It was adopted in a state-wide election November 6, 1956. The Metropolitan Dade County Charter was approved by county voters May 21, 1957.

The problem of government in Metropolitan Miami has been the subject of increasing concern in recent years. In 1945, 1947, and 1953, the city-county consolidation proposals were advanced. In July, 1953, the Miami City Commission created the Metropolitan Miami Municipal Board, made up of 20 citizens and public officials, to make a thorough study of governments in Dade County; determine what consolidation, merger, federation, or reorganization was desirable; and draft a plan of governmental improvement. The Board hired Public Administration Service to make this study and its report, THE GOVERNMENT OF METROPOLITAN MIAMI, was published in 1954.

In 1955 the State Legislature approved submitting to the voters the home rule constitutional amendment and provided for the establishment of the Metropolitan Charter Board—a group of 17 Dade citizens appointed by the Governor—to draft the Charter.

The Charter provides for a Commission-Manager form of government. Metro has jurisdiction over all county-wide functions except the state courts and the public schools. Such area-wide activities include providing and/or regulating roads and traffic, utilities, zoning building, fire and police, hospitals, health and welfare programs, ports, parks, libraries, museums, and urban renewal. The county is responsible for developing a comprehensive long range plan for the area's development.

To employ these powers the county may contract with other governmental units; set minimum standards of service for all governmental units; and establish special taxing districts.

The Constitutional amendment and county Charter granted home rule to each of Dade's 26 municipalities. They may draft, amend or revoke their own charters instead of going to the State Legislature.

No municipality can be abolished except by a majority vote of its citizens in a special election. New municipalities may be formed by vote of the people in a specific area with the approval of the Board of County Commissioners. The cities have power over all local affairs not inconsistent with the Charter and may provide higher standards of service than those provided by Metro.

Metro is subject to all general state laws, but the State Legislature no longer passes special acts affecting only Dade County.

The governing body under the Charter is the Board of County Commissioners who are elected on a nonpartisan basis for 4-year staggered terms. In 1959 the Board

had 11 members. Five (one from each Commission district) were elected at large; 5 from and by the Commission districts; and one was elected from each city with 60,000 or more population. Miami was the only city large enough to have municipal representation at that time, but several others are expected to qualify after the 1960 census.

The Board has power to pass local ordinances, appoint the County Manager, County Attorney, Port Director, and Metropolitan Court officials. The County Manager directs the administrative program. He is responsible for the establishment and operation of all departments and the preparation of the budget.

Seven amendments to the Charter have been proposed and decisively defeated since 1957. They dealt with municipal autonomy, changing the county name, reducing the number of commissioners, and returning the sheriff and tax assessor to elective status.

When O. W. ("Hump") Campbell became manager of the Metropolitan Government of Dade County on September 7, 1957, Metro was two months of age. The charter had been drawn up before his arrival. In 1961 a professional city administrator, Irving McNayr, was made manager of Dade's Metropolitan government. Hoke Welch, an Atlanta journalist before becoming managing editor of the Miami News in 1941, was appointed Assistant Manager of Metro in November, 1958.

Transportation Development—(1928-1960)

The Seaboard Air Line Railroad Company on January 8, 1927, began serving the public with a new road bed which had been extended southward to Hialeah, Miami and Homestead.

The Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company in cooperation with the Florida East Coast Railway has for some years established a through service from New York to Miami.

The late 1920's saw the completion of the Tamiami Trail—the much-needed highway for automobile travel between Tampa and Miami. The Trail was opened to traffic on April 25, 1928, after thirteen years of construction work.

Miami International Airport

The Miami International Airport is declared to be Miami's biggest single business. This airport and the New York International Airport made aviation history on December 10, 1958, when they became the first two distant airports to connect with scheduled domestic jet service. The service was introduced by National Airlines which used the Boeing 707 type of jet aircraft. By 1960 the airlines, besides National, which used scheduled jet flights were Eastern, Delta, Northeast, TWA, Inc., and Pan American World Airways. At least fifty jets a day in 1960 were flying in and out of the Miami International Airport.

This airport ranks first in the nation for amount of international air cargo carried. It was second in terms of aircraft movement in 1959. The airport serviced 4,055,250 passengers in 1959. Port Director Alan C. Stewart's report published in the Miami News of February 24, 1960, disclosed that the annual payroll of the 22,561 workers at the airport is $133,206,261. Of these employes, 17,276 work directly for the airlines—Eastern and Pan American employing the greatest number. There are 144 tenants on airport property. Although the airport encompasses 2,860 acres, only eighty acres are devoted to terminal installations. The terminal building, opened in February, 1959, was completed at a cost of $26,000,000.00.

Dade County Expressways

While Dade County has been accused in the past of lagging behind its population growth in the matter of providing expressways, this accusation no longer can be made since a road building program which is literally earth-shaking is now under way.

The expressway plan which was studied and recommended by Wilbur Smith in December, 1956, was accepted by Miami and Dade County. That was seven months before Metropolitan Government for Dade County took effect. Contracts were made for the work, and property was purchased for right-of-way, according to Earl Schumacher, traffic planning and design engineer for Metro.

William Singer, (head of the Royal Castle chain), is given credit for getting portions of the Expressway system under construction, and for making Wilbur Smith's plan work. He was instrumental in getting funds committed for the project.

More Dade County "Firsts"

William Jennings Bryan, defeated Democratic presidential candidate, was the first presidential candidate to move to Miami to become a resident and the first to represent Florida at a National Democratic Convention. He was elected as a delegate from Florida in 1924.

Bryan's daughter, Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen, was the first Dade County woman to make a successful entry into national politics. She represented her district in Congress from 1929 until 1933 and was later appointed as American minister to Denmark.

Dr. John C. Gifford, noted writer and naturalist of Miami, was first to give written expression to the idea of the highway which was built later and named the Tamiami Trail.

Attorney F. M. Hudson, State Senator from Dade County from 1904 until 1917, was the first Dade County man to become president of the Florida State Senate.

The first Dade County poet to become poet laureate of Florida is Mrs. Vivian Laramore Rader, Miamian who received this honor from Governor Doyle Carlton in 1931. She is Florida's second poet laureate.

In Miami's pre-boom days, Albert Kaufman's three young daughters were the first young Miamians to form an instrumental trio available for public entertainments, parties and teas. They were: Cecelia, (now Mrs. Frank A. Brown); Elma, (now Mrs. Charles Vaughn), and Helen, (now Mrs. Helen Kaufman Chalmers).

Miss Billie O'Day is Miami's first woman symphony conductor. She was appointed permanent conductor of the Miami Symphonic Society orchestra in 1950. She is also a Miami News feature writer and a WIOD radio commentator. In 1959 she organized the Miami Women's Symphony.

Mrs. Marie Volpe is Miami's first woman symphony manager. She is the widow of Arnold Volpe who founded the University of Miami Symphony in 1926.

The first Florida journalist to receive the Pulitzer prize for a job of national reporting was Howard Van Smith of South Miami, a Miami News writer. He received this honor May 4, 1959, for the writing of about seventy stories about the plight of Immokalee's migrant laborers after the freeze of 1948.

Hal Winter, in 1948, became the first publishers' representative to begin operating in Dade County, with headquarters at Miami Beach.

The first advertising company to remain in continuous existence after getting established in 1935 is Hume, Smith & Mickelberry, formerly the August Dorr Agency.

Mrs. Sidney Weintraub, nee Claire Cohen of the pioneer family, was the first graduate of the University of Miami to receive an honorary doctorate. The degree received was Doctor of Humane Letters.

The Grace Methodist Church, rebuilt in the late fifties, is the first church in the County to remain in continuous existence after it was organized. It was called Lemon City Methodist Church by its founders when it was formally organized in April, 1893. For several years before that time, the members had been meeting in the Pierce Sponge Warehouse on the bay at Lemon City.

Pan American World airways in 1927 became the first airline now serving this area to establish service to the Latin American countries. In October, 1928, Pan American became the first airline to set up its headquarters in Miami, although Eastern Airlines followed it only four months later.

Mrs. Rachel Stearns Corbett is the first Dade County artist to receive national fame as America's foremost dog portrait painter.

Miss Bertha Foster, first dean of the School of Music of the University of Miami, was first to set up a Dade County residence club for retired musicians. It is located in Coral Gables and is called The Musicians Club of America.

Locke T. Highleyman, Miami banker, was the first developer to see a future in the mangrove swamp on Biscayne Bay south of the Miami river. He developed the Point View subdivision, where the waterfront homes once were referred to as Millionaires' Row.

Mrs. Jane Fisher is the first Miami Beach author to sell movie rights of a book about an early Miami Beach developer. In 1960 her biography of Carl Fisher, entitled "Fabulous Hoosier," was being filmed in Hollywood.

Dade County's first Metro commissioners (and the first in the U.S.A.) were Faris N. Cowart, John B. McLeod, Charles F. Hall, Edwin L. Mason and Ralph A. Fossey.

The first county in the state of Florida to come near the million mark in population is Dade County, where the population in 1960 was 935,047.

Charles E. Buker was the first Miami news boy to grow up to become a bank president. As a small boy, Buker delivered papers for the Miami Metropolis, now the Miami News. By 1960 he was president of the Miami-Hialeah Springs Bank and also the Airport Bank.

E. B. Leatherman, clerk of the Circuit Court of Dade County, is the first clerk of this court to hold the position for thirty-three consecutive years. He went into office in 1927.

Dade County's first horse racing was introduced at the now-famous Hialeah Park. The county's other track for horse racing is Tropical Park. Dogs are raced by the Biscayne Kennel Club, the Miami Beach Kennel Club and the West Flagler Club.

Florida's first TV Station was WTVJ, Channel 4. Others are WCKT, Channel 7; WTHS, Channel 2 (educational), and WPST, Channel 10.

The first radio station in Dade County was WQAM, started by the Miami Metropolis, in 1921. Station WIOD was established in 1926. Other stations are: WGBS, WAFM, WAME, WCKR, WFAB, WFEC, WGBS, WINZ, WKAT, WMBM, WMET, WMIE, WSKP, WVCG and WWPB.

The first man to hold the office of City Manager for Florida City is Richard Schmunk who took the office in January, 1959. He had been City Clerk for nine years previously.

Contemporary Florida

On the rise in Dade County since World War II has been its production industry, for which drainage, land clearance, adequate transportation and increased labor had prepared the way. The Hialeah industries have led in this field. In all industries, however, there has been an invasion of world-wide capital, worldwide culture and worldwide know-how.

Another phase of development was revealed in the following Metro advertisement which appeared in the Jan. 30, 1960, magazine section of the New York Times: "Family togetherness is underscored by Dade's 256 churches of all denominations . . . New teachers are hired at the rate of 600 a year and, last year, the equivalent of an eleven-classroom school was built every week to keep pace with the mushrooming population." Reference was made also to Dade's 23 hospitals.

The welfare work accomplished by the Jewish residents is described by Irving Lehrman and Joseph Rappaport in their book, "The Jewish Community of Miami Beach." They pointed to the formation of the Jewish Federation in 1938 which was, by 1955, representing sixty local groups and which had evolved into a central welfare and planning agency. They were serving Jewish communities in 18 municipalities.

Contemporary architecture is seen in downtown Miami, along the bay, where the first white visitors, over 400 year ago, had found Tequesta Indian villages. The story of the latest activities on Miami's most historic site is the story of the activities of the

Ed N. Claughton family. The 24-acre tract on which Flagler had built his Royal Palm Hotel (which was demolished in the twenties) was held by the Florida East Coast Hotel Company until the Edward N. Claughton family and an associate purchased it in 1943. Thus the Flagler interests released the site for the first time since it had been deeded to them by Julia Tuttle. The Claughtons' associate was Ed Ball, trustee for the Alfred I. DuPont interests.

This group took title to all of the property except the strip along the north side of the mouth of the Miami River. They leased it to DuPont Plaza, Inc., which erected the eleven million dollar, twelve-story hotel and office building which now adorns the river's north bank. The development is known as the DuPont Plaza Center. After the death of Mr. Claughton the family's business was managed by his widow, Mrs. Lillian Claughton; their son, Edward N. Claughton, Jr., and Mrs. Claughton's brother, A. W. Corbett, Jr.

While the Claughtons exchanged their lease on this historic ground to Hugh Matheson, Jr., for his Silver Sands Ocean Front Motel at Key Biscayne, Mrs. Claughton still has interests at the mouth of the Miami River. She owns the controversial 21-acre Burlingame Island, purchased in 1944. Plans for developing this conspicuous landmark will be influenced by Miami's best interest, she insists. Her other interests include her four theatres (she used to own 14), and property such as the Urmey Hotel, where she lives and has her office. She is the first woman to have been elected to office by the Miami-Dade Chamber of Commerce, which made her vice-president in 1959.

While her civic interests are not relevant to the pragmatic slant in presenting history, it is dramatic to note that modern Miami can claim a charming woman as owner and past owner of land in an area where Julia Tuttle, in the Victorian era, brought a city into existence. Because of her civic mindedness and business ability Lillian Claughton can be considered the jet-age counterpart of "the Mother of Miami."

And before them, the soldiers of Fort Dallas drilled on that site; and before that, in 1567, Tequesta Indian children were learning prayers at a lonely mission outpost. So here the contemporary history of Dade County can rest—just where its recorded history began, at the mouth of the Miami River.

CHAPTER XXVIII

MONROE COUNTY

By Florida State Department of Agriculture and Bill Ackerman

County Seat: Key West—Population: 47,921

Incorporated cities: Key West, Key Colony Beach

MONROE COUNTY is unique in that it is composed, not of a solid land area, but largely of small islands jutting out along the southern tip of the Florida peninsula, southwest into the Gulf of Mexico. The islands, or keys, are of coral and limestone formation and are bounded by the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, Florida Bay being formed in the pocket between the islands and the mainland. A great land portion of Monroe County is located on the mainland, at the southwest end of the peninsula, but it is largely undeveloped. The Everglades National Park covers most of the mainland acreage of the county, and the principal cities are located on the keys. The county area is 907,520 acres. Key West, the county seat, is located at the end of the long string of islands on an island 3½ miles long and 1 mile wide, the southernmost city in the United States. It is 157 miles southwest of Miami and 90 miles north of Havana, Cuba.

The weather here is tropical, with an annual average temperature of 77.1 degrees which varies from an average low of 69.9 degrees in January to an average high of 83.6 degrees in August. The lowest temperature ever recorded here was 41 degrees and the highest 93 degrees. No frost has ever been seen on the islands, which are swept by regular trade winds from the east. Annual rainfall is 38.08 inches, with the heaviest rainfall from May to November, but the county has less rainfall than any other county in Florida. Elevation above sea level at Key West is 10 feet.

Tourists, sports fishing, commercial fishing, and the U.S. Navy installation at Key West comprise the principal sources of income, with the fishing industry the leading enterprise. During 1956 there were 3,431,252 pounds of food fish and 19,168,693 pounds of crabs, Florida lobsters, shrimp, etc., caught and marketed in the county. Sea turtles are shipped here from the Caribbean for marketing. Large shrimp beds have been discovered in waters adjacent to the county.

Monroe County is not regarded as an agricultural county, but citrus crops, particularly limes, do well. Grapes, bananas, mangoes, avocados, sugar apples, sapodillas, and coconuts are found, and peppers, eggplants, tomatoes, and asparagus are grown to a limited extent. In 1954 there were eleven farms in the county embracing 485 acres of farmlands.

Tourists who come here from all over the nation comprise a major source of income, but the largest single payroll in Monroe County is from the U. S. Naval Submarine Base at Key West, which employs about 2,000 civilian workers in addition to the regular Navy personnel. Former President Harry S. Truman maintained a resort home, the Little White House, at the base, and Key West has been the scene of many conferences of national and international scope.

Hunting on the keys is limited to small game, and Key West is a bird refuge. About 600 species of salt-water fish are found in the waters of the Gulf Stream, Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean. Fishing from boats and from bridges on the Overseas Highway is popular, and many fleets of deep sea boats operate in the county.

Assessed valuation of Monroe County in 1956 was $83,635,177. Banking resources amounted to $18,694,000, and retail sales totaled $39,527,000. Total annual wages

in 1956 amounted to $12,298,786. Effective buying income was $1,485 per capita and $71,263,000 for the county in 1956.

U. S. Highway 1 connects the various keys with each other and with the mainland, ending at Key West. Known as the Overseas Highway, this modern road, covering vast expanses of water, connects the keys, and is one of the most scenic motor routes in the nation. Annually, thousands of visitors drive over this famous highway. Bus service is provided by Greyhound Lines, and scheduled air flights are available by National Airlines and Aerovias Q. S. A. Key West is a terminal for air travel to Cuba and cities in South America. There is no rail service available. Two auto-passenger ferries operate between Key West and Havana, Cuba.

There are twelve elementary and secondary schools in the county, with an enrollment of 7,158 pupils in 1956-57. There are fifty-eight available hospital beds in the county. A daily newspaper, the Key West Citizen, and a weekly newspaper, The Coral Tribune, are published here. There are twenty-one churches and a municipal golf course.

Monroe County was formed in 1824, and was named for President James Monroe. Kev West was once the base for Spanish adventurers and pirate crews. They were driven out of the keys by Commodore David Porter with part of the U. S. Fleet in 1823. Groups of cockney English and Negroes from the Bahamas were among the first permanent settlers. Later, families from New England, Virginia and South Carolina settled here, along with many Tories who had fled the Bahamas during the American Revolution. Salvaging cargoes from vessels wrecked on outlying reefs was a profitable business during the early days of Key West; some salvaging is still done and sunken wrecks of old ships are still found occasionally. In 1870 Key West was the world's largest cigar manufacturing center. The city was an important naval base during the Spanish-American War and during both World Wars.

The Marquesas are a group of keys, about 26 miles from Key West. Used as a target area during the war, these keys are coming back into renown as an exceptional fishing area.

The Dry Tortugas, shown on the inset of a Monroe County map, are composed of seven small islands. The westernmost of the Keys, they are located 69 miles from Key West. Here also is located Fort Jefferson, a base for fighting vessels during the Civil War, and now a National Monument. Here Dr. Samuel A. Mudd was imprisoned for giving aid to John Wilkes Booth, the assassin of President Lincoln.

Historical Facts About Key West, Florida

1513—Ponce de Leon sailed past the Florida Keys, naming them Los Martires.

1815—Key West, known as Cayo Hueso (Island of Bones) is granted to Juan Pablo Salas, by Don Juan de Estrada for meritorious service to the crown of Spain.

1822—Key West was bought from Salas by John W. Simonton of Mobile, Alabama, for $2,000.00. "Brethren of the Coast" are driven from Key West and vicinity and destroyed by Commodore David Porter. Lieutenant M. S. Perry takes possession of the island as part of the territory ceded to the United States by Spain. Naval Depot is established.

1824—United States Marines arrive in Key West.

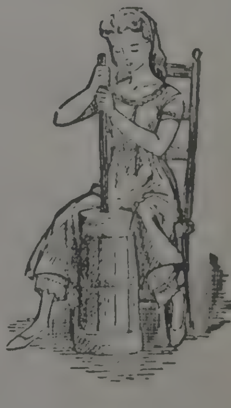
1828—Congress passes bill establishing at Key West the "Superior Court of the Southern Judicial District of the Territory of Florida." Key West is incorporated as a town.

1829—Post Office is established.

1831—Army Barracks are constructed. First cigar factory in United States is established by William H. Wall.

1832—St. Paul's Church is founded. Territorial Council replaces town charter with incorporated city charter.

1845—Construction of Fort Taylor is begun.



1846—Destructive hurricane strikes city. Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas, is established and construction begins. Marine Hospital is established.

1861—East and West Martellow Towers are constructed as additional fortifications.

1861 to 1866—Key West is the only southern city to remain in the hands of Union throughout duration of the War Between the States.

1868—Sisters of Holy Name of Jesus and Mary arrive from Canada.

1869—Cuban migration to Key West begins.

1871—First Hall of San Carlos Institute is established and dedicated.

1876—First City Hall is constructed.

1886—Fire destroys a large part of the city.

1898—Survivors and injured of the U. S. S. Maine are brought from Havana to Key West by U. S. Lighthouse Tender Mangrove.

1912—Overseas Railway is completed.

1926—Overseas Highway and Ferry System completed.

1930—Present United States Customs House, Post Office and Court are completed.

1934—Rehabilitation of Key West, impoverished by severe depression, is begun by Florida Emergency Relief Administration.

1935—Florida East Coast Railway service to Key West is terminated after disastrous Labor Day hurricane strikes Key to the north of Key West.

1938—Overseas Highway opened to traffic—July 4th.

1939—Government re-established U. S. Naval Sation and Submarine Base.

1940—U. S. Naval Air Station opened on Trumbo Island.

1941—Florida Keys Aqueduct Commission enters into agreement to bring fresh water from mainland.

1942—Overseas Highway finally completed. U. S. Naval Hospital established.

1943—Boca Chica Field established as unit of Naval Air Station.

1944—Key West Municipal Hospital completed.

1946—President H. S. Truman, following first visit to Key West, decides to create Little White House here.

1948—Key West Conference of Joint Chiefs of Staff held at the Little White House on U. S. Naval Base to work out plans for unification of armed services.

1950—Federal census indicates population growth from 12,027 in 1940 to 26,433 in 1950.

—Courtesy: Florida State Department of Agriculture.

Events of 1961

Two events of 1961 of nation-wide interest were of special interest in Key West because, although of a totally different nature, they concerned celebrities who had lived in Key West and had helped to make it famous.

While the restoration by the Mitchell Wolfson Foundation of the John James Audubon house in Key West had been nearly completed in 1960, it was on March 19, 1961, during the month-long Old Island Days Celebration, that Colonel and Mrs. Wolfson presented a priceless original "elephant" folio of Audubon's works to the historic shrine. The famous naturalist had become a guest in this old house in 1932. When Mitchell Wolfson, a native of Key West who now lives in Miami, heard that the famous old house was about to be razed, he and Mrs. Wolfson set up the foundation which has spared no expense or trouble in the task of restoration. See the Mitchell Wolfson biography in Vol. 3 of this work for complete details.

The other event which touched the hearts of Key West citizens was not one of joy, like that felt over the Wolfsons' magnificent service to the city. It was sorrow over the news of the death of its famous and beloved one-time citizen, Ernest Hemingway, the author. Hemingway had used his home in Key West as a background for his novel,

"To Have and Have Not," published in 1937. Key West was used also as a setting for many of his short stories and magazine articles. His former home is one of the places pointed out to tourists.

The Florida Keys

By Bill Ackerman

A string of tropical islands, for all the world like stepping stones in a millpond, leads one from the magical modern city of Miami Beach to the Dry Tortugas in the heart of the Old Spanish Main. As rich in history and romantic interest as any of the Antilles, and as adventurous as the Land of the Incas just another short water-jump beyond, these green islands extend south and westerly from Cape Florida for a distance of 226 miles to near the west tip of Cuba. No two are quite alike. Several are extensive in area, miles in length. Many contain but a hundred or so acres within their oddly shaped shorelines. Some are so tiny that they are scarcely more than mangrove bushes in a sandbank. Their total number is under a thousand, and they have a combined habitable area of approximately 200 square miles. Only 62 are populated.

The shores of these islands are bathed by the most wonderful ocean current in existence—the Gulf Stream (the Spaniards' Channel of the Bahamas) which brings a tropical climate, and which played a great part in the original formation of these islands. Both Columbus and De Soto followed it in their travels through the New World. And it was the artery the Spanish and the French and the English followed in taking their loot of the Indies and the Americas back to grasping monarchs across the seas.

The passes and waterways between the islands were once the hiding places of free-booting gentry and the vantage points from which they attacked their prey—ships of every nation. Questing Spanish adventurers, raiding English, and the fighting ships of both met in these waters. The reefs off the islands are the graveyard of ships of every nation—treasure caravels, loaded with Inca gold, and merchant ships deliberately wrecked.

First Inhabitants

As in all the Americas, the first inhabitants in the Florida Keys were Indians. The origin of these first redmen and the time of their settlement are lost in antiquity. The first of the prehistoric tribes was probably the Arawaks, in either the third or fourth century. Authorities differ widely on this.

They were native to the north coast of South America, followed the sea, and over a long period gradually moved northward through the West Indies to Cuba, from which it was just a short step to the Keys. In the same manner and probably at the same time the Lucayans populated the Bahamas.

The Arawaks were heavy-shouldered, short in stature and a simple, peaceful people. Their artifacts were fashioned from shell, the bones of sea animals, and deer antlers. Water vessels were of skin. None have survived through the ages to enable us to know more of them and their ways.

Calderon notes that a number of Indian tribes lived in the Keys—the Viscanios, the Matacumbeses, the Bayajondes and the Cuchiagaros. Too, there were the Caribs, the Calusas, and the Seminoles.

The Caribs were fierce and ever ready to wage war on other tribes. So, too, were the Calusas, who were originally native to the area from Cape Sable to Tampa on the Florida West Coast. It is possible to believe the bones found by the Spaniards on the present island of Key West were those of the Caribs, who made a last stand there when being driven from the Keys by the Calusas.

The Calusas were tall in stature (the Spaniards noted this particularly in their women). In spite of the insects, they wore little in the way of clothing. They were ex-

cellent seamen, and cruel beyond the average, with the habit of enslaving those whom they subjugated.

It was the Calusas who perpetrated the atrocities upon the whites during the early English occupation. Friendly only with the Spanish, they traded with Havana as early as 1600, and were avid as the pirates in attacking vessels that came too close to the coast. Many years previously they had driven Ponce de Leon from the coast.

It was Chakika, the last of the Calusa chiefs, who attacked Carysfoot Lighthouse in 1838 and killed the keeper. It was this same Chakika who looted and burned Indian Key in 1840 and killed Dr. Henry Perrine. In reprisal, Colonel Harney raided Chakika's camp west of the Mayaimi River (Lake Okeechobee), wiping out the band and killing Chakika. The remnants of the Calusas were absorbed by the Seminoles, who were the last Indians to inhabit the Keys.

Development

The development of the Florida Keys may best be divided into three periods: before, during and after the railroad. This was the Henry M. Flagler Extension of the Florida East Coast Railroad from Homestead to Key West.

Before the railroad there was agriculture of a sort, limited in extent, and the beginning of a great cigar manufacturing industry. An extensive sponge fishing was born, thrived and disappeared through removal to other grounds. For a long period Key West and the Keys enjoyed the distinction of being the most populated area in all Florida.

In 1902 Flagler's engineers surveyed three routes. The first would have traversed 30 miles of Florida Bay from Cape Sable to Big Pine Key. The second was a compromise, from Homestead across Lower Biscayne Bay at the Narrows to Key Largo and a deepwater harbor at Turtle Harbor. Both were abandoned in favor of the present road down over the Keys for a distance of 125 miles to Key West.

Flagler's engineers commenced their survey south of Florida City in the spring of 1904. Actual construction started at Homestead a year later. By the end of 1907 it had reached Knight's Key at Marathon. The first train went over the line in January of 1912, although it was not until four years later that all the bridge construction was completed.

In the 106 miles from Jewfish Creek to the Terminal in Key West, which in itself was quite an engineering accomplishment, the F. E. C. Extension crossed 29 islands. Thirty-seven miles of water were spanned—twenty miles of this being filled and seventeen miles bridged. Four of the bridges had draws; one of the viaducts, Knight's Key, extended more than seven miles. Long Key Viaduct was 2.15 miles in length. The high, through truss bridge at Bahia Honda had a horizontal opening of 232 feet for small vessels headed for Florida West Coast ports.

During the construction of Long Key Viaduct in 1906 a severe hurricane wrecked much of the floating equipment and destroyed some of the uncompleted work. A quarter boat was torn from its moorings and blown to sea. More than one hundred lives were lost.

Hurricanes in 1909 and 1910 caused some damage on the Knight's Key Viaduct, but it was in no way comparable to that at Long Key.

Construction of the extension was so different from any before experienced by the engineers that it called for many departures from normal practices. There were no outside contractors. It was a railroad job, with labor imported from many countries. All materials and supplies had to be hauled great distances—fabricated steel from Pennsylvania, cement from Germany and Belgium for concrete below the water line, while that above the water line came from New York State. Sand and gravel came from the Chesapeake, crushed rock from the Hudson Valley, timbers and piling from northern Florida and Georgia, food for the workmen from Chicago and other Midwestern packing centers. These supplies were hauled by sailing vessels, coastwise

steamers, and barge. Cargoes of all but the smallest craft had to be lightered ashore. The big problem was water. Wells were driven first, but with no success. Water was then brought down from Miami by barge, later by wooden tanks on flatcars from Homestead. Requirements in a single month ran as high as four and a half million gallons.

Flagler rode the first train into Key West in 1912. He died at 84 a year later.

The F. E. C. Extension operated for 23 years, until the destructive hurricane of 1935 washed out many miles of fill. These were depression years in Florida. Hauling by motor truck was cheaper and faster. The railroad was controlled by a receivership. Since rebuilding the wash-outs was estimated to cost nearly two million dollars, it was decided to abandon the Extension and to sell the right of way to the State of Florida, which agreed to construct a modern highway over the old road-bed.

(Editor's Note: The hurricane of 1935, to which Author Ackerman has referred, claimed the lives of hundreds of World War veterans who had been sent to the keys to work on the Overseas Highway. At Islamorada, the settlement on Upper Metecumbe Key, stands the HURRICANE MEMORIAL, which is dedicated to the memory of those veterans. The hurricane struck on Labor Day. A relief train which had been sent to remove the men had been overwhelmed at Islamorada by a tidal wave caused by the hurricane, and miles of railroad embankment, as well as the train's string of empty coaches, were washed away. Settlements were destroyed, and the bodies of only 500 of the estimated 800 victims were recovered).

Fifteen years earlier Monroe County officials conceived the idea of a highway paralleling the railroad to link Key West with the mainland. It was started in 1923 with a bond issue of $300,000. Dade County cooperated by building to the county line fourteen miles below Florida City. The road crossed the mile width of Card Sound with a long fill and a wooden bridge. There were half a dozen "hump-backed" bridges spanning the creeks on Key Largo that will be remembered forever. From there the road turned south over the long length of Key Largo, then west over Plantation Key, Windley Island and Upper Matecumbe. The southern end was a thirty-two-mile stretch from Key West to No Name Key. It was narrow and winding and followed the highest ground to keep down the cost of construction. The many water crossings were made over light wooden bridges.

Linking the two ends was a forty-mile water hop, from No Name to Matecumbe. Another bond issue was required for car ferries. Rough and crude by present-day standards, nevertheless Key West was connected by both rail and road to the mainland.

To cover this hundred and thirty-five-mile trip it was necessary to leave Homestead before 7 A.M. to get to the ferry by 10:30 and arrive in Key West by midafternoon. It was a dusty, rugged, insect-infested day. Even the four-hour ferry ride, which might have been pleasant had it not been for the Coney Island atmosphere, was something those early travelers were glad to put behind them.

Overseas Highway

Construction of the Overseas Highway was in a way as great an engineering problem as the original construction of the railroad, for the narrow width of a single track was but half that required by a two-lane motor road. B. M. Duncan, engineer in charge, solved the enigma as far as the bridges were concerned by extending a girder down each side of the concrete arches. These were supported by the old rails laid across the bridge. Not so simple was the widening of the Bahia Honda Bridge, where the railbed had run through the trusses. This was finally accomplished by splitting the cross girders and running the bed over the top of the spans. The only evidence present-day motorists have that this was once a railroad are the railings of some of the bridges, which were also constructed with the old rails.

Water

Until the late 1930's the lack of fresh water in the Keys posed a nearly insurmountable problem. Since its inception, Key West has been a city of cisterns. No one has

ever been able to drive a successful well. The depths to which oil-drillers have reached without finding water indicates there never will be fresh water. The so-called wells in some areas of the lower Keys only tap fields of surface water. Water was the most precious commodity in the islands. Rain water was funnelled into every conceivable sort of tank and receptacle. The most provident of the early settlers, those who had the largest cisterns, were besieged by the improvident during the periods of drought. Almost anyone could beg for water without stigma, and get it, too, but in miserly quantities. Salt water was used for every possible purpose. Wash days were usually also bath days. Other than for drinking, every use was multiple.

Construction by the Navy of an eighteen-inch pipeline from the deep wells at Homestead to Key West to supply the increasing demands of the expanding Naval Station brought the dawn of a new era. Water was available to everyone along the Keys through a county Aqueduct Commission, which had borne a portion of the cost of the pipeline. Scarcely had the line been completed when the bugaboo of electrolysis made necessary the re-laying of many miles of the line. The advent of World War II brought the Army into the Keys to guard the road and the pipeline. Travel dropped to a minimum, and the number of guests at the first of the fishing camps dwindled to a point where operation was unprofitable. It was a tough period for a country about to burst into the bud of new business.

Key folk rode it out the hard way, surmounted every obstacle, and by the late 1940's new construction was showing in all directions. Camps were reopening and luring fishermen back to the old haunts. The Keys were fulfilling their destiny. They were on the way to becoming one of the most interesting and intriguing recreational areas anywhere in the world.

Everglades National Park

Everglades National Park, established in 1947, includes within its confines approximately a million and a half acres, nearly all the southern tip of Florida. Roughly shaped like a shield, the top closely follows the Tamiami Trail, and the southernmost point is just west of Long Key. The west line runs southward from a point near Everglades City and includes much of the lower Ten Thousand Island area. The east line is irregular, generally follows Route 27 in a north-south direction and touches on the Overseas Highway midway between Florida City and Jewfish Creek, then closely follows it to Long Key.

Points of extraordinary interest are Anhinga Trail, where it is possible to see wildlife at its best and at close range; Gumbo Limbo Trail at Royal Palm Station; Coot Bay Station, from which fishermen get into the Whitewater Bay; Shark River section; and Flamingo on the shore of the Bay of Florida and the end of the road. Everglades National Park is a wildlife sanctuary.

From Florida City southward the Overseas Highway stretches for nineteen miles through a salt-grass terrain to Jewfish Creek. Here is the moat and drawbridge actually separating the Keys from the mainland. There is no other way to the Keys by land. This bridge spans the Intercoastal Waterway. It closely follows the easternmost Keys to Key West, and during the winter season it is heavily traveled by craft from every section of the Atlantic seaboard.

Key Largo

Variously translated as "large" or "long," Key Largo is both. It is the largest and the longest of all the Keys—approximately thirty miles from its northern tip to Tavernier Creek at its southernmost extremity. At the "big bend," where the main highway turns toward the west, is the first sight of old reef formation. Under its surface, weather-beaten until nearly black in color, there is the finest coquina (Key Largo limestone) building stone quarried anywhere. Some of it trims the most beautiful buildings in Florida.

The uninitiated wonder that reef formation could be so high above the surface of the surrounding waters. The answer is simple even though it goes into geological aspects.

The Florida Keys are not a single growth, or formation, of reef, but a succession. The first growth, which precedes the glacial period, goes back some fifty million years, when the southeastern portion of the United States was a shallow sea. These first reefs were raised above the surface by a recession of the seas, eroded and flattened, and again submerged through the Tertiary Period. This flattening formed a platform, or shelf, and during the past million years there grew another reef formation, the present Pleistocene reefs. They eroded too, have been submerged and raised again from earth movements. The present islands are that first Pleistocene growth. New growth, which has ever since continued on the seaward side, is limited only by the depths of the Gulf Stream.

The beginning of Key reefs is at Fowey Rocks, ten miles south of Cape Florida. Northward of this point there are only small patches to be found, and these are unfailingly far offshore in deep water. Southward of Fowey Rocks, the reefs extend in an arc to a point of Loggerhead Key, barely touching the southeast tip of Big Pine.

Geologically, the Keys may be divided. The upper Keys are coral, and the lower Keys—nearly the same formation as the mainland of Florida—drifted and eroded limestone called oolite.

The circular formation of the Marquesas and the Dry Tortugas at the westernmost end of the islands has suggested that these formations might have been atolls. It is, however, merely a circumstance in their formation. The true atoll has a barrier reef and surrounding waters of great depth.

Before following the Keys to the southward, it might be well to note that above Key Largo there are forty-one Keys, not counting the half-dozen which lie under the mainland shore and are of no consequence.

Angelfish Creek, which separates Key Largo from Old Rhodes Key, is a rendezvous for small pleasure craft from the Miami area. So, too, is Caesar's Creek, five miles above. Caesar's Creek was named for the pirate, a lieutenant of Blackbeard. He used this pass as a place of refuge and a vantage point to attack offshore shipping. Rings in the coral rock are evidence that he careened his vessel, either to prevent the tall masts from showing above the trees and alarming his prey, or to clean the bottom when it became foul with grass and barnacles. Caesar was hanged in Virginia in 1718.

Elliott Key is one of the most beautiful of the upper Keys. It is eight miles in length, but nowhere exceeds a half mile in width. Three feet may be carried reasonably close to anywhere along the west shore, where the bottom is white sand, or shale. On the outer, or ocean side, the bottom is rock, the waters are clear as crystal, and there is a narrow but beautiful white sand beach. There is reasonably good soil on Elliott and various crops have been tried with success. Most lucrative, perhaps, is the Spanish, or key lime.

A vagary of offshore, ocean currents brings to the shore of Elliott Key flotsam and jetsam from around the world. It is the most unusual of all the islands in this respect. Beautiful logs of jucaro and crotch mahogany are not unusual prizes for beachcombers. Many of the houses are built of driftwood and part of old vessels.

The reefs offshore are the most rugged of all the Keys. Treasure hunters and skin divers are always to be found searching them. More British cannon have been taken from old wrecks there than in any other comparable stretch of shore along the Florida coast.

North of Elliott are Sands Key, Ragged Keys, and Soldier Key. The latter is the northernmost of the chain and is four miles west of Fowey Rock Lighthouse—notable only for that and the excellent fishing in surrounding waters.

Future of The Keys

The Florida Keys, already one of the notable playgrounds in America, can easily

be visualized as becoming the greatest vacation area in the world within a few short years.

The fantastic dreams of developers today become fact tomorrow. The double-laning of the highway will come first. The plan for a causeway from Cape Florida to Elliott Key is easily feasible and would shorten the distance to Key West by many miles, making a highway scenic beyond description. A causeway from Everglades City to Big Pine Key would be the realization of Flagler's dream. It would bring the Florida west coast as near as the east coast. The first link of a fabulous tour is already fact—the ferry to Cuba. Another ferry from Cape San Antonio on the west point of the island to Yucatan to connect with the Mexican highway would bring Spanish Central America to the front door of the Keys.

SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY ON FLORIDA HISTORY

Beside source materials recorded in the context and "CHAPTER NOTES" of this work the author-editor has included this brief selective bibliography for his readers and future writers and historians. Some titles referred to in the text and "chapter notes" of this work are duplicated in this bibliography; but the "chapter notes" and text are rich in references not listed here. The libraries of the Florida State Universities, Stetson University, the Florida Historical Society and the main public Libraries of Miami, Jacksonville and Tampa have a wealth of materials on Florida. The many local Historical Societies are rich in history not available elsewhere. See Ruby Leach Carson's chapter on these local Historical Societies in Volume Two of this work.

DESCRIPTIVE

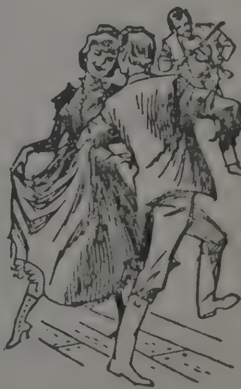
Fla. Railway & Navigation Co., *The Key Line*, South Publishing Co., 1885.
Adams, Benjamin Franklin, *An Adventure on the Oklawaha River*, Adams, 1926.
Allyn, Rube, *Water Wagon*, Straus and Young, 1952.
Andrews, Allen H., *A Yank Pioneer in Florida*, Douglas Printing Co., 1950.
Appleton's, *American Standard Geographies*, American Book Co., 1896.
Audubon, John James, *Delineations of American Scenery & Character*, Baker, 1926.
Barbour, George M., *Florida for Tourist*, Appleton, 1881.
Barbour, Ralph Henry, *Let's Go To Florida*, Dodd, Mead, 1926.
Barbour, Thomas, *That Vanishing Eden*, Brown and Company, 1944.
Bartram, John, *A Description of East Florida*, W. Nicoll & T. Jefferies, 1769.
Bartram, John, *Diary of a Journey Through The American Carolinas, Georgia and Florida*, American Philosophical Society, 1942.
Bartram, John, *John and William Bartram's America*, Devin-Adair, 1957.
Bartram, William, *Travels* (various editions)
Bartram, William, *Travels in Georgia and Florida*, American Philosophical Society, 1943.
Bartram, William, *Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, Etc.*, J. Johnson, 1792.
Bates, William H., *You Can Live Longer in Florida*, N. Y. Exposition Press, 1950.
Beach, Rex Ellingwood, *The Miracle of Coral Gables*, Coral Gables, Fla., 1926.
Beecher, Eunice White, *Letters From Florida*, D. Appleton & Co., 1879.
Blatchley, Willis Stanley, *In Days Gone*, Nature Publishing, 1932.
Bloomfield, Howard, *Sailing to the Sun*, Dodd, Mead, 1942, 46
Bloomfield, Max, *Bloomfield's Illustrated Historical Guide*, St. Augustine, Fla., 1882.
Bonnycastle, Sir Richard H., *Spanish America*, Orme and Brown, 1818.
Brinton, Daniel Garrison, *A Guide-Book of Florida and the South*, G. MacLean, 1869.
Brinton, Daniel Garrison, *Notes on Florida Peninsula*, J. Sabin, 1859.
Bulske, Max Edmund, *Florida Isn't Heaven*, Vantage Press, 1957.
Burman, Ben Lucien, *It's a Big Country*, Reynal, 1956.
Chapline, Mrs. Neal, *Florida, The Fascinating*, Broadway Publishing, 1914.
Clarke, Mary Helm, *South Florida Treasure Trails*, Kay Publishing, 1949.
Cooper, Morley, *Cruising to Florida via the Intracoastal Waterway*, Whittlesey, 1946.
Corse, Carita, *Florida: Empire of the Sun*, Florida State Hotel Commission, 1930.
Cram, Mildred, *Old Seaport Towns of the South*, Dodd, Mead, 1917.
Dimock, Anthony Weston, *Florida Enchantments*, Stokes, 1915.
Douglas, Marjory, *The Everglades*, Rinehart, 1947.
Dunbaugh, Frank M. Jr., *Going to Florida*, Brentana's, 1925.
Dusenbury, George, *How to Retire to Florida*, Harper, 1958.
Escalante, Fontaneda Hernando d', *Memoirs*, Historical Association, South Florida, 1944.
Field, Henry M., *Bright Skies and Dark Shadows*, Scribner, 1890.
Field, Henry M., *Florida East Coast Illustrated*, St. Augustine, 1907.
Field, Henry M., *Florida Speaks*, Travel Ed. St. Petersburg, 1949.
Gore, E., *From Florida Sand to "The City Beautiful,"* The Author, 1951.
Hallock, Charles, *Camp Life in Florida*, Forest and Stream.
Hallock, Lucius H., *Little Journey*, N. P., N., 1925.
Hawks, John M., *East Coast of Florida*, Lewis and Winslip, 1887.
Heilprin, Angelo, *Exploration on West Coast of Florida*, Wagner Institute of Science, 1887.
Henshall, James A., *Camping and Cruising in Florida*, Robert Clarke, 1884.
Hill, Norman A., *Florida Cruise*, George W. King Co., 1945.

Hine, C., *On The Indian River*, Sergel, 1891.
Hines, Needham C., *The Truth about Florida*, Florida Research Press, 1956.
Hunt, A., *Florida Today*, Scribner, 1950.
Irving, Theordore, *The Conquest of Florida*, Putnam, 1851.
Jennings, John Edward, *Our American Tropics*, Crowell, 1938
Johnson, Clifton, *Highways and Byways of Florida*, Macmillan, 1918.
Johnson, Clifton, *Highways and Byways of the South*, Macmillan, 1904.
Kane, Harnett Thomas, *The Golden Coast*, Doubleday, 1910.
Kennedy, Stetson, *Palmetto Country*, Duell, 1942.
LaGorce, John O., *Florida, The Fountain of Youth*, National Geographic, Jan. 1930.
Lummus, John N., *The Miracle of Miami Beach*, Miami Post, 1944.
More, Lorenz, *Florida Hotel and Travel Guide*, Florida Guide, 1942.
Nichols, George W., *Six Weeks in Florida*, Harper's Magazine, Oct. 1870.
Ormerod, Leonard, *The Curving Shore*, Harper, 1957.
Packard, Winthrop, *Florida Trails, Jacksonville-Key West*, Bost, Small, Maynard, 1910.
Pearse, Eleanor H., *Florida's Vanishing Era*, Winnetka, Illinois, 1947.
Rainwater, Cleo, *Our Journey Through Florida*, American Book Company, 1957.
Robbins, Sarah, *Happy Winter in Florida*, Worthington, 1887.
Robert, Cecil, *Gone Sunward*, Macmillan, 1936.
Roberts, Kenneth Lewis, *Florida*, Harper, 1926.
Roberts, Kenneth Lewis, *Florida Loafing*, Bobbs-Merrill, 1925.
Roberts, Kenneth Lewis, *Sun Hunting, Bobbs-Merrill*, 1922.
Roberts, William, *1st Description and Natural History of Florida*, Jefferys, 1763.
Roosevelt, Robert B., *Florida and Game Water Birds*, Orange Judd, 1884.
Simpson, Charles J., *In Lower Florida Wilds*, Putnam, 1920.
Simpson, Charles J., *Out-of-Doors in Florida*, Douglas, 1924.
Smith, Charles H., *Jacksonville and Florida Facts*, Drew Company, 1906.
Smith, Mrs. Mike, *South Florida Frontiers*, Florida Power & Light, 1957.
Smyth, John F., *Voyage in the United States*, London, 1784.
Stokbridge, Frank P., *Florida in the Making*, de Bower, 1926.
Stokbridge, Frank P., *So This is Florida*, Perry, 1938.
Stork, William, *An Account of East Florida*, W. Nicoll, 1766.
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, *Palmetto Leaves*, Osgood, 1873.
Torrey, Bradford, *A Florida Sketch Book*, Miflin, 1894.
Townshend, Frederick T., *Wild Life in Florida*, London-Hurst, 1875.
Verrill, Alpheus Hyatt, *Romantic and Historic Florida*, Dodd, Mead, 1935.
Warner, Helen Garnie, *Home Life in Florida*, Morton, 1888.
Waters, Don, *Gypsy Water Cruises South*, Sheridan, 1938.
Waters, Don, *Outboard Cruising*, Furman, 1939.
Weigall, Theyre H., *Boom in Florida*, London, J. Lane, 1931.
Weigall, Theyre H., *Boom in Paradise*, King, 1932.
Whitehead, Charles E., *The Camp-Fires of the Everglades*, Douglas, 1891.
Whitehead, Charles E., *Wild Sports in the South*, Derby-Jackson, 1860.
Wiggins, Henry W., *Guide to Florida*, American News Company, 1876.
Williams, John Lee, *The Territory of Florida*, Goodrich, 1837.
Winter, Nevin Otto, *Florida, Land of Enchantment*, Page, 1918.
Yates, Magdalena E., *A Trip Through Florida Keys*, Hobson, 1947.
Brooks, Ann, *South on Rolling Wheels*, Exposition Press, 1956.
Florida Railway and Navigation Company, South Publishing Company, 1885.
Batesen, Hans Von, *Why Not Know Florida?* Drew, 1936.
Federal Writers Project, Oxford, 1939.
The Florida Handbook, Peninsular Publishing Co., 1946.
Friedman, Kenneth A., *Cartoon Guide to Florida*, Augustin, 1938.
Hepburn, Andrew, *Florida*, Houghton Miflin, 1956.
Hunt A., *Official Florida Guide*, Florida Guide, 1952.
Lee, Henry, *The Tourist Guide of Florida*, Smith (N.D.)
Morton, Charles L., *A Handbook of Florida*, Longmanns, 1891.
Irving, Theodore, *The Conquest of Florida*, Putnam, 1851.
Irving, Theodore, *The Conquest of Florida*, Blanchard, 1835.
Ribault, Jean, *The True Discoverer of Terra*, Florida State Historical Society, 1927.
Brookfield, Charles, *Florida Keys*, Data Press, 1949.
Clarke, Mary Helme, *Major and Minor Keys*, Rivierra Company.
Gifford, John Clayton, *The Rehabilitation of Florida Keys*, University of Miami, 1934.
Hanna, Kathryn T., *Florida, Land of Change*, University of North Carolina, 1948.
Eddy, Zeta Morse, *Florida Lantern*, The Lantern, 1939.
Darwin, Charles Robert, *Florida Peninsula*, Appleton, 1914.
Read, William A., *Florida, Indian Origin and Seminoles*, LSV, 1938.
Ten Eick, Mary N., *Florida Plant Check List*, Tampa, Florida, 1950.
Daly, George H., *Florida Ranching*, Britt, 1940.
Spoehr, Alexander, *Florida Seminole Camp*, Chicago, 1944.
Chaplin, Mrs. Neal, *Florida, The Fascinating*, Broadway Co., 1914.
Dodd, Dorothy, *Florida, The Land of Romance*, Tallahassee, Dept. of Agriculture, 1956.
Patrick, Rembert W., *Florida Under Five Flags*, University of Florida, 1955.

Brown, George M., *Florida War Records*, St. Augustine, 1902.
Dunn, Elias Bound, *Florida Weather and Climate*, Coral Gables, Florida, 1934.
Simpson, Charles T., *Florida Wild Life*, Macmillan, 1932.
Philips, Albert Edwin, *The Florida Wilds*, Neale, 1906.
Hanna, Alfred J., *Florida Golden Sand*, Dodds-Merrill, 1950.
Tebeau, Charlton W., *Florida Last Frontier*, University of Miami, 1957.
Neill, Wilfred, *Florida's Seminole Indians*, Allan Rept. Institute, 1952.
Small, John Kunkell, *Florida Tragedy*, Science Press.

HISTORICAL

Hall, Rubylea, *The Great Tide*, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1947.
Simms, William Gilmore, *Vasconselos*, Belford, Clarke & Company, 1885.
Wilder, Robert, *Bright Feather*, Putnam, 1948.
Wentworth, Theodore Thomas, *Historical Reproductions from Collection of T.T.W., Jr.*, Pensacola, Florida, 1937.
Giddings, Joshua Reed, *Florida War*, Maine Anti-Slavery Society, 1842.
Florida Historical Society, *Charter and By-Laws*, Florida Historical Society.
Call, Wilkinson, *Speeches of Honor*, Washington Senate, 1885-97.
Canter, Clarence Edwin, *The Territory of Florida*, U. S. Government, 1956.
Whitaker, Arthur Preston, *Commercial Policies of Spain in the Floridas*, Florida Historical Society, 1931.
Irving, Theodore, *The Conquest of Florida*, Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1935.
Abbott, John Stevens Cabot, *Ferdinand de Soto*, Dodd, 1873.
Bolton, Herbert Eugene, *The Spanish Borderlands*, Yale University Press, 1921.
Bourne, Edward Gaylor, *Narratives on H. de Soto*, Allerton, 1904.
Garcilaso de la Vega, *El Inca—The Florida of the Inca*, University of Texas, 1951.
Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia General*, N. Rodriguez Franco, 1726.
Irving, Theodore, *Conquest of Florida by H. de Soto*, Putnam, 1851.
Irving, Theodore, *Conquest of Florida by H. de Soto*, Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1835.
Jackson, William Richard, *Early Florida Through Spanish Eyes*, University of Miami, 1954.
Kenny, Michael, *The Romance of the Floridas*, Bruce, 1934.
King, Grace Elizabeth, *De Soto and His Men in Florida*, Macmillan, 1898.
Lawson, Edward W., *The Discovery of Florida and its Discoverer, Ponce de León*, St. Augustine, 1946.
Priestley, Herbert Ingram, *The Luna Papers*, Florida Historical Society, 1928.
Priestley, Herbert Ingram, *Tristán de Luna*, A. H. Clarke Company, 1936.
Quattlebaum, Paul, *The Land Called Chicora*, University of Florida Press, 1956.
Shipp, Barnard, *The History of Hernando de Soto and Florida*, Collins, Printer, 1881.
Lytle, Andrew Nelson, *At Moon's Inn*, Bobbs-Merrill, 1941.
Fairbanks, George Rainsford, *History and Antiquities of St. Augustine*, Norton, 1858.
Gaffarel, Paul Louis Jacques, *Histoire de la Floride Francaise*, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1875.
Le Moyne de Morques, Jacques, *Narrative of Le Moyne*, J. R. Osgood and Company, 1875
Lorant, Stefan, *The New World*, Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946.
Lowery, Woodbury, *The Spanish Settlement Within the Present Limits of the U. S.*, Putnam, 1901-05.
Mann, Florian Alexander, *Story of the Huguenots*, Kistler, 1898.
Parkman, Francis, *The Fleur-de-Lis in Florida*, Atlantic Monthly, 1863.
Parkman, Francis, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, Little, Brown, 1885.
Ribault, Jean, *The Whole and True Discovery of Terra Florida*, Florida Historical Society, 1927.
Shipp, Barnard, *The History of Hernando de Soto and Florida*, Colins Printing, 1881.
Gaffarel, Paul Louis Jacques, *Histoire de la Floride*, Firmin-Didot, 1875.
Gold, Pleasant Daniel, *In Florida Dawn*, Drew, 1926.
Simms, William Gilmore, *The Lily and the Totem*, Baker & Scribner, 1850.
Boyd, Mark Frederick, *Here They Once Stood*, University of Florida, 1951.
Chatelain, Verne Elmo, *The Defence of Spanish Florida*, Washington, D. C., 1941.
Geiger, Maynard, *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida*, Catholic University of America, 1937.
Keegan, Gregory Joseph, *Experiencia Misionera*, Mogrovejo, 1957.
Kenny, Michael, *The Romance of the Florida*, Bruece, 1934.
Lowery, Woodbury, *The Spanish Settlement*, Putnam, 1901-05.
Solis de Merás, Gonzalo, *Pedro Menéndez de Aviles*, Florida Historical Society, 1923.
Tebault, Alfred George, *Chronicles of Florida*, J. W. Barcroft,1886.
Van Campen, *St. Augustine*, J. T. Van Campen, 1959.
Brooks, *The Unwritten History of St. Augustine*, Record Co., 1907.
Connor, Jeannette M., *Colonial Record of Spanish Florida*, Florida Historical Society, 1925.
Mowat, Charles Luck, *East Florida as a British Province*, Univ. of California, 1943.
Raynal, Abbe, *A Philosophical and Political History*, J. Boyle, 1779.
Siebert, Wilbur Henry, *Loyalists in East Florida*, Florida Historical Society, 1929.
Lockey, Joseph Byrne, *East Florida*, University of California Press, 1949.
McQueen, John, *The Letters of Don Jean*, Thornley, 1943.
Murdock, Richard K., *The Georgia-Florida Frontier*, University of California, 1951.



Patrick, Rembert Wallace, *Florida Fiasco*, University of Georgia, 1954.
Cohen, Myer M., *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns*, Hussey, 1836.
Gidding, Joshua Reed, *Exiles of Florida*, Follcll, Foster, 1858.
Hanna, Alfred Jackson, *Fort Maitland*, Fort Maitland Commission, 1936.
Motte, Jacob Rhett, *Journey into Wilderness*, University of Florida, 1953.
Potter, Woodburn, *The War in Florida*, Lewis & Coleman, 1836.
Slaughter, Frank Gill, *The Warrior*, Doubleday, 1956.
Sprague, John Titcomb, *The Origin*, Appleton, 1847.
Pope, Edith, *River of the Wind*, Scribner, 1954.
Slaughter, Frank Gill, *The Seminole* (French) Press de la Cité, 1956.
Whitney, Thomas Richard, *The Ambuscade*, J. S. Redfield, 1854.
Irving, Theodore, *The Conquest of Florida*, E. Churton, 1835.
Campbell, Richard L., *Historical Sketches of Colonial Florida*, Williams Publishing Co., 1892.
Bickel, Karl A., *The Mangrove Coast*, Cowall, McCann, 1942.
Blackman, Lucy, *Women of Florida*, So. Historical Publishing Assn., 1940.
Bonnycastle, Sir Richard H., *Spanish America*, Longman, Hurst, Brown, 1818.
Brevard, Caroline Mays, *A History of Florida*, American Book Co., 1919.
Brevard, Caroline Mays, *A History of Florida*, American Book Co., 1904.
Brevard, Caroline Mays, *A History of Florida, From 1763 to Present*, Historical Society, 1924.
Brinton, Daniel G., *Notes on the Florida Peninsula*, J. Sabin, 1859.
Brown, George M., *Ponce de Leon Land*, St. Augustine, 1902.
Cabell, James Branch and A. J. Hanna, *The St. Johns*, Farrar and Rinehart Co., 1943.
Carson, Ruby Leach, *Fabulous Florida*, Van Nort, 1942.
Cash, William Thomas, *The Story of Florida*, American Historical Society, 1938.
Chambers, Henry E., *West Florida*, John Hopkins, 1898.
Chapin, George M., *Florida—1513-1913*, Clarke, 1914.
The Columbian Magazine, V. 2, Feb. 1788-Oct. 1788, Dec. 1788.
Copeland, Leeila S., *La Florida*, S. Teck Co., 1957.
Covington, James Warren, *The Story of South West Florida*, Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1957.
Cutler, Harry G., *History of Florida*, The Lewis Publishing Co., 1923.
Dau, Frederick W., *Florida Old and New*, Putnam, 1934.
Dickison, Mary E., *Dickison and His Men*, Courier Journal, 1890.
Dodd, Dorothy, *Florida, Land of Romance*, Department of Agriculture, 1956.
Douglas, Marjory, *The Everglades*, Rinehart, 1947.
Dovell, Junius E., *Florida: Historical, Dramatic, Contemporary*, Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1952.
Fairbanks, George Rainsford, *Florida, History and Romance*, Drew, 1898.
Fairlie, Margaret, *History of Florida*, Kingsport Press, 1935.
Florida East Coast Railway Co., *History of Florida*, St. Augustine, 1936.
Florida, The East Coast, Miami Herald, 1923.
Gold, Pleasant Daniel, *History of Duval County*, Record, 1928.
Gold, Pleasant Daniel, *History of Volusia County*, Painter, 1927.
Green, Edwin L., *School History of Florida*, Wilkins, 1898.
Hanna, Alfred J., *Lake Okeechobee*, Bobbs-Merrill, 1948.
Hanna, Kathryn T., *Florida, Land of Change*, N. Carolina Press, 1948.
Hanna, Alfred J., *Florida, Golden Sands*, Bobbs-Merrill, 1950.
Hawks, John Milton, *East Coast of Florida*, Winship, 1887.
History of Lake County, *St. Augustine*, Record Co., 1929.
Corse, Carita, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull*, Drew Press, 1919.
Corse, Carita, *The Key to the Golden Islands*, University of North Carolina.
Dewhurst, William Whitwell, *History of St. Augustine*, Putnam, 1881.
Ley, John Cole, *52 Years in Florida*, M. E. Church South, 1899.
Phillips, Philip Lee, *Notes, Life and Works of Bernard Romans*, Florida Historical Society, 1924.
Reynolds, Charles B., *Old St. Augustine*, E. H. Reynolds, 1884.
Robert, William, *Discovery and History of Florida*, London, 1763.
Roselli, Bruno, *The Italians in Florida*, Drew Press, 1940.
Turner, Frederick J., *Significance of American History*, M. F. Holt, 1932.
Simms, William Gilmore, *Eutaw*, Donohue, Henneberry, 1890.
Martin, Sidney Walter, *Florida During the Territorial Days*, Univ. of Georgia, 1944.
Carter, Clarence Edwin, *The Territory of Florida*, U. S. Printing Office.
Knauss, James Owen, *Territorial Florida Journalism*, Florida Historical Society, 1926.
Florida State Library, *Florida Becomes a State*, Centennial Commission, 1945.
May, Ellis Connel, *Gaters, Skeeters and Malary*, Vantage, 1953.
Davis, William Watson, *The Civil War and Florida*, Columbia University, 1913.
Dickison, John J., *Military History of Florida*, Confederate Publishing Co., 1899.
Eppes, Susan B., *Through Some Eventful Years*, Burke, 1926.
Hanna, Jackson, *Flight into Oblivion*, Johnson Publishing, 1938.
Hollingsworth, Tracy, *History of Dade County*, U.P., 1936.
Irving, Theodore, *The Conquest of Florida*, Blanchard, 1935.

King, Grace Elizabeth, *De Soto and His Men*, Macmillan, 1906.
Robert, Kenneth Lewis, *Florida*, Harper, 1926.
Parkman, F., *Pioneers of France in the New World*, Brown, 1865-97.
Patrick, R. Wallace, *The Story of Florida*, Steck, 1957.
Ponce de Leon, Pedro, *History of Florida*, Propagandista, 1925.
Ranson, Robert, *East Coast Florida Memoirs*, Appleyard, 1926.
Reese, Joseph Hugh, *Florida Flashlights*, Hefty, 1917.
Sewell, John, *History and Memoirs of Miami, Florida*, Franklin, 1938.
Stanley, J. Randall, *History of Jackson County*, Marianna, 1950.
Verrill, Alpheus Hyatt, *Romantic and Historic Florida*, Dodd, Mead, 1935.
Williams, John Lee, *The Territory of Florida*, Goodrich, 1837.
Winter, Nevin Otto, *Florida, Land of Enchantment*, Page, 1918.
Wright, Albert Hazen, *Our Georgia-Florida Frontier*, Ithaca, N. Y., 1945.
Ranson, Robert, *Chronology of Florida History*, St. Augustine, 1928.
Geiger, Maynard, *Dictionary of Franciscans*, Guild Press, 1940.
Barbour, Thomas, *That Vanishing Eden*, Brown, 1944.
McKay, D. B., *Pioneer Florida*, The Southern Publishing Co., Delray Beach, Florida, 1959.
McKay, D. B., *The South In the Building of The Nation*, The Southern Historical Publishing Company, 1909.
McKay, D. B., *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1959 Edition.
Patrick, Rembert W. and Eleanor B. and Hester G. Fisackerly, *The Story of Florida*, The Steck Company, Austin, Texas, 1957.
Cunningham, Frank, *Confederate Indians*, The Naylor Company, San Antonio, Texas, 1959.
Morris, Allen, *The Florida Handbook*, The Peninsular Publishing Co., Tallahassee, Florida, 1959.
Fisher, Jane, *The Fabulous Hoosier*, Harry Coleman and Company, Chicago, 1953.
Gore, E. H., *History of Orlando*, Academy Press, Final Edition 1957.
Dovell, J. E., *History of Florida Banking*, Florida Bankers Association.
Kane, Harnett T., *The Golden Coast*, Doubleday and Company, 1959.
Martin, Sidney Walter, *Florida's Flagler*, The University of Georgia Press, 1949.
Hebel, Ianthe Bond, *Centennial History of Volusia County, Florida*, College Publishing Company, Daytona Beach, Florida.
Hebel, Ianthe Bond, *Florida and Its Money*, Florida Research Bureau, 1938.
Hunt, A. Lowell, *Florida Today*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950.
Rainwater, Cleo, and Hanna Kathryn Abbey, *Our Journey Through Florida*, American Book Company, 1957.
Copeland and Dovell, *La Florida*, The Steck Company, 1957.
Quattlebaum, Paul, *The Land Called Chicora*, The University of Florida Press, 1956.
Kennedy, Stetson, *Southern Exposure*, Double Day and Company, 1946.
Pierce, Truman M., Kincheloe, James B., Moore, R. Edgar, Drewry, Galen N., Carmichael, Bennie, *White and Negro Schools In The South*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955.
Patrick, Rembert W., *Florida Under Five Flags*, University of Florida Press, Published 1955.
Ewing, Cortez A. M., *Primary Elections In The South*, The University of Oklahoma Press, 1953.
Beard, Charles A. and Mary R., *Basic History of The United States*, The New Home Library, 1944.
Mott, George Fox and Harold M. Dee, *The Middle Ages*, Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1956.
Krout, John A., *United States to 1865*, Barnes and Noble, Published 1957.
Krout, John A., *United States Since 1865*, Barnes and Noble, Published 1957.
Green, John Richard, *History of The English People*, Belford, Clarke and Company, Chicago, 1882.
Clare, Israel Smith and Haworth, Paul Leland, *The Standard History of the World.*
Muir, Helen, *Miami U. S. A., 1953*, Henry Holt and Company.
Ridpath, John Clarke, *History of The United States*, Elliott-Madison Co., Chicago, 1913.
Richardson, James D., *Message and Papers of The Presidents*, Government Printing Office, 1897.
Commanger, Henry Steele, Editor, *The Blue and the Gray*, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1950.
Durkin, Joseph T. (S. J.), *John Dooley—Confederate Soldier*, Georgetown University Press, 1945.
Farney, Charles M., *Facts About Florida*, 1931.
Stern, Philip Van Doren, *Secret Missions of the Civil War*, Rand McNally and Company, 1950.
Moore, Frank, *Women of The War*, National Publishing Co., 1868.
Phisterer, Frederick, *Campaigns of The Civil War*, Charles Scribners's Sons, 1907.
Franklin, John Hope, *The Militant South*, Harvard University Press 1956.
Kirkpatric, Wyle, *Florida's Economy—Past Trends and Prospects*, University of Florida, 1956.
Doyle, Wilson K., *The Government and Administration of Florida*, Thomas Crowell Company.
Gray, R. A. and Florence Tryon, *Florida's Government.*
Smith, F. G. Walton, *Atlantic Reef Corals*, University of Miami Press, 1948.
Chapin, Henry, and Walton, F. G., *The Ocean River*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952.

Berard, Ella Teague, *Steamboats In The Hyacinths*, College Publishing Co., Daytona Beach, Florida.

Blackman, Lucy Worthington, *The Women of Florida*, Southern Historical Pub. Co., 1940.

McReynolds, Edwin C., *The Seminoles*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1957.

Patrick, Rembert W., *Florida Fiasco*, University of Georgia Press, 1954.

Lockey, J. B., *East Coast Florida, 1783-1785*, University of California, 1949.

Lockey, J. B., *Florida Becomes a State*, Florida Centennial Commission, 1945.

Dan, Frederick W., *Florida Old and New*, Putnam's Sons, 1934.

Lowery, Woodbury, *The Spanish Settlements—1513-1561*, Russell, 1959.

Lowery, Woodbury, *The Spanish Settlements, 1562-1574*, Russell, 1959.

Emerson, William C., *The Seminoles*, Exposition Press, 1954.

Lewis, T. H., *Expedition of Hernando DeSoto*, Barns and Noble, 1946.

Sold, P. D., *History of Duval County And Early East Coast Florida*, The Record Company of St. Augustine, 1929.

Webb, Wanton, *Florida—1880-1884.*

Brown, Jefferson, *Key West.*

Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, Florida Historical Society.

Davis, *University of Miami*, Tequesta, 1941-'45.

Siebert, William Henry, *Loyalist in East Florida.* Two Volumes, Stetson University, 1929.

Cole, John W., *Pictorial History of Pensacola*, Published by Fiesta of Five Flags Association.

Lanier, Sidney, *Florida*, Lippincott—Philadelphia.

Lanier, Sidney, *The Territorial Papers of The United States*, U. S. Government Printing Office.

Newman, Anna Pearl Leon, *Early Life On The Indian River*, Published by Stuart Daily News.

Cozens, Eloise, *Florida Women of Distinction.*

Cozens, Eloise, *Historical Number Daily News 1936 (Rich in pictures and pioneer history)*, West Palm Beach Historical Society.

Look Magazine, Knebel, Fletcher, *Expanding Florida*, April 14, 1959.

Ford Times, *Special Florida Issue*, 1955.

Jones, Katherine, *Heroines of Dixie*, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1955.

Jones, Katherine M., *Florida Historical Index*, Volumes I to XXXV, University of Florida.

INDEX

A

Adams, Alto, 298
Adams, Charles S., 185
Adams, Frank, 146
Adams, John Quincy, 58, 168, 178
Adams-Onis Treaty, 80
Adams, S. A., 185
Administration, Spanish, 44
Agriculture (Broward County), 372
Agriculture (First Settlers), 18, 51, 98
Agriculture (Flagler County), 219
Agriculture (Indian River County) 280
Agriculture (St. Lucie County) 298
Ainslie, John, 32
Alachua County, 66
Alderman, D. L., 292
Alexander, Andrew H., 230
Alexander, James E., 229
Alexander IV, Pope, 4
Allan, J. F., 231
Allan, R. C., 86
Allandale, 247
Allen, J. F., 229
Alling, Edward B., 231
Allison, Gov. A. K., 126, 127
Allison, James A., 359
Alsop, Mayor John T., 193
Altamirano, Bishop, 23
Alton Beach Realty Co., 357
Amelia Island, 42-60, 118, 157
Americus Vespucci, 4
Ames, Mr. and Mrs. Oakes, 234
Anastasia Island, 44
Anderson, Billy, 289
Anderson, Hugh M., 359-361
Anderson, Walker, 86
Angas, Robert, 197
Anglo-American Conflict, 58
Anglo-American Empire, 30
Anglo-Indian Alliances, 27
Ankona Bluff, 284
Anthony, E. D., 326-327
Anti-Slavery Whig Party, 111
Apalachicola, 58, 83, 118
Appomattox, 120
Archer, Mr. and Mrs. Ben, 365
Architecture, Spanish, 21
Armed Occupation Act, 64, 98, 222, 283, 302
Armistead, Walter K., 66-78
Army of Tennessee, 114
Arnett, Oliver C., 224
Arrowroot, 346
Art (St. Johns County), 207
Asboth, General, 119
Ashcraft, E. H., 220
Ashe, President Bowman F., 362
Ashley, Col. Richard, 164, 177
Ashley Gang, 310
Ashley, John, 310
Ashley, Lodowick, 56
Atkinson, Judge H. F., 350
Audubon, John James, 217, 374
Augusta, Georgia, 57
Aury's Patriots, 59-60
Austen, Foster C., 250
Automobile Racing (Daytona Beach), 254
Automotive Transport, 354
Aviation, 353
Aviles, Don Pedro Menendez De 17, 203, 204
Ayllon, 3

B

Bacons, Chancy A., 235
Bahama Channel, 5
Bahamas, 5, 104
Bahia Honda, 376
Baker, J. G. L., 126
Baker, J. W., 126
Balboa, 3
Baldwin, 119
Baldwin, Dr. H. S., 180
Baldwin, Dr. W. L., 186
Bal Harbour, 365
Ball, Ed, 371
Ball, Leroy D., 146
Ballough, Charles A., 237
Baltzell, Thomas, 86
Bancroft, Frederic, 97
Banking, Territorial, 102
Bank, Bunnell State, 219
Bank, First National of Miami, 352
Bank, Miami Beach First National, 359
Bank of Bay Biscayne, 350-356
Bank of Florida, 85
Bank of Pensacola, 85
Bank, Southern & Trust Co., 356
Banks, A. I. DuPont Influence, 194
Banks, First Duval County, 182
Banks National Freedmen's Savings, 125
Banks (St. Johns County), 207
Barberville, 225
Barker's Bluff, 302
Barker, Violet Stephens, 365
Barnes, W. D., 146
Barra, J. M., 188
Bartlett, C. E., 86
Bartram, William, 86, 159, 176, 213
Bay Harbour Island, 365
Beach Club, The, 327, 328
Beaches (St. Johns County), 208
Beade, G. Fred, 235
Beck, A. M., 184
Bedford, Grant R., 324
Beecher, Charles (Negro), 140
Belcher, S. A., 358
Bell, Alexander, 286
Bell, Frank, 286-287, 293
Bell, Jim, 287
Bell, John R., 62
Bellamy, Abram, 86
Bellamy, Samuel C., 87
Bella Vista, 37
Belle Glade, 331
Bendle, A. J., 352
Bennett, Capt. Simmons, 246
Bennett, Congressman Charles, 175
Benson, Thomas W., 194
Beresford, 227, 230
Bernard, Jesse T., 107
Bethel, Livingston W., 142
Bethune Beach (Negro Resort), 250
Bethune, Farquar, 46, 53, 57
Bibliography, Selections on Florida History, 381-386
Bielby, Rev. C. F. A., 229
Billings, Liberty, 134
Binney, Edwin, 297
Bisbee, W. A., 188
Biscayne Bay, 5, 64, 354
Biscayne House of Refuge, 357
Bissett, Robert, 223
Black Codes, 127
Blaisdell, Albert, 303
Blake, A. P., 245
Bloxham Administration, 184
Bloxham, Governor William D., 137, 138, 142, 147, 183
Blue Springs, 231
Blume, George C., 193
Board of Canvassers, 139
Board of Road Commissioners, 196
Board of Trade, 182
Boaz, J. B., 218
Boca Raton, 330
Bonaparte, Napoleon, 55
Bond, Eber W., 227, 230
Bond, Frank B., 230, 232
Bond Lumber Co., 230
Boog, John, 56
Booth, John Wilkes, 373
Borden, John G., 234
Border Disputes, 58
Bostrom, John Andrew, 233
Botefahr, John H. L., 240
Bouchelle, Dr. Louis B., 249
Bowden, Mayor J. E. T., 187, 189
Bowden, M. R., 185
Bowles, William Augustus, 48
Box, James, 32
Boynton Beach, 330
Bracey, H. V., 229
Bradfordville, 107
Bradley, Col. E. R., 327-328
Brady, E. L., 350, 354
Brady, John, 179
Bragg, General Braxton, 117
Brahm, William Gerrard De, 32
Branch, John, 62, 90, 92
Brazil, 6
Brevard County, 256-269
Brickell, Alice, 348
Brickell Family, 350
Brickell, William B., 348
Bridges (in Volusia County), 251-252
Bright, James H., 361
Brock, Jacob, 224
Bronson, Levy County, 356
Broome, James E., 146
Broward County, 333, 346
Broward, Napoleon, 188
Brown, Earl W., 229
Brown, Rigdon, 179
Brown, Thomas, 85
Brown, W. J., 358
Brown, William Mark, 350
Browne, Jefferson B., 146
Bryan, Nathan, 190, 192
Bryan, P. N., 249
Bryan, Tom, 338
Bryan, William James, 190
Bryan, William Jennings, 360, 369
Bryant, William Cullen, 99, 106, 213
Buchanan, President, 111
Buck, Lucius A., 199
Budge, Frank, 350, 352
Bulmer, Mary, 348

Bulow, Charles Wilhelm, 95, 216, 233
Bulow, John J., 217
Bulowville, 72
Bunch, John, 223
Bunge, Bill, 268
Bunnell, Alfred A., 218
Bunnell, Florida, 219
Burke, Granville, 289
Burkhardt, Henry J., 346
Burlingame Island, 371
Burnham, Captain Mills, 265
Burns, Mayor Haydon, 202
Burnsed, James, 218
Bushnell, Roswell S., 229
Bushnell, Sumter County, 70
Butler, Col. Robert, 61
Byrne, Dr. Charles, 181

C

Cabell, E. Carington, 86
Cabot, John Sebastian, 4, 301
Calderon, Bishop, 23
Caldwell, Millard, 196
Calhoun, John C., 67
Call, Governor R. K., 62-84, 92, 107
Call, Senator Wilkinson, 130, 142-146
Callahan, Florida, 156
Caloosahatchee Massacre, 77
Calusa Indians, 343
Calvin, John, 9
Calypso Island, 8
Camp Joseph B. Johnston, 192
Campbell, Com. Hugh, 164
Campbell, O. W. (Hump), 368
Canal Point, 331
Cantino, Alberto-Cartographer, 4
Cape Canaveral, 5, 13, 264-268
Cape Florida, 3, 345, 355, 380
Cape Malabar, 304
Cape Sable, 376
Capers, Col. H. D., 119
Card, Milton, 285
Caribbean Sea, Slaves, 3
Carlton, Dan, 288
Carlton, Gov. Doyle E., Sr., 194
Carlton, L. L., 296
Carlton, Reuben, 288
Carlton, Thad, 298
Carnell, James, 235
Carney, Richard Richard, 357
Carpetbaggers, 133
Carson, Charles A., 148
Carson, Ruby Leach, 135
Carswell, Lockhart R., 241
Carter, W. R., 185
Cash, W. T., 138
Cassadaga (Spiritualist Camp) 232
Castelnau, French Count, 100
Castillo de San Marcos, 21, 40
Catherwood, Robert, 32
Catholicism, 51
Catts, Sidney J., 192
Causeway Island, 296
Cecil, Com. Henry Barton, 195
Cecil Field Naval Air Station, 195
Cedar Key, 117
Ceydoya, Governor Manuel de, 27
Chairs, Tom Peter, 146
Chandler, H. W. (Negro), 140
Chandler, James H., 232
Chandler, Zachariah, 141
Channel, Bahama, 7
Chapman Field, 353
Charleston, S.C., 28, 38
Charlotte County, 67
Charlotte Harbor, 5, 17, 25, 75
Chase, Charles W., 359
Chase, Henry, 353
Chase, Salmon, 111
Chatelain, Dr. Verne E., 212
Chekika, Indian Chief, 345
Chester Shoal, 304
Chipley, W. D., 146-149, 184
Chitto-Tustenugee Island, 77
Christiancy, Cornelius, 247
Church Control, 34
Citrus Industry, Beginning of, 100
Civil Rights Bill, 130
Clark, Archibald, 56
Clark, George J. F., 53, 100, 104, 165
Clark, Harrison W., 183
Clarkson, Mrs. Philip, 358
Claughton, Ed N., Sr., 371
Claughton, Ed N., Jr., 371
Claughton, Mrs. Lillian, 371
Clay, Clement, 107
Cleary, Val, 365
Cleveland, W. W., 229
Clinch, General Duncan, 66, 70
Clinton, General, 40
Coacoochee (Indian Chief), 250
Coats, W. L., 290-293
Cocoa, 262
Cocoa Beach, 263
Cobb, Peter, 288
Coconut Grove, 353
Codrington, Col. C. C., 229
Cohen, Isidor, 349, 351
Colby, George G., 232
Colby, George F., 231
Colcord, Benjamin F., 230
College, The Brevard Engineering, 269
Collge, St. Johns River Junior, 206
Colleges, Junior (St. Lucie County), 299
Collier County, 346
Collins, C. B., 149
Collins, Governor Leroy, 154
Collins, John S., 354
Collins Toll Bridge, 355
Colonial Boundaries, 30
Colonial Defense, 24
Colonial Economy, 46
Colonial Policy, Spanish, 343
Colonies, American, 18, 31
Colonization, 9, 36
Colony, British of East Florida, 344
Colony, First French, 7
Colony, Indian River, 303
Columbian Epoc, 1
Columbus, Christopher, 1,375
Columbus, Don Diego, 4
Columbus, Voyages of, 3
Commager, Henry Steel, 123
Commerce, 36
Commerce, Shipping, 103
Communications (St. Johns County), 209
Communities of Brevard County, 264
Compass, Mariner's, 1
Conant, Sherman, 138
Confederate Congress, 112
Confederate Impressment Act of 1863, 126
Confederate Veteran, 121
Confederates, 14
Conklin, J. I., 358
Connors, Washington E., 248-249
Conover, S. B., 141
Conrad, Jacob B., 230
Conservatives (Democrats), 134
Constantinople, Fall of, 1
Constitutional Convention, 85, 129
Continental Congress, 55
Convention Bill, 84
Cook, Francis, 56
Cook, George, 56
Cookman, W. H., 218
"Coontee", 346
Cooper, L. T., 361
Coppinger, Governor, 53
Coquina, 378
Coral Gables, 360
Coral Gables-South Miami Times, 364
Corbett, A. W. Jr., 371
Corbin, Mary, 194
Corbin, Philip, 233
Corley, Hugh A., 143
Cornwallis, Lord, 40
Coronado Beach, 250
Cosgrove, Daniel, 350
Couch, Roy, 271
Council of the Indies, 19
Counties, Central Florida (1961), 154
Counties, Original 28 (1850), 151, 152, 153
Counties, North Florida (1961), 154
Counties and Seats, Atlantic Coast (1961), 1954
Counties, South Florida (1961), 154
County, Monroe, 345
Coup, A. J., 364
Cowford (Jacksonville), 42, 53, 175, 177
Cox, James M., 352
Craig, James C., 179
Craig, William, 178
Crandon Park, 366
Creal, Charles E., 220
Creoles, 22
Crittenden, Senator J. J., 113
Cromartie, Miss Ivy, 335
Cuba, 3, 45, 61, 104, 173, 373
Cuban Revolt, 351
Cumberland Island, 24, 58
Cumberland Sound, 158
Curtiss Co., Glenn H., 353, 361

D

Dade County, 343, 351
Dade County Courthouse, 353
Dade County Expressways, 368-369
Dade County Metropolitan Government, 367
Dade County Parks, 363
Dade County Veteran, 365
Dade, Major Francis L., 70, 180, 344
Dallam, James B., 76
Daniel, J. J., 146, 185
Daniel, Richard P., 105, 180
Daniel, W. J., 148
Dammers, E. E. (Doc), 357
Daugherty, Ichabod, 232
Davidson, R. H. M., 142, 147
Davidson, Robert M., 358
Davis, Arthur Vining, 364

Davis, Col. Robert W., 189
Davis, Dr. G. A., 228
Davis Grant, 1805, 346
Davis, Michael, 229
Davis, President Jefferson, 86, 123, 124
Davis, T. Frederick, 100, 176
Davis, William Watson, 118
Dawson, William G., 179
Day, Matthias, 242
Day, Samuel T., 138
Daytona Beach, 242
Daytona Beach Churches, 244
Daytona Beach, the Old, 237
Dean, Patrick, 223, 246
Dean, S. Bobo, 352
DeBary, Count Frederick, 224
Declaration of Rights, 86
de Coligny, Gaspard, Admiral, 6
Deen, G. W., 218
Deerfield Beach, 342
DeLand, Florida, 225, 226
DeLand, H. A., 226, 230
DeLand, Helen, 228
de Leon, 3
DeLeon Springs, 225
Delray Beach, 330
Democrats not allowed to vote, 347
Depression of the 1930's, 194
DeCoto, Hernando, 375
Detwiler, John Y., 250
DeVillareal, Brother Francisco, 343
Dickenson, Melissa, 231
Dickerson, E. N., 171
Dickinson, General J. J., 182
Dickinson, Jonathan, 157, 302, 313
Dickinson's Journal, 302
Dieppe, 7
Dilworth, Colonel, 170
Dimick, M. W., 318
Dinner Key, 353
Discovery of American Continents, 1
Discovery of Florida, 3
Disston, Hamilton, 144, 184
Ditson, John, 231
Dittmar, Mayor A. C., 292
Dodd, Dorothy, Historian, 86, 345
Dodge Island, 366
Dodgertown, 280
Doggett, Aristides, 139, 181
Doggett, John I., 179
Doherty, Herbert J., 88, 91
Donation Act, 63
Dooley, Captain John, 123, 124
Douglass, George A., 358
Dorn, Robert and Harold W., 353
Dovell, Dr. J. E., 116, 175, 211
Dow, Samuel, 234
Downing, Congressman Charles, 80, 85, 88
Darke, Sir Francis, 13, 26, 204
Drayton, Chief Justice William, 38
Dreka, G. A., 227
Drew Administration, 142
Drew Columbus, 181
Drew, George Franklin, 140, 183
Drew and Hull Club, 140
Dry Tortugas, The, 373
Dubois, John R., 313
Dummett, Thomas, 223
Dummitt, Anna Miss, 257
Dummitt, Douglas, 256
Duncan, B. M., 377
Duncan, Sir William, 222
Dunklin, Edward M. C., 305
Dunlawton, 223-224
Dunnett, John, 32
DuPont, Alfred I., 194, 371
DuPont Building, 352
DuPont, Commodore, 170
DuPont Plaza Center, Miami, 345
DuPont (Township), 217
DuPuis, Dr. John Gordon, 347, 351, 352
Durkin, Joseph J., 123
Durrance, George, 218
Duval County, 106, 175, 202
Duval, Governor William P., 62, 67, 81, 85, 179
Dyke, Charles, 137

E

East Florida, 31, 33
East Florida Gazette, 41
Eatman, E. A., 218
Eaton, John H., 62, 82, 98
Eau Gallie, 271
Eden, 275
Edgewater (Hawks Park), 250
Education, early in Dade County, 347
Education, St. Johns County, 207
Educational System, 107
Edwards, Gus C., 263
Eldora, 251
Eldridge, L. H., 225
Election Fraud, 1870, 138
Electoral Commission, 142
Elizabeth, Queen, 7
Ellaville, Florida, 140
Ellinor Village, 236
Elliot, Harmon P., 312
Elliott, C. G., 185
Elliott, Frank, 366
Elliott Key, 379
Emancipation, 125
Emathala, Charley, 69
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 213
Emporia, 225
English, Harriet, 348
English, William F., 98
Enloe, Dr. Gillespie, 357
Enterprise, 222, 224, 228
Epidemic, Yellow Fever, 185, 351
Erfert, F. G., 354
Escambia County, 62, 203
Eustis, General Abram, 66, 71
Evans, E. A., 366
Everglades, 77, 78
Everglades Experiment Station, 331
Everglades National Park, 330, 331, 363, 372, 378
Evinrude, Francis Langford, 311
Expedition, Second by French to Settle America, 7

F

Fairbanks, George R., 172
Fairchild, Dr. David, 364
Fairchild Tropical Gardens, 364
Fairlie, Dr. J. M., 185
"Family Right" Lands, 36
Fanning, Major, 168
Fatio, Francis Phillip, 44, 46, 53, 57, 230
Featherly, Wesley M., 350
Federalist Party, 110
Fee, Will, 295
Feliu, Governor Melchor, 31
Fellsmere, 277
Ferdinand, Archduke Francis, 109
Ferguson, George W., 346
Fernandez, Domingo, 53
Fernandez, Don, 161
Fernandina Beach, 156
Fernandina, County Seat, 46, 55-59, 101, 103, 109, 118, 157, 169
Ferrara, Duke of, 4
Fields, Elnathan T., 355
Finegan, General Joseph J., 118, 129
Finley, General Jesse J., 142
Fish, Jesse, 44, 99
Fisher, Carl Gratham, 354, 356, 359
Fisher, Mrs. Carl (Jane), 359, 370
Fisher, G. W., 228
Fitts, Sam, 350
Fitzpatrick, Richard, 87, 98, 346
Flag, "Green Cross of Floridas", 59
Flag of Republic of Florida, 164
Flagler Beach, 219
Flagler County, 216, 221
Flagler, Henry M., 184, 205, 217, 276, 308, 320-325, 348, 350, 354, 376
Flagler's Royal Palm Hotel, 351
Flagler Street, 352
Fleming, Francis P., Governor, 146, 147, 186
Fleming, Louis I., 147, 185
Fleming, William S., 241
Fletcher, Duncan U., 189, 192
Florida Bay, 372
Florida Boom, 354
Florida, Cession to U.S., 1821, 61
Florida City, 353, 363
Florida Democratic Party, 80
Florida, East, 44
Florida Keys, 353, 375, 379
Florida Locofos, 93
Florida, Republic of West, 56
Florida State Fair, Tampa, 278
Florida Statehood, 90, 91
Flowers, 311
Floyd, Major Gabriel J., 87
Folch, Governor, 162
Fontaneda, Memoirs of, 5
Forbes, Col. James Grant, 35, 37, 61, 62
Forbes, Rev. John, 35, 48, 101
Forbes, Thomas, 34
Fort Alert, 163
Fort Barrancas, 116
Fort Barrington, 40
Fort Brooke, 70, 180, 344
Fort Caroline, 10, 15
Fort Clinch, 116, 169, 173
Fort Dallas, 346
Fort George Island, 8, 50, 51
Fort Gibson, Arkansas, 69, 79
Fort Jefferson, 117, 373
Fort Jupiter, 346
Fort King, 69, 71, 76, 180, 344
Fort Lauderdale, 333, 334, 346
Fort Lauderdale Woman's Club, 337-338
Fort Marion, 111, 116
Fort McIntosh, 40
Fort McRee, 116
Fort Mellon, 72
Fort Meyers, 78
Fort Moosa, 57
Fort Mosquito, 248
Fort Moultrie, Charleston, S.C., 67, 74

Fort Pickens, 116, 117
Fort Pierce, 64, 270, 283, 289-292, 296, 346
Fort Pierce Beach, 296
Fort San Carlos, 59, 161
Fort San Felipe, 17
Fort San Marcos de Apalache, 32
Fort Steel, 181
Fort Sumpter, 109, 113
Fort Sunbury, 40
Fort Taylor, 116
Fort Tonyn, 159
Fort William, 159
Foster, General John G., 129, 134
Foster, Miss Bertha, 370
Forry, Dr. Samuel, 71, 73
France, 6
Franciscan Order, 23
Francis, James E., 234
Fraser, Malcolm, 235
Frazure, Cornelia Allison, 362
Frederickson, W. L., 306
Freedman's Bureau, 127, 183, 246
Freedmanville, 246
Free Soil Party, 110
Freezes, Big, 225, 260, 349
Fremont, John C., 110
French Cape, 6
French, Dr. Seth, 231
French Revolution, 48
Frohock, Guy, 350
Fromentin, Eligius, 62
Frost, Samuel J., 263
Fulford-by-the-Sea, 361
Fulford, Captain William H., 361
Fuquay, D. F., 219
Fuller, Hubert Bruce, 176

G

Gadsden, Col. James, 67, 68, 69
Gaillard, H., 148
Gaines, Edmund P., 66, 70, 71
Gainesville, Florida, 64, 173
Galveston, 59
Gambi, Pierre, 10
Gamble, James N., 239
Gamble, R. H., 138
Garay, 3
Garden Key, 117
Garden Springs (Ponce de Leon), 223
Garthside, Charles H., 357
Gautier, E. William, 249
Gautier, Peter W. Jr., 84
Gautier, Redmond B., 350
Gearhart, Ernest, Jr., 347
Geiger, August, 359
Georgia-Florida Boundary, 81
Georgia, Settlement of, 28
Gibbons, Cromwell, 190
Gibbs, Jonathan C. (Negro), 138, 140, 183
Gibbs, T. V. (Negro), 140
Gibson, Dr. E. R., 87
Gifford, Charles, 276
Gifford, Henry T., 272
Gifford, Dr. John C., 369
Gilbert's Shoal, 303
Gilman, James H., 354
Gilmore, General Quincy A., 127
Gleason, Governor William M., 136, 347
Glenn, James L., 339
Golf Courses, St. Johns County, 208
Goodall, Thomas, 239
Goodrich, Fred S., 228
Gorrie, Dr. John, 114
Goulds (Settlement), 353
Gourgues, Dominique de, 13
Government Relief Measures, 186
Government, St. Johns County, 208
Graham, Dr. Walter S., 350
Gralyn Hotel, 352
Grant, Governor James, 32, 37, 175
Grant, President, 172
Grants, Eagan and Lewis, 346
Graves, John Temple, 183
Grayson, Brig. Gen. John G., 181
Great Wahoo Swamp, 79
Greeley, Horace, 139
Green Tree Inn, 352
Grissom, Virgil Ivan, 268
Gulf of Mexico, 46
Gulf Stream, 375
Gunby, Edward R., 147
Gutenberg, Invention of Printing Press, 1

H

Halbe, James M., 283
Halcyon Hotel, 351
Haldinand, Brig. Gen. Frederick, 34
Hall, Dr. James, 179
Hamilton, James E., 317
Hamilton, Katie, 309, 310
Hamlin, Arthur G., 226
Hancock, E. M., 366
Harbor Oaks, 247
Hardee, Cary A., 192
Hardee, W. R., 293
Hardie, Sheriff Dan, 357
Harger, Line, 359
Harney, Col. William S., 75-78, 376
Harris, W. Hunt, 146
Hart, Daniel C., 179
Hart, Isaiah David, 179
Hart, Ossian, 134-140, 283, 303
Hartnett, Fred B., 366
Hartridge, J. E., 146-148
Harwood, Norman B., 232
Hasty, Nathaniel, 240
Hausman, Jacob, 345
Havana, 5, 45
Hawkins, Sir John, 10
Hawks, Dr. J. M., 250
Hawthorne, Florida, 145
Hawthorne, F. W., 185
Hemingway, Ernest, 374
Hemming, Charles C., 182
Hemming Park, 179
Henderson, John A., 146-148
Hendersonville, N.C., 351
Hendrickson, Captain U. D., 316
Henry, George E., 338
Hernandez, Gen. Joseph M., 72, 74, 95, 216
Herrell, W. C. (Cliff), 361-366
Herrera, Antonio de, 4
Heyward, Thomas Jr., 40
Hialeah, 361
Hialeah Home News, 365
Hickory Sink, 69
Hicks, John, Indian Chief, 69
Hicks, W. W., 141
Higgins, Col. Thomas W., 118, 182
Highland Park, 226
Highleyman, Locke T., 370
Hilliard, Florida, 156
Hilton, R. B., 111
Historical Books, St. Augustine, 214
Historical Dates, St. Johns County, 210-211
Historical Facts of Key West, 373-374
"History of Early Medicine in Dade County" by Dr. John G. DuPuis, 351
Hocker, Judge William A., 148
Hogans, Zachariah, 179
Hogg, Captain Benjamin, 287
Hogg, Y. W., 292
Holland, Spessard, 196
Hollingsworth, Tracy Florida Historian, 347
Holly Hill, 240-241
Holly, William, 231
Hollywood, Florida, 341
Holman, B. L., 278
Holmes, Hardee, 293
Holmes, John, 32
Homestead, 353, 363
Homestead Air Force Base, 364
Homestead Exemption, 136
Homestead Leader-Perrine Post, 365
Hospital, Memorial, 312
Hospitals, Duval County, 201
Hospitals, St. Johns County, 208
Hospitals, Volusia County, 252
Houses of Refuge, 303-304
Howard, Carlos, 45
Howard (Settlement), 353
Howarth, Mary Stewart and Tom, 228
Howe, Charles, 345
Howe, General Robert, 160
Huau, Senor Jose, 188
Huddleston, Dr. R. H., 351
Hudson, F. M., 353-369
Hudson, John, 44
Huguenots, French, 6, 9
Hull, Ambrose, 223
Humphries, Col. Gad, 67
Hunter, Aldridge, 218
Hutchinson, James, 282
Hutchinson's Island, 303
Hypoluxo, 316-330

I

Immigration, 49
Impeachment (Governor Reed), 137
Indian Chief Billy Bowlegs, 76
Indian Chief Chakika, 376
Indian Creek Village, 365
Indian Key, 77
Indian River County, 270
Indian River Inlet, 304
Indian Runner, Coacoochee, 72
Indian Town, 305-306
Indian Trade, 34
Indians, Apalachee, 347
  Arawaks, 375
  Ays, 282
  Bayajondes, 375
  Calusa, 17, 375
  Caribs, 375
  Conchs (West Indian), 346
  Creeks—Upper, Lower, 47, 344
  Cuchiagaros, 375
  Gaule, 24
  Jeaga, 313
  Lucayans, 375
  Matacumbese, 375

  Muskogees, 344
  Oconee, 66
  Seminoles, 5, 47, 65, 66, 68, 75, 96, 216, 339-340, 375
  Spanish, 343
  Tequestra, 17, 343, 370-371
  Timuqua, 157, 343
  Viscanios, 375
  Yamassee or Yemasee, 28, 344
Industry, Duval County, 181
  Flagler County, 220
  Indian River County, 279
    Citrus, 275
    Sugar, 277
  Nassau County, 173
  St. Johns County, 205-206
  St. Lucie County, Cattle, 298
Ingraham, James E., 349
Inland Waterway, 245
Inquisition, 3
Intercoastal Waterway, 378
Intracoastal Canal, 217
Irish Regiment, 53
Irwin, Jared, 167
Islamorada, 377

J

Jackson County, 126
Jackson, Dr. James M., 349, 352, 354
Jackson, General Andrew, 58, 61, 93, 178, 203, 344
Jacksonville, 8, 66, 103, 107, 118, 175, 179, 186, 187
Jacksonville Beach, 197
Jacksonville Expressway, 197-198
Jacksonville Fire, 187
Jacksonville University, 194
Jamaica, 3
James, T. E., 358
Jardine, Isabel, 162
Jarvis, William, 262
Jasper, Florida, 286
Jefferson County, 132
Jeffersonian Republican Democrats, 88
Jefferson's Embargo Act, 161
Jefferson, Thomas, 110
Jenckes, Edwin T., 87
Jenkins, Robert, 204
Jenkins, Washington, 334
Jennings, Agnes, 263
Jennings, Governor W. S., 146, 149, 189
Jensen Beach, 306-308
Jensen, John J., 306
Jesuits, 216
Jesup, Gen. Thomas Sidney, 66, 71, 73, 313
Johnson, Alfred E., 224
Johnson, President Andrew, 126, 132
Johnson, Reverdy, 143
Johnson's Island Federal Prison, 124
Johnston, E. W., 219
Johnston, Gen. Joseph E., 120
Johnston, J. B., 218, 219
Jones, Charles W., 240
Jones, Peter, 185
Jordon, James B., 227, 229
Jumper, Indian Chief, 344
Juno Law Firm, 350
  (Robbins, Graham & Chillingworth)
Jupiter, 313
Jupiter Inlet, 75
Jupiter Lighthouse, 314

K

Kanapha Prairie, 70
Kaufman, Albert, 369
Keating, Thomas H., 239
Kellogg, Dr. John Harvey, 361
Kelly, Lt. Barabara, 195
Kelly, William, 56
Kendall (Settlement), 353
Kennedy, President John F., 268
Key Biscayne Bay, 99
Key Largo, 376-378
Key West, 102-118, 345-374
Keyes, Kenneth, Jr., 364
Keys, Florida, 5, 345
Kilkoff, J. K., 227
Kindelan, Governor Sebastian, 46
King Charles IX of France, 9
King, Rev. Elisha, 359
King, E. T., 335
King, Dr. Maxwell, 299
King Phillip of Spain, 12
King, Ziba, 146
Kings Ferry, 103
Kings Road, 216-219
Kingsley, A. E., 350
Kingsley, Zephaniah, 8, 14, 51, 177
Kingston, 242
Kingston, George W., 242
Kirby-Smith, General E., 182
Kirk, Captain Vincent, 227-230
Kitching, Commodore Stanley, 309
Kitching, Walter, 290, 309
Klopp, H. T., 292
Knight, Britton, 179
Knight, John S., 352
Knight, W. E. Sr., 218
Knos, Leonard B., 235
Knott, Judge J. R., 315
Kost, Charles, 248
Kroegel, Paul, 293
Krome, William J., 353, 363

L

Labor Conditions, St. Johns County, 206
Lackey, Joseph B., 44
Lafitte, Pierre and Jean, 162
Lainhart, George W., 315, 319
Lake Beresford, 222
Lake City, 119, 179
Lake Clear, 322
Lake Colby, 232
Lake Disston, 222
Lake George, 100
Lake Helen, 232
Lake Macaco, 345
Lake Okeechobee, 74, 78
Lake Pancoast, 355
Lake Winnemissett, 229
Lake Woodruff, 222
Lake Worth, 64, 98, 313, 320, 330, 347
Lambert, J. F., 218, 219
Lancaster, Dr. George W., 228
Land Grants, 49, 223
Lanier, Sidney, 140, 183
Lanman, Charles, 102
Lansburgh, Morris, 366
Lantana, 330
Larkins (South Miami), 353
LaRoche Brothers, 263
Latrobe, Charles Joseph, 103
Laudonniere, Rene, 9
Leatherman, E. B., 370
Lee County, 346
Lee, General Robert E., 120, 122, 182
Lee, Mrs. Fitzhugh, 171
Leete, Rev. M. S., 227
Leffler, Charles G., 354
Legislative Council, 62, 81, 180
Lehrman, Irving, 370
Lemon City, 351, 352
L'Engle, Henry A., 185
Lennard, Robert, 293
Lent, E. B., 358
Leon County, 84, 131, 141
Leon, Ponce de, 204, 376
Leslie, John, 34, 44
Levi, John H., 354
Levy, David, 66, 85, 89, 92
Lewis Grant, 1796, 346
Libraries, St. Augustine, 208
Lighthouse, Cape Canaveral, 264-265
Lincoln Road, 356, 359
Lincoln, President Abraham, 109, 127, 128
Lindner, John Jr., 45
Linn, C. H., 347
Linn, Edgar C., 361
Lipp, Morris, 366
Live Oak, 224
Loftin, Scott M., 193
Long, Richard H., 87
Lopez, Don Jose, 164
Louisiana, 46, 55
Love, E. C., 126
Lowrie, Judge Samuel, 230
Loxahatchee Swamp, 75
Lum, Charles, 355
Lum, Henry B., 355
Lummus, J. E., 349, 354, 356
Lummus, J. N., 350, 354, 356, 358
Lummus, J. N. Jr., 362
Lummus, Martha, 362
Lummus Park, 355, 358
Lund, T. W., 315

M

Mace, J. P., 232
Mackey, Joseph C., 297
Mackle, Robert, 366
MacMurray, Constance, 347
Macomb, Alexander, 66, 75
Madison, 92
Madison County, 131
Madison, President James, 56, 177
Magellan, 1
Mahoney, Daniel J., 352
Mail Service, 53
Maitland, Major, 334
Mallory, Stephen R., 129, 148, 346
Maloney, W. C., 347
Malphurs, B. W., 218
Mandarin, 70, 184
Manrique de Rojas, 7
Marathon, 376
Marconi Wireless, 358
Marianna, Florida, 147
Marineland, 220
Marion County, 67
Marquesas Keys, 373
Martin, B. C. (Negro), 140
Martin County, 301-312
Martin, Edwin, 185
Martin, John W., 193, 311
Martyr, Peter, 4

Marvin, Judge William, 85, 111, 129, 130
Mason, Benjamin, 241
Massacre, Dade, 344
Massacre, Perrine, 345
Matanzas Inlet, 6, 12, 216
Matecumbe Key, 377
Matheson, Commodore William John, 366
Matheson, Hugh Jr., 371
Mathews, George, 56, 57, 163, 177
Mayport, 6, 118, 181, 196
Mayport Naval Station, 195-196
Mays, D. H., 150
McArthur Causeway, 358
McAskill, Leon C., 366
McBride, Asa D., 229
McCants, Judge, 87
McCarty, Mrs. C. T., 293
McClure's Hill, 167
McCook, General Edward M., 126
McCormick, Robert R., 320
McDonald, J. B., 310
McDonald, Joseph A., 350
McGehee, Judge John, 86, 112
McGirt, Daniel, 45, 160
McGregor, Gen. Sir Gregor, 59, 165
McIntosh, John Houston, 8, 56, 163
McKay, D. B., 145
McKee, Col. John, 56, 163, 177
McKee, David A., 247
McLaughlin, Lt. John T., 78
McLeod, Mrs. Anna, 153
McLin, E. B., 148
McMullen, Fred G., 296
McNayr, Irving, 368
McSweeney, Henry, 359
McSweeney, Mrs. John, 358
Mead, D. Richard, 135, 359
Medicine, Early, 347
Medrano, Juan Valez, 282, 301
Meek, Attorney General, 138
Melbourne, 262, 294
Mellonville, 222
Menendez, Pedro, 5, 11, 157, 216
Merrick, George Edgar, 346, 360
Merritt Island, 263
Metcalf, Guy, 350
Metropolis, The (Newspaper), 350
Meyer, Hank, 366
Miami Beach, 354-359
Miami Beach Improvement Co., 355
Miami Chamber of Commerce, 361-362
Miami City Hall, 353
Miami Herald, 352
Miami International Airport, 368
Miami Metropolis, 98, 350, 352
Miami News, 347, 352
Miami Review and Daily Record, 364
Miami River, 64, 351
Miami Shores, 361
Miami Springs, 361
Miami Tribune, 364
Micanopy, Alachua County, 70
Michael, Alfred Benjamin, 273
Michael, S. K., 274
Middleton, Arthur, 40
Military Reconstruction Act, 1867, 133
Millard, George, 233
Miller, Charles A., 229
Miller, James C., 218
Milton, John, 111
Milton, William H., 192
Mina, General Xavier, 59
Minorcans, 35-44, 222
Minute Men, 172, 351
Missile Tests, 267-268
Mission San Ignacio, 343
Missions, 22
Missouri Compromise, 90
Mitchell, Alanson, 238
Mitchell, Gov. David B., 57
Mitchell, Gov. Henry L., 147
Monroe County, 345, 372, 373
Monroe, Mary Barr, 106
Monroe, President James, 58-61, 177
Montgomery, Col. Robert, 364
Montgomery, David, 141
Monticello Constitution, 135-140
Montpelier, Alabama, 61
Moody, George, 219
Moody, Isaac, 218
Moore, Charlie, 315-317
Moore, Governor James, 13, 28
Moore, T. V., 361
Moore, Will, 317
Morales, Colonel, 165
Morgan, Senator Fletcher, 199
Morse, Frederick J., 350
Morse, F. S., 350
Morton, Jackson, 85, 86, 112
Morton, Jay, 361
Moseley, Governor William D., 92-93
Mosquito Lagoon, 304
Motte, Dr. Jacob Rhett, 73, 74, 107, 283
Moultrie Creek, 67
Moultrie, James, 32
Moultrie, John, 32, 223, 237
Mount Pleasant, 37
Mudd, Captain, 117
Mudd, Dr. Samuel A., 373
Mulford, B. W., 308
Munroe, Lake, 140
Museum, Elliot, 312
Museum, Henry Morrison Flagler Memorial, 324
Mowat, Charles L., 35

N

Nance, Dr. E. C., 182
Napoleon, 177
Naranja (Settlement), 353
Nash, Charles Edgar, 360
Nassau Bluff, 160
Nassau County, 83, 99, 156
Nassau, Port of, 48
National Farmers Alliance, 146, 147
Naval Air Station, 195
Negroes, 65
Negroes, Bahaman, 346
Negroes, Seminole, 66
Nevins, Thomas, 263
Newport, 119
New River, 78, 107, 351
New Smyrna, 32, 37, 44, 96, 222, 224
New Smyrna Beach, 7, 248
Newspapers
  Apalachicola Gazette, 84
  Florida Herald, 63, 84
  Florida Republican, 181
  Homestead Leader-Perrine Post, 365
  Indian River Mirror, 262
  Jacksonville Courier, 70, 181
  Miami Metropolis, 98, 350, 352
  Palm Beach County, 325
  Pensacola Gazette, 84
  Titusville Star Advocate, 260
  Volusia County, 252
Niblack, Silas L., 139

O

Oak Hill, 251
Oates, Titus, 145
Ocala, 63
Ocean Beach Realty Co., 356
Ocean City, 218
Ocean Trail Highway, 220
Oconee Island, 158
O'Day, Miss Billie, 369
O'Donovan, Juan, 53
Ogilvie, Major, 32
Oglethorpe, General James, 8, 13, 28, 158, 204
Okeechobee, 295
Old Settlers Association, 229
Oliver, L. C., 352
Oliver, Tom, 338
Olustee, Battle of, 119
Opa-Locka, 361
Orange City, 230-231
Orange County, 144
Orchid Island, 274
Ordinance of Secession, 116
Organizations, St. Augustine, 209
Ormond Beach, 232
Ormond Beach War Memorial, 235
Ormond-by-the-Sea, 235
Ormond, James, 232
O'Reilly, James H., 199
Orr, John B., 359
Ortega Story, 197
Ortona Park, 236
Osborne, Ezra, 355
Osborne, Thomas W., 134, 136, 183
Osceola, 73, 344
Oslo, 273
Oswald, Sir Richard, 223
Overseas Highway, 373, 377
Owen, James B., 112
Owen, Mrs. Ruth Bryan, 369
Oxford, 292

P

Pablo Beach (Ruby Beach), 196
Pahokee, 331
Painter, E. O., 228
Palatka, 49, 64
Palm Beach County, 313
Palm Beach Today, 325-326
Palmer, B. H., 146
Palmer, Perrine, 362
Palmer, Mrs. R. W. (Sarah), 362
Palmer, T. W. ("Tub"), 345
Pancoast, Arthur, 355
Pancoast, Russell, 359
Pancoast, T. J., 354, 355, 358
  Mrs. T. J., 359
Panton, William, 34, 47
Papy, M. D., 126
Parce, J. Y., 228
Park, August, 270
Park, Dade Memorial, 345
Park, Louis, 149

Park, Simeon, 270
Parkers, O. D., 305
Partridge, Captain J. M., 87
Pasco, Samuel, 150
Patrick Air Force Base, 263
Patrick, Major General Mason M., 263
Patriots of East Florida, 56
Pawley, W. D., 365
Payne, James, 315
Payne's Landing, 69
Peacock, Mr. and Mrs. Charles, 351
Peacock Inn(Bayview House), 351
Pearce, Charles H. (Negro), 141
Pearson, Byrd M., 107
Pearson, Dr. Jay F. W., 362
Peavy, Arthur Jr., 363
Pelican Island, 271
Pellicer, F. F., 218
Pelot, Dr. J. D., 181
Pelton, Arthur, 232
Pemberton, I. J., 199
Pence, Pete, 303
Pensacola, 31, 47, 59, 61, 62, 65, 81, 101, 116, 118
Pensacola Bay, 117
Pepper, Senator Claude, 194, 366
Perrenot, Charles J., 146, 150
Perrine, Dr. Henry, 77, 376
Perrine, Palmer Jr., 345
Perrine (Settlement), 353
Perry, Governor Edward E., 184
Perry, Governor Madison, 111, 113
Peters (Settlement), 353
Peters, Tom, 351, 353
Peterson, H. P., 359
Phagan, Major John, 69
Phelps, John, 72
Philip II of Spain, 5-7
Phillips, John, 294
Phipps, J. N., 148
Pickert, Willie A., 358
Picolata, 57, 70, 103
Pierce, Charles W., 315
Pierce, Col. Benjamin J., 283
Pierce, H. D., 317
Pierson (Settlement), 225
Pinckney, General Thomas, 55-58, 165
Pine Tree Drive, 355
Pineapples, 306-307
Pirate Raids, 26
Planner Aristocracy, 96
Plant, Henry B., 145, 184, 349
Plantation System, 95
Platts, Annie, 305
Platts, Dr. C. P., 294-298
Platts, Francis Marion, 305
Poinsett, Joel R., 76
Point Peter, 164
Pompano, 342
Ponce de Leon, 3, 4
Ponce Park, 246
Pope, Frank W., 189
Pope, General, 134, 135
Pope, John G., 352
Porcher, E. P., 275
Port of Fort Pierce, 297
Port Orange, 246
Port Royal, S.C., 6, 17
Porter, Commodore David, 104, 373
Porter, Dr. Joseph Y., 185, 351
Porter, Kenneth W., 65
Porter, William J., 194
Portugal, 4
Post, Colonel C. C., 237
Potter, George, 322
Powers, Earl P., 199
Prevatt, James H., 232
Prevost, Captain James M., 160
Price, Mitchell D., 350
Princeton (Settlement), 353
Prins, Valdemar, 362
Pritchard, John, 179
Privateers, 39, 167
Proclamation of Amnesty, 132
Proctor, John E. (Negro), 140
Provisional Government, 112
Puerto Rico, 3
Pugh, Dr. Edwin W., 351
Punta Gorda, 67
Purman, W. J., 140
Putnam, Benjamin A., 92
Putnam, Major Israel, 217

Q

Quarantine, 351
Quebec, 30
Queen Elizabeth, 7

R

Rader, Vivian Laramore, 369
Radio and Television, 370
Railey, F. G. (Pat), 352
Railey-Milam Hardware Co., 352
Railroad, Celestial, 319
  Florida Central, 137
  Florida East Coast, 350, 353, 376
  Florida Railroad Co., 169
  Indian River, 276
  St. Johns & Halifax River, 217
Railway, South Florida, 145
Railway System, East Coast, 351
Rainey, C. O., 312
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 25
Ralston, Henry, 365
Randolph, John, 98
Raney, Judge George P., 148
Rangers, East Florida, 39
Ransom, Robert, 261
Ranson, Robert, 265
Rappaport, Joseph, 370
Raulerson, K. B., 293
Rea, W. E., 304
Read, General Leigh, 86
Real Estate, St. Johns County, 209
Reed Canal, 246
Reed Harrison, 136, 347
Reeder, Cliff, 354
Reefs, 379
Reese, Melvin, 366
Reformation, Protestant, 6
Regatta, 358
Reid, Gov. Robert Raymond, 62, 76, 89
Reid, Martha, 171
Reid, Robert R., 85
Reilly, John B. (Mayor Miami), 350
Religious Orders, 23
Renshaw, Claude A., 360, 366
Republican Party, 110
Retrocession to Spain, 41
Revolution, American, 38, 55
Reynolds, Thomas, 179
Ribault, Jean Jacques, 6, 8, 11, 12, 157
Rich, Captain John, 227
Richards, Daniel, 134, 183
Richardson, Brig. Gen. William L. 267
Rickenbacker Causeway, 366
Ricou, R. R., 308
Ridpath, Historian, 1
Rivers
  Alafia, 145
  Altamaha, 40
  Aucilla, 68
  Caloosahatchee, 74
  Chattahoochee, 27
  Flint, 27
  Halifax, 37, 49
  Hillsborough, 70, 78, 223, 345
  Indian, 49, 259
  Jobe, 313
  Kissimmee, 98
  Loxahatchee, 313
  Matanzas, 26, 50
  Miami, 343
  Mississippi, 56
  Nassau, 40, 46
  New, 333
  Ogeechee, 159
  Oklawaha, 69, 71
  Peace, 145
  Pearl, 56
  Perdido, 56
  San Sebastian, 57
  Satilla, 40
  St. Johns, 5, 8, 44, 45, 46, 75, 175, 179, 198, 203, 225
  St. Lucie, 17, 270, 301
  St. Marys, 24, 46, 57, 96, 156, 157
  Suwannee, 34, 70, 90
  Tomoka, 72
  Wakulla, 32
  Withlacoochee, 70, 71
Riviera Beach, 329
Roberts, Isaac K., 171
Roberts, N. E., 218
Robertson, James Alexander, 22
Robertson, James C., 225
Robins & Graham, 350
Rockledge, 262, 295
Rocque, Mariano de la, 45
Rogers, D. D., 237, 243
Rogers, Rep. Dwight, 338
Rolle, Denys, 37
Rollestown, 37
Romans, Bernard, 32
Romfh, Edward C., 352, 354
Roney, N. B. T., 360
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 363
Rose Bay, 247
Roseland, 279
Rose's Bluff, 57
Ross, John, 73
Rosseo, Dr. Barkley, 194
Rouffi, William, 7
Royal Proclamation, 30
Russell, James, 216
Russell, Major James N., 236
Rutledge, Edward, 40

S

Sadler, H. R., 96
St. Augustine, 5, 11, 16, 20, 25, 28, 31, 44, 48, 50, 56, 57, 63-66, 72, 96, 101, 107, 159, 203-213, 343
St. Augustine Restoration Plan, 212-214

St. Helena's Island, 157
St. Johns Bluff, 13, 15, 40, 118, 188
St. Johns County, 62, 83, 203, 213, 219, 220
St. Johns Island, 52
St. Johns Park, 218
St. Johns River, 5, 8, 44, 45, 46, 75, 175, 179, 198, 203, 225
St. Johns Town, 14
St. Joseph, 83, 85
St. Lucie County, 282
St. Marks, 28, 61, 62, 119
St. Marys, Georgia, 56, 58
St. Simon's Island, 159
Salerno, 308
Sammis, E. C. (Negro), 140
Sams, Frank W., 146, 249
Samsula, 230
San Fernando, Fort, 157
San Mateo, 12-13, 17
San Salvador, 4
San Sebastian, 49
Sanchez, Francisco, 51
Sanchez, Jose Simeon, 86
Sands, Benjamin, 56
Sanders Brothers, 263
Sanders, Judge J. T., 350
Sanderson, 119
Sanford, City of, 140, 225
Sanford, Gen. Henry S., 140
Santa Catalina, 27
Santa Elena, 17
Santa Maria Island, 158
Santo Domingo, 3
Sauls, John, 225
Saunders, William M. (Negro), 134
Saunders, William U., 183
Saunders, W. R., 354
Sayles, Dr. S. F., 354
Schine, J. Meyer and David, 360
School, Miss Harris' Florida, 311
School, St. Augustine, 46
Schools, Broward County, 335-336
  Duval County, 183
  Indian River County, 273
  Palm Beach County, 318-319
  Volusia County, 254
Schroeder, C. E., 309
Schumacher, Earl, 369
Scott, Col. George W., 136
Scott, Winfield, 66, 71
Scruggs, S. M., 196
Seabreeze, 236
Seagrove, James, 56
Sears, George, 315
Sebastian, 271
Segui, Bernardo, 67
Semes, Albert G., 86
Sessa, Dr. Frank B., 360, 363
Settlers, American, 47
Seville, 225
Seville Hotel, 357
Sewall, Henry, 308
Seward, W. H., 111
Sewell Brothers Clothing Store, 352
Sewell, Everest George, 349, 362
Sewell, John, 354
Sewell's Memoirs, 351
Seybold, John, 350
Sexton, Waldo, 279
Sharpe, Washington, 247
Shepard, Alan B. Jr., 268
Sholtz, Dave, 366
Shutts, Frank B., 352
Simmons, Captain H. F., 87
Simmons, Dr. Eleanor Gault, 351
Singer Island, 329
Singer, William, 369
Skaggs, Dr. P. T., 350, 352
Skidmore, T. J., 232
Slaveholders, 45
Slavery, 109
Slaves, Negro, 51, 95
Slave Trade, 10, 22, 97
Smathers, Senator George, 366
Smith, Avery C., 357
Smith, Buckingham, 87
Smith, Gen. Edmund Kirby, 114
Smith, John W., 236
Smith, P. F., 74
Smith, Richard M., 357
Smith, Robert, 163
Smith's Creek, 304
Smith, Wilbur, 369
Smith, William B., 262
Smith, William J., 357
Smith, W. P., 354
Smoak, Elliot B., 233
Snedigar, Louis F., 360
Snowden, James and George, 359
Social Life in Spanish Territorial Florida, 52
Sollee, Arthur H., 198
South Daytona, 245
Southern Military, 115
Sowder, Wilson T., M.D., 187
Spain, War against, 351
Spanish Claims, 4
Spanish Constitution, 45, 46
Spanish Influence, 16
Spanish Moors, 3
Spencer, V. O., 316-320
Speer, Judge G., 147
Sprague, Col. John T., 78, 134
Spruce Creek, 247, 248
Stanton, Edwin M., 133
Star Island, 359
Starch Making, 346
Stark, Dr. James D., 224
Stark, John W., 230
State Board of Health, 186
State Internal Improvement Fund, 137
Statehood, Movement for, 80
Statuary Hall (Washington, D.C.), 114
Steamboat, DeBary Line, 224
Steamship, Bull Line, 297
Stearns, Gov. Marcellus L., 140, 141, 143, 183
Steele, Dr. Holmes, 181
Stephen Foster Memorial Commission, 230
Stephens, Samuel B., 86
Stetson, John B., 228
Stevens, Alexander H., 112
Stevens, Thaddeus, 128
Stewart, Alan C., 368
Stewart, Isaac, 228
Stillman, J. C., 231
Stockton, John C., 146-148, 181
Stoneman, Frank B., 352
Storms, Seasonal, 5
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 140
Stranahan, Frank, 334-336
Stuart, 301
Stuart, H. H., 309
Stuart, John, 32, 33
Sturtevant, Ephraim, 348
Sugar Industry, 99
Summers, Lucius, 233
Sumner, Senator Charles, 128
Suwannee River, 34, 70, 90
Swamp, Wahoo, 344
Swann, S. A., 143
Swepson, Littlefield and Associates, 137

T

Talbot Island, 50
Taliaferro, James P., 146-150, 192
Tallahassee, 64-86, 92, 120
Tamiami Trail, 368
Tampa Bay, 70-76, 145, 343
Tampa Bay Hotel, 145
Tanner, Henry A., 229
Tatum, B. B., 352
Taylor County, 114-119
Taylor, Major Cornelius, 224
Taylor, Robert R., 350
Taylor, Zachary, 74, 346
Taxes, 82
Tebbetts, M. C., 361
Telephones, 184
Temperance Society, 103
Temple, Sir Richard, 222
Tenure of Office Act, 133
Tequesta, 353
Territorial Days, 343
Territorial Economy, 101
Territorial Politics, 80
Territory of East Florida, 14
Territory of Iowa, 90
Terry, O. P., 228
Tertiary Period, 379
Tew, James D., 278
Thayer, William S., 225
Thompson, General Wiley, 69
Thompson, John W. B., 345
Thompson, Lestie A., 86
Thorpe, G. C., 305
Thursby, Lewis P., 231
Tiger, DeSota, 310
Tiger Island, 50
Tiger, Tom (Indian Chief), 288
Titus, Colonel Henry T., 259
Titusville, 257, 270
Tomoka State Park, 223
Tonyn, Governor Patrick, 32-47, 222
Tories, 373
Tortugas Islands, 5, 116
Tourist Attractions, St. Johns County, 209
Townley, John M., 350
Townley, Thomas L., 350
Townships of Duval County, 156
Trade, Board of, 351
Trade, British Indian, 47
Trammell, Senator Park, 194
Transportation Development, 368
Transportation, St. Johns County, 208
Trapp, C. L., 347
Travers, J. W., 315
Treaty of Madrid, 27
Treaty of Paris, 205
Treaty of San Lorenzo, 48, 55
Treaty of 1783, 47
True, D. O., 301
Truman, Harry S., 372
Turnbull, Dr. Andrew, 32-37, 222, 248
Tuttle, Fannie, 350
Tuttle, Frederick Leonard, 348
Tuttle, Harry, 350, 352
Tuttle, Julia, 348-351
Tylander, W. E., 293
Tyler, President, 78

U

Union Army, 119
Union League, 134
United States Navy, 372
University of Florida, 323
University of Miami, 362
University, Stetson, 227
University of Tampa, 145

V

Van Buren, President, 88-89
Van Campen, J. T., 203, 211
Vasco de Gama, 1
Venetian Causeway, 359
Vero Beach, 270-271
Vero Beach Airport, 278
Vespucci's Voyages, 4
Vinning, James P., 235
Volpe, Mrs. Marie, 369
Volusia, 72, 222-225
Volusia County Fair, 252
Volusius, Lucius, 222
Voorhis, Dr. M. N., 228

W

Wabasso, 273
Waddell, E. A., 350
Wade-Davis Bill, 128
Walker, David S., 130
Walker, Shelby, 111
Wall, J. P., 146
Wallace, John (Negro Historian), 137
Walls, Josiah T. (Negro), 138, 140, 183
War, Civil, 114-120
  Florida, 70
  of Jenkin's Ear, 28, 158, 204
  of 1812, 58, 59
  Queen Anne's, 204
  Revolutionary, 160, 176
  Seminole, 1835-1842, 65, 78, 205, 217, 223
  Seminole, Second War, 178, 180
  Seminole, Third War, 346
  Seven Years, 28, 30
  Spanish-American, 14, 187
  World II, 195
Ward, George T., 85, 86, 112
Warfield, S. Davies, 305
Warren, Governor Fuller, 196, 366
Warren, John, 179
Washington, Booker T., 125
Washington County, 83
Washington, George, 110
Water, 377-378
Water Control, Palm Beach County 331
Water Resources, Ground St. Johns County, 207-208
Waterways, St. Johns County, 207
Watson, John W., 146, 353
Watson, J. W., 355
Watson, William B., Captain, 225
Watson, William, 123
Webb, Judge James, 345
Weeks, A. W., 147
Weintraub, Mrs. Sidney, 369
Welch, Hoke, 368
Wescott, Gov. James D. Jr., 81, 85
West Indies, 5
West Palm Beach, 321-323
West Palm Beach Today, 329
Whigs, 80, 85
Whipple, Henry Benjamin, 96, 105
Whitaker, Arthur P., 49
White, Joseph M., 63
White, Judge P. W., 139
White, S. V., 316
White, Utley J., 217
Whitfield, James Bryan, 149
Whitney's Cotton Gin, 110
Wilbur-by-the-Sea, 240
Wilcox, Charles P., 229
Wilkinson, James, 58
Willard, B. C., 262
Williams, Arthur T., 146
Williams, A. T., 148
Williams, Edwin L., 96
Williams, E. Sydney, 295
Williams, H. S., 258, 262
Williams, John Lee, 65, 76
Williams, Samuel, 95
Willoughby, Hugh H., 308
Wilson, Daniel, 233, 234
Wilson, General J. M., 188
Wilson, J. I., 354
Wilson, Osward, 146
Wilson, Roy, 358
Winter, Hal, 369
Withers, Charles, 352
Withers, James, 353
Withers, John E., 352
Withers, Wayne, 353
Wolfson, Col. and Mrs. Mitchell, 374
Women's Clubs, 353
Wood, Fernando, 170
Woodruff, Major Joseph, 222
Worley, G. A., 350
Worth, Col. William J., 66, 78
Worthington, William, 62
Wreck of George's Valentine, 304
Wright, Benjamin D., 86
Wright, Berlin H., 232
Wright Brothers, 353
Wright, Silas B., 229
Wyatt, William, 86
Wynn, John, 293

Y

Ybor City, 190
Yonge, Phillip Robert, 46
Young, James B., 146
Young, Rt. Rev. John Freeman, 171
Yulee, Senator David L., 85, 112, 126, 172

Z

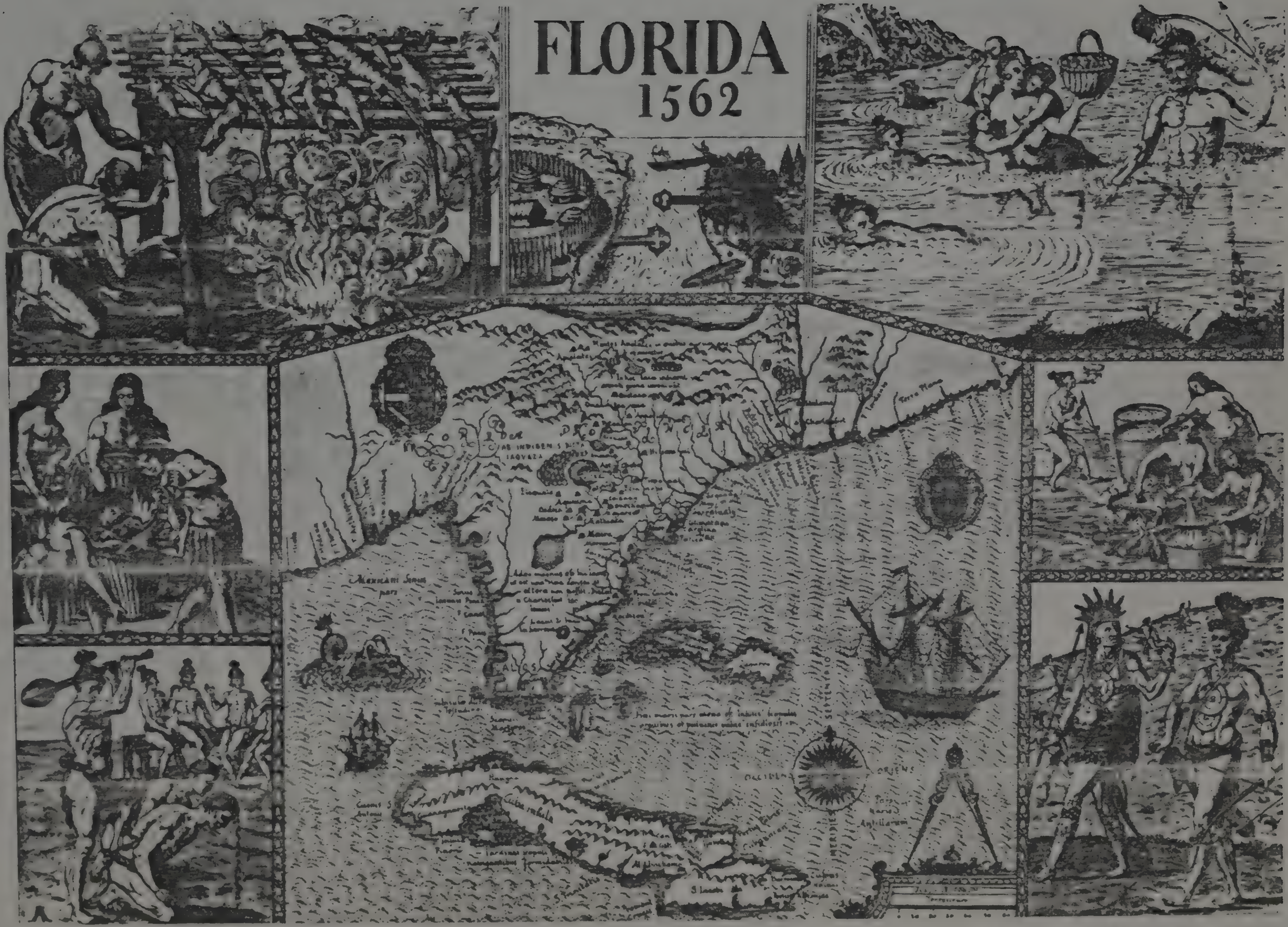
Zespedes, Gov. Manuel de, 42-45, 53, 161

Courtesy: Florida State News

Cape Florida Light house, Key Biscayne, Florida.

PICTORIAL SECTION

This section and a similar section in Volume Two shows the industrial, cultural and civic development of the East Coast of Florida from the sixteenth century to present date.



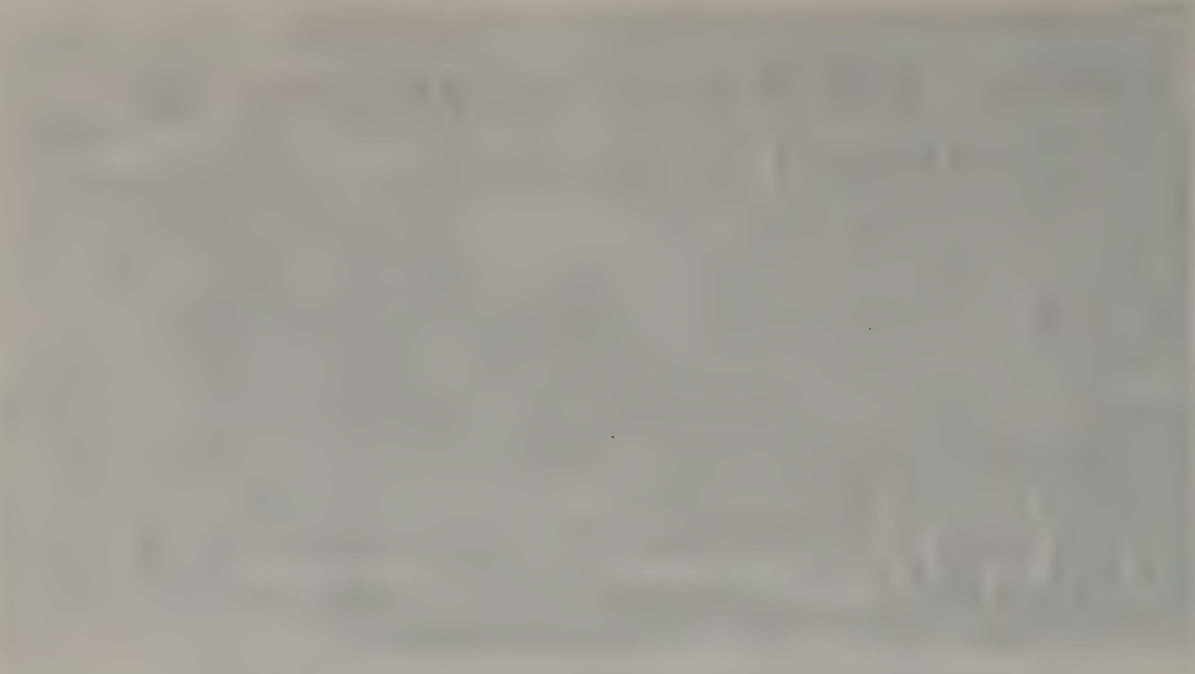
Map and drawings made by French artist, LeMoyne, who was one of the colonists at Fort Caroline in 1564.

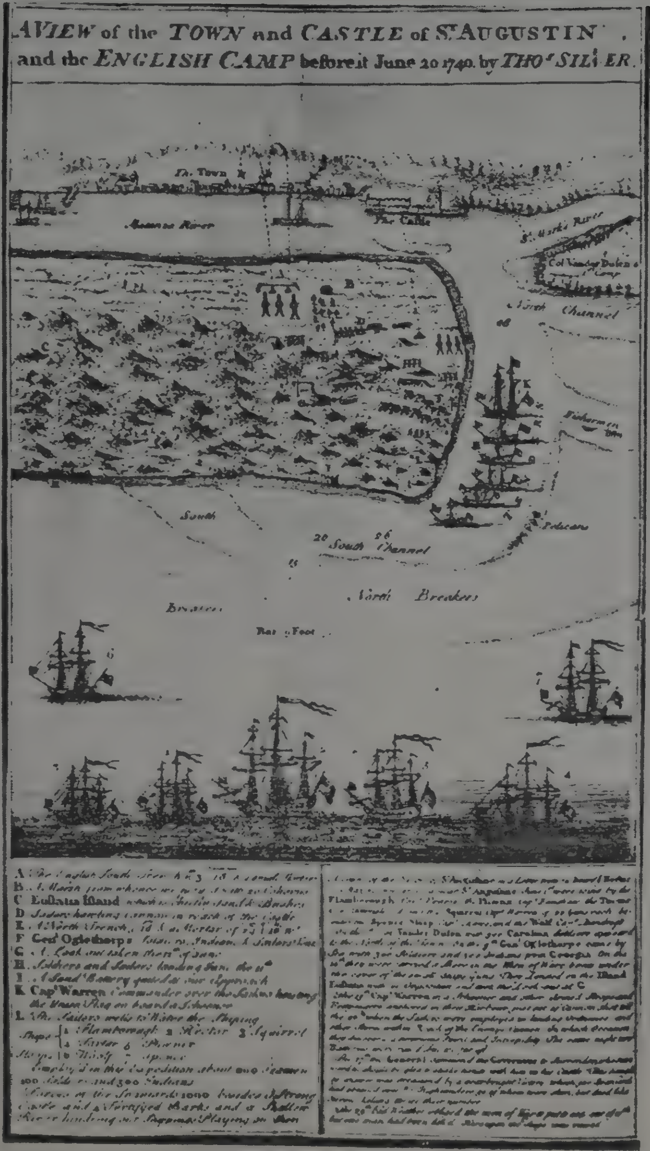
Courtesy: Allen Morris, Editor Florida Handbook

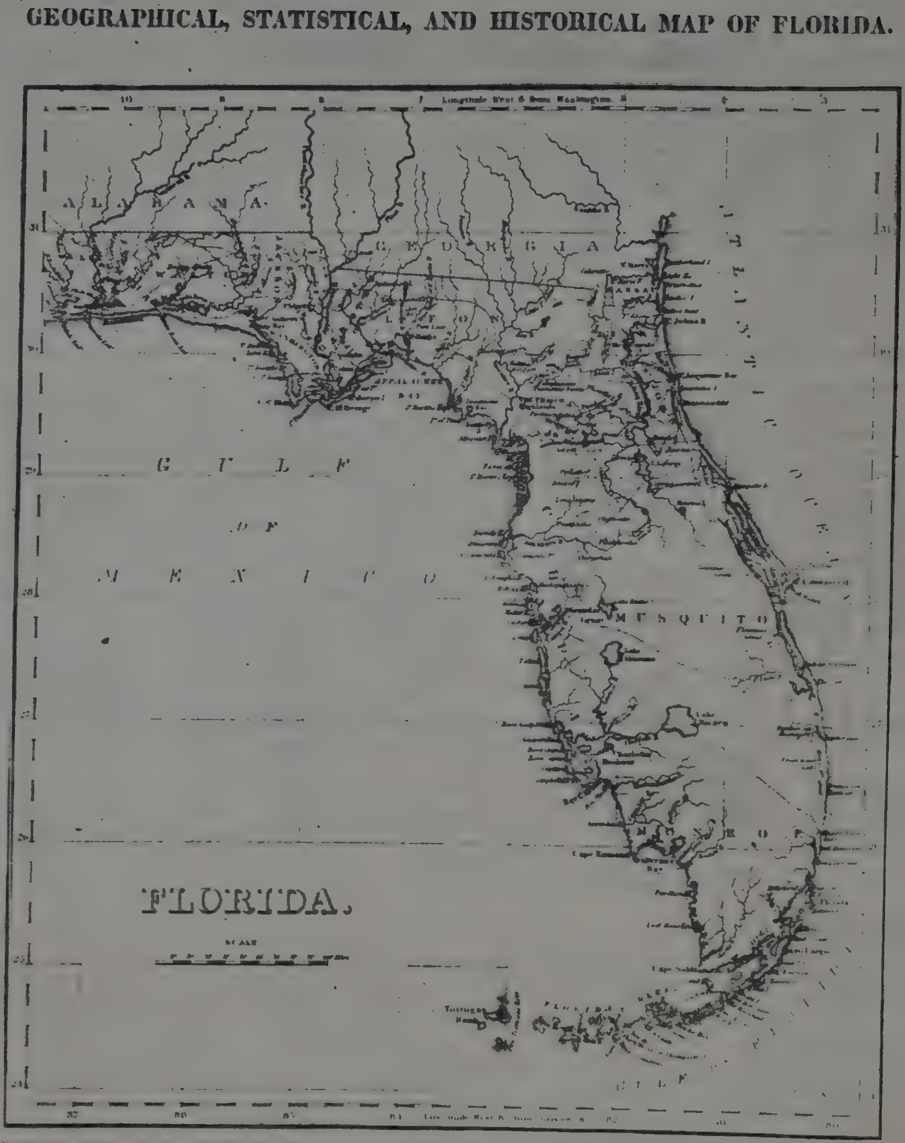
National Troops marching through Second St., Fernandina, Florida

Courtesy: Allen Morris, Editor Florida Handbook

Phalanx, River Pickets defending themselves near Fernandina, Florida



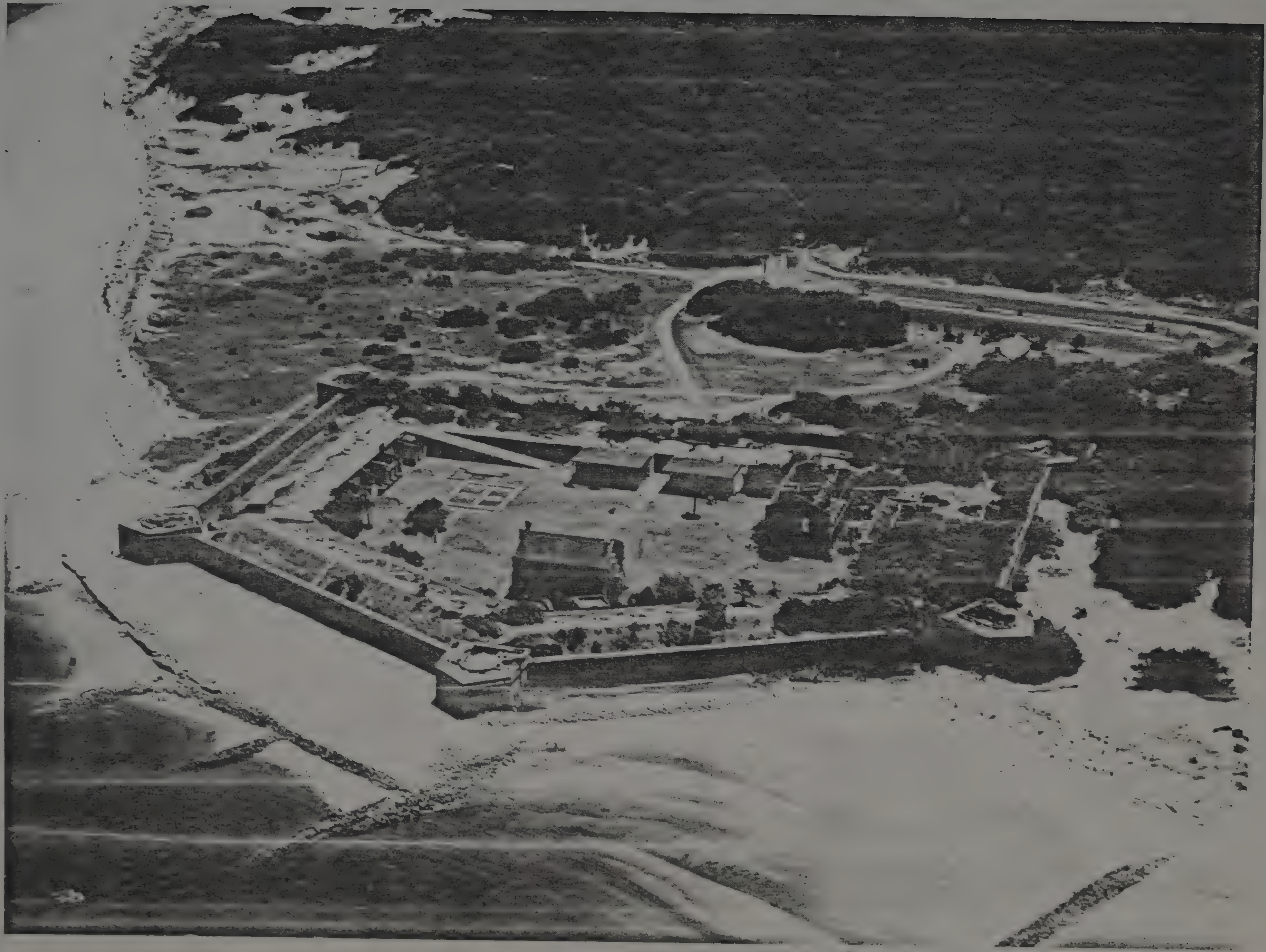



GEOGRAPHICAL, STATISTICAL, AND HISTORICAL MAP OF FLORIDA.
Longitude West from Washington
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
GULF OF MEXICO
MUSQUITO
FLORIDA.
SCALE
Tortugas

Two early maps of Florida, the one on right showing the twelve main counties of state in 1824.

Courtesy: Florida News Bureau

St. Johns River, only stream in the South that flows North

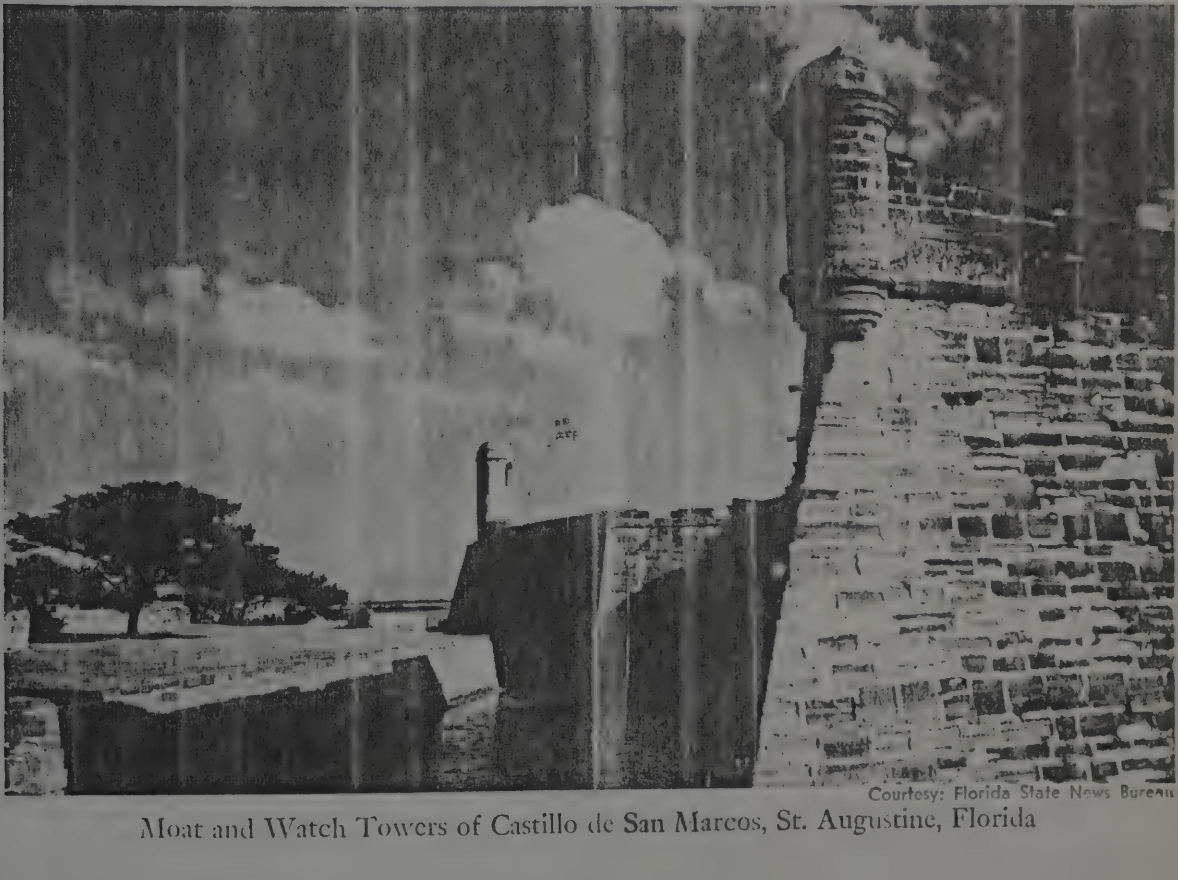


Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Fort Clinch, Fernandina, Florida. Completed in 1861

Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Fort Matanzas, St. Augustine, Florida

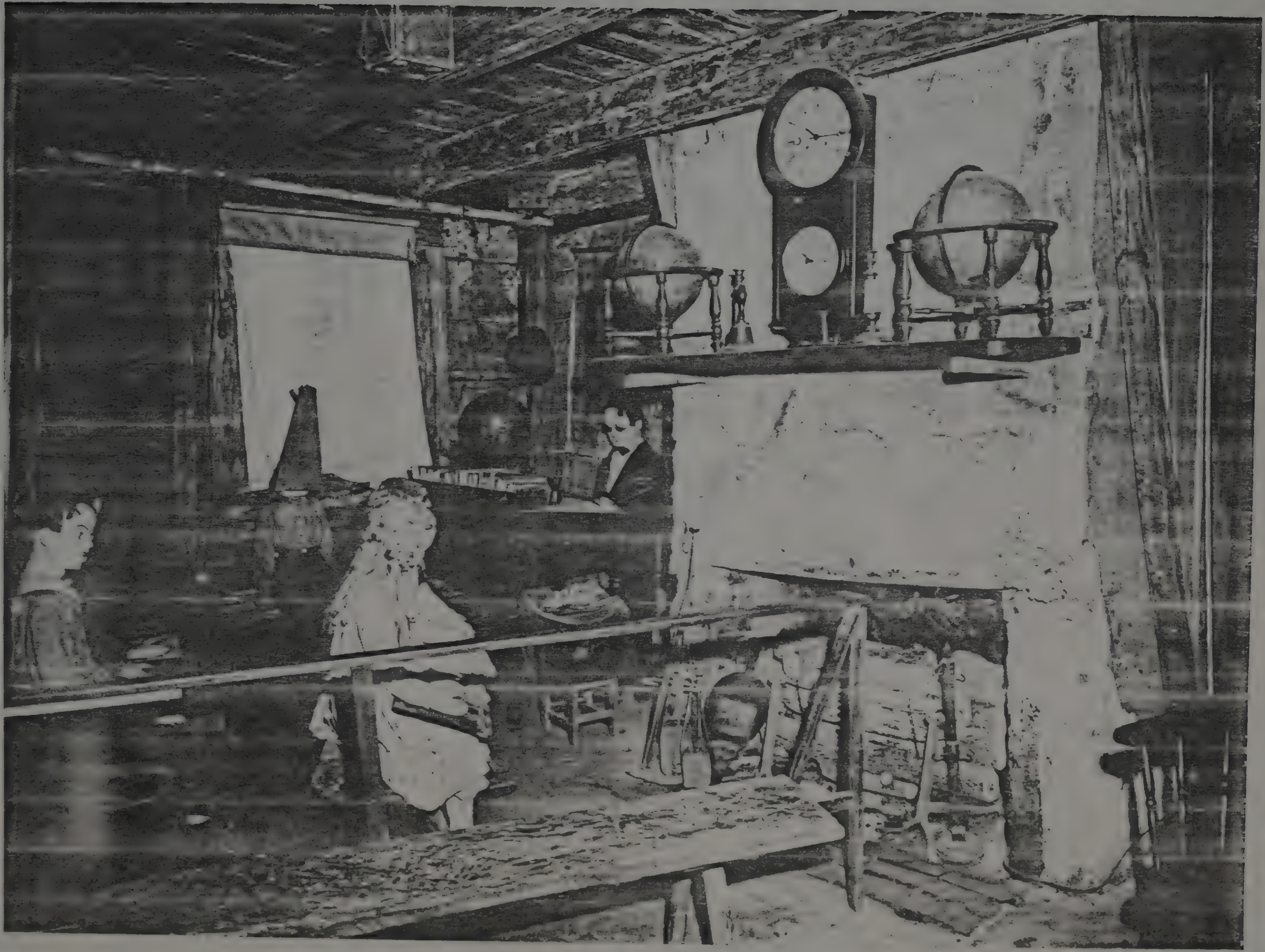


Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Moat and Watch Towers of Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine, Florida

[illegible]

[illegible]



Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau.

Interior of the Oldest Wooden School House in St. Augustine, Florida.

Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Exterior View of the Oldest Wooden Schoolhouse in St. Augustine, Florida.

Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Replica of actual marker erected by Jean Ribaut, French Explorer, to commemorate landing of French Huguenots, 1564, Fort Caroline, Florida

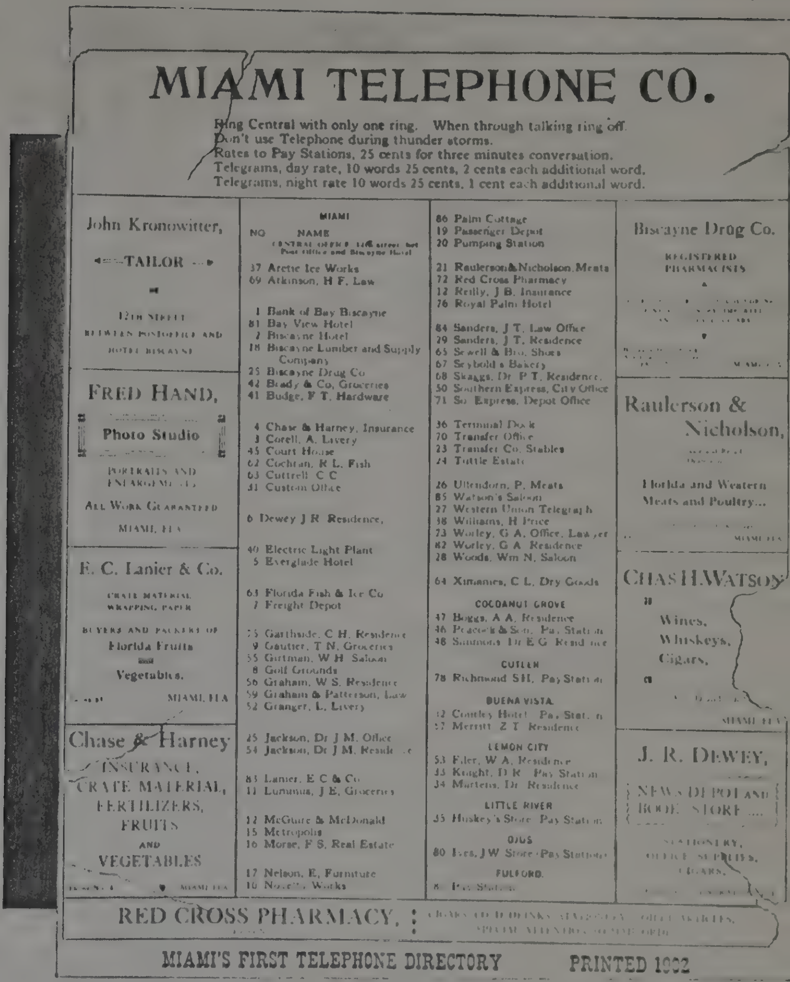
[illegible]

[illegible]

The Original City Gates at St. Augustine, Florida.

Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Cradle of Christianity in New World, Nuestra Senora de la Leche, St. Augustine, Fla.



MIAMI TELEPHONE CO.

Ring Central with only one ring. When through talking ring off.
Don't use Telephone during thunder storms.
Rates to Pay Stations, 25 cents for three minutes conversation.
Telegrams, day rate, 10 words 25 cents, 2 cents each additional word.
Telegrams, night rate 10 words 25 cents, 1 cent each additional word.

John Kronowitter,
TAILOR
12th Street
Between Postoffice and
Hotel Biscayne

Fred Hand,
Photo Studio
Portraits and
Enlargements
All Work Guaranteed
Miami, Fla

E. C. Lanier & Co.
Crate Material
Wrapping Paper
Buyers and Packers of
Florida Fruits
and
Vegetables.
Miami, Fla

Chase & Harney
Insurance,
Crate Material,
Fertilizers,
Fruits
and
Vegetables
Miami, Fla

MIAMI

NO NAME

CENTRAL OFFICE 12th street bet Post Office and Biscayne Hotel

37 Arctic Ice Works
69 Atkinson, H F, Law

1 Bank of Bay Biscayne
81 Bay View Hotel
2 Biscayne Hotel
18 Biscayne Lumber and Supply Company
25 Biscayne Drug Co
42 Brady & Co, Groceries
41 Budge, F T, Hardware

4 Chase & Harney, Insurance
3 Corell, A, Livery
45 Court House
62 Cochran, R L, Fish
63 Cuttrell C C
31 Custom Office

6 Dewey J R Residence,

40 Electric Light Plant
5 Everglade Hotel

63 Florida Fish & Ice Co
7 Freight Depot

75 Garthside, C H, Residence
9 Gautier, T N, Groceries
55 Girtman, W H Saloon
8 Golf Grounds
56 Graham, W S, Residence
59 Graham & Patterson, Law
52 Granger, L, Livery

45 Jackson, Dr J M, Office
54 Jackson, Dr J M, Residence

83 Lanier, E C & Co
11 Lummus, J E, Groceries

12 McGuire & McDonald
15 Metropolis
16 Morse, F S, Real Estate

17 Nelson, E, Furniture
10 Novelty Works

86 Palm Cottage
19 Passenger Depot
20 Pumping Station

21 Raulerson & Nicholson, Meats
72 Red Cross Pharmacy
12 Reilly, J B, Insurance
76 Royal Palm Hotel

84 Sanders, J T, Law Office
29 Sanders, J T, Residence
65 Sewell & Bro, Shoes
67 Seybold's Bakery
68 Skaggs, Dr P T, Residence,
50 Southern Express, City Office
71 So Express, Depot Office

36 Terminal Dock
70 Transfer Office
23 Transfer Co, Stables
24 Tuttle Estate

26 Ullendorn, P, Meats
85 Watson's Saloon
27 Western Union Telegraph
38 Williams, H Price
73 Worley, G A, Office, Lawyer
82 Worley, G A Residence
28 Woods, Wm N, Saloon

64 Ximanies, C L, Dry Goods

COCOANUT GROVE

47 Boggs, A A, Residence
46 Peacock & Son, Pay Station
48 Simmons Dr E G Residence

CUTLER

78 Richmond S H, Pay Station

BUENA VISTA

32 Conkley Hotel Pay Station
57 Merritt Z T Residence

LEMON CITY

53 Filer, W A, Residence
33 Knight, D R Pay Station
34 Martens, Dr Residence

LITTLE RIVER

35 Huskey's Store Pay Station

OJUS

80 Ives, J W Store Pay Station

FULFORD.

8 Pay Station

Biscayne Drug Co.
Registered
Pharmacists
Miami

Raulerson & Nicholson,
Florida and Western
Meats and Poultry...
Miami, Fla

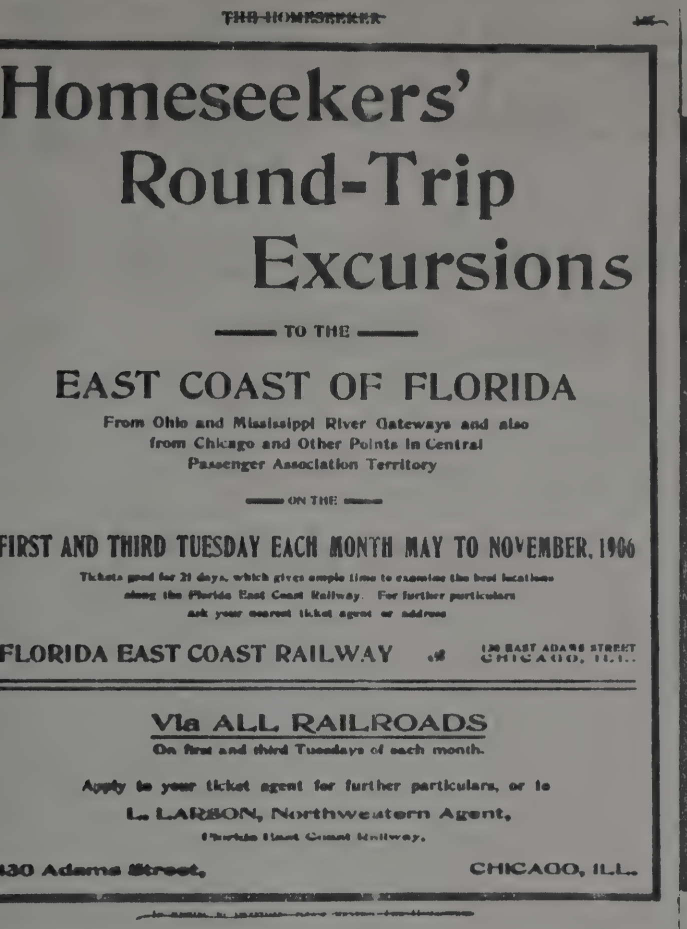
Chas H. Watson
Wines,
Whiskeys,
Cigars,
Miami, Fla

J. R. Dewey,
News Depot and
Book Store ...
Stationery,
Office Supplies,
Cigars.

RED CROSS PHARMACY,

MIAMI'S FIRST TELEPHONE DIRECTORY PRINTED 1902

ABOVE: The telephone directory in Miami now lists over a half million subscribers. BELOW: Peacock Inn, Cocoanut Grove, Florida. This was the first hotel in Dade County built in 1880 by Charles Peacock and son, Alfred, and it was first known as the Bay View House.



THE HOMESEEKER

Homeseekers'
Round-Trip
Excursions

TO THE

EAST COAST OF FLORIDA

From Ohio and Mississippi River Gateways and also
from Chicago and Other Points in Central
Passenger Association Territory

ON THE

FIRST AND THIRD TUESDAY EACH MONTH MAY TO NOVEMBER, 1906

Tickets good for 21 days, which gives ample time to examine the best locations
along the Florida East Coast Railway. For further particulars
ask your nearest ticket agent or address

FLORIDA EAST COAST RAILWAY 130 EAST ADAMS STREET
CHICAGO, ILL.

Via ALL RAILROADS

On first and third Tuesdays of each month.

Apply to your ticket agent for further particulars, or to

L. LARSON, Northwestern Agent,
Florida East Coast Railway.

430 Adams Street, CHICAGO, ILL.

Above: Reproduction of an early Real Estate advertisement shown through the courtesy of Allen Morris, Editor of the Florida Handbook. Below: Historic ruins of old Spanish Mission near New Smyrna, Florida.

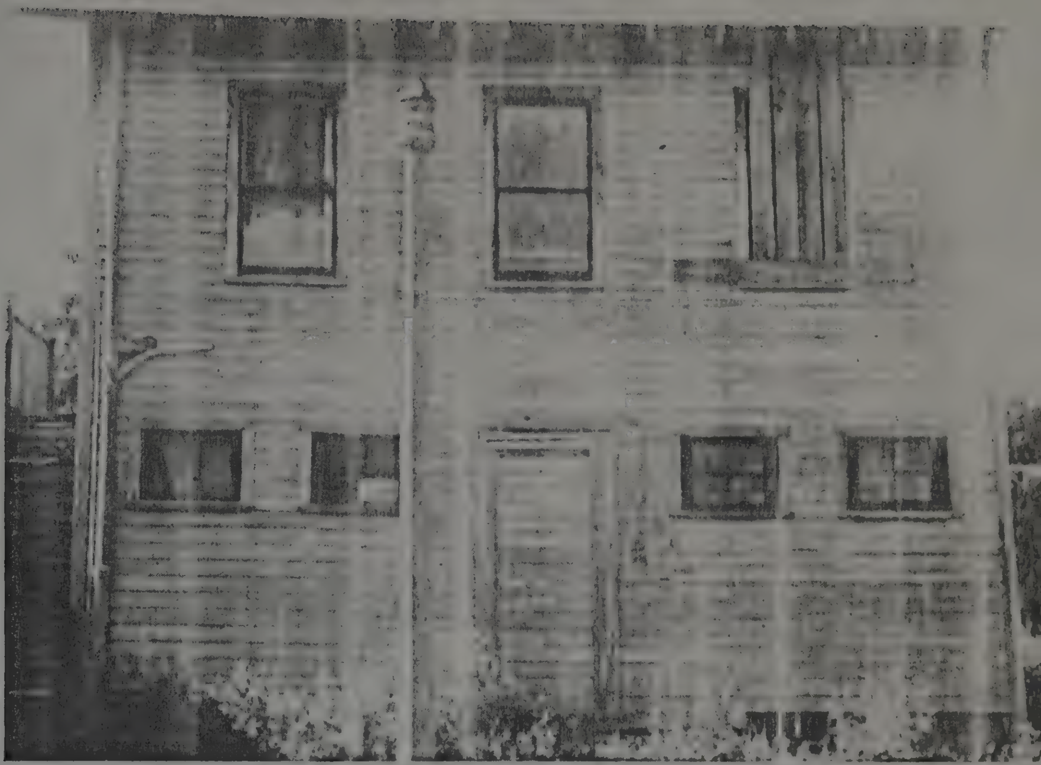
Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

ABOVE: The old Spanish Treasury, originally erected in the early part of the sixteenth century at St. Augustine, Florida. BELOW: Blessing of the Shrimp Fleet at St. Augustine.

Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Courtesy: Florida State University Library

Above: The oldest house in St. Augustine. Below: One of the world's last round-ups of the many-masted sailing ships held at Miami during the land boom of the 1920's. This photograph was taken in January 1926.



Courtesy: Palm Beach Historical Society

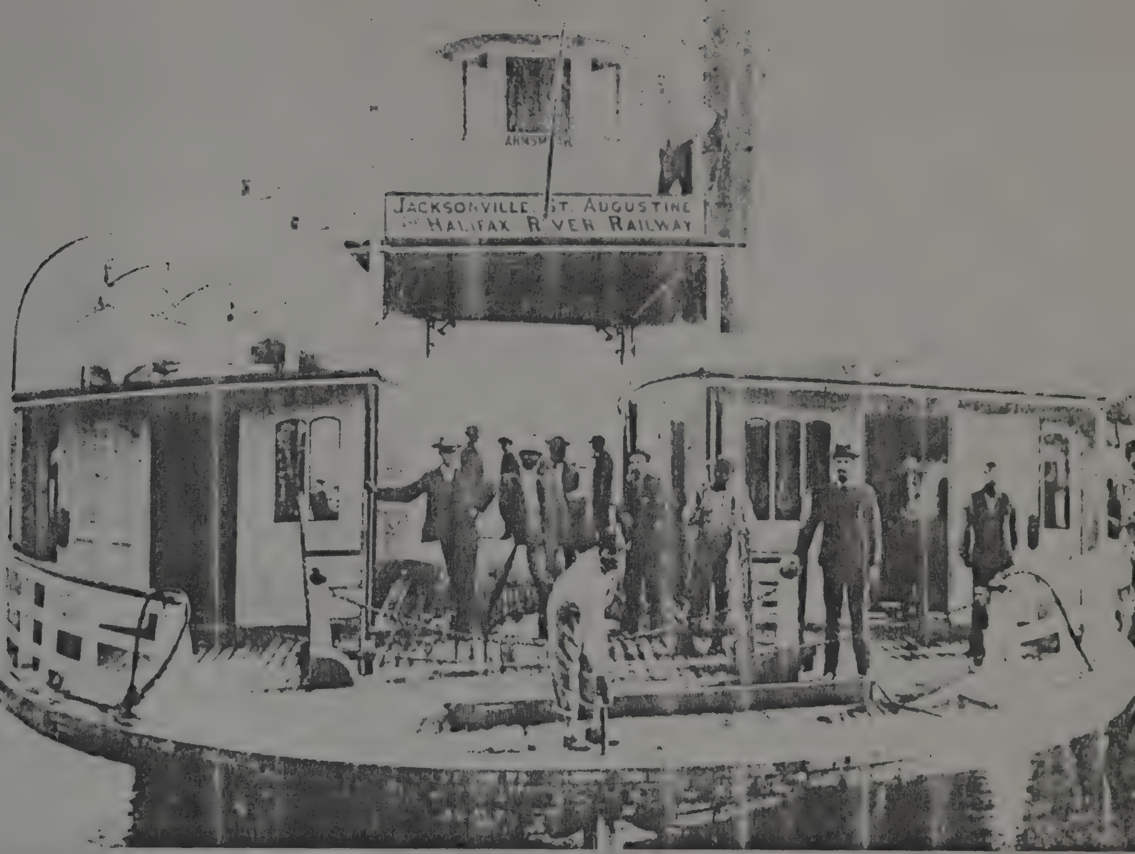
ABOVE: First Town Hall and Jail at West Palm Beach. This building also used for the city's first election on November 6, 1894. BELOW: Homeseekers at West Palm Beach in 1902.

Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Courtesy: Palm Beach Historical Society

ABOVE: Benjamin Lanehart and his first house, 1876. BELOW: Traffic jam on MacArthur Causeway (then called the County Causeway) linking Miami and Miami Beach. This picture taken in April 1924.

Courtesy: Florida State University

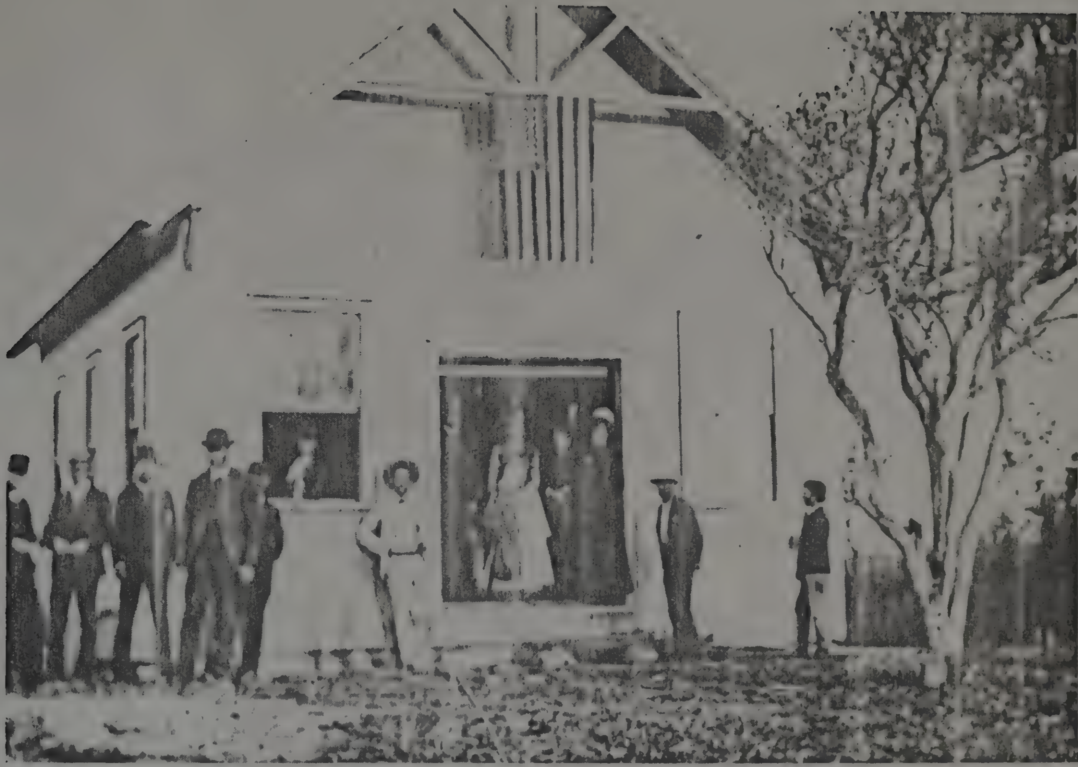


ABOVE: This ferry was used to cross the St. John's River at Jacksonville until the first railroad bridge was built in 1890. BELOW: Confederate money of 1861.

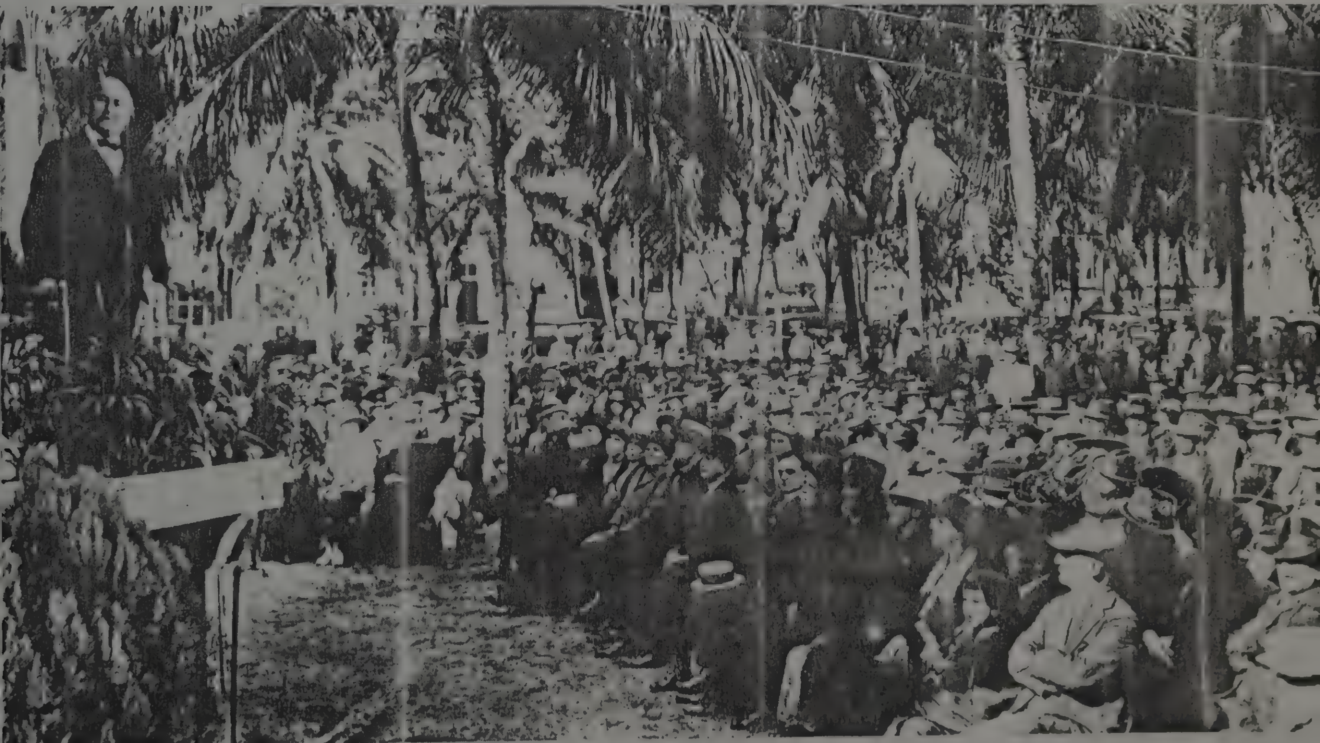
Six Months after the Ratification of a Treaty of peace between the Confederate States and the United States
RECEIVABLE IN PAYMENT OF ALL DUES EXCEPT EXPORT DUES
THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA
100
D
Fundable in Confederate States Stock bearing Eight per Cent Interest
Will pay One Hundred Dollars to bearer
RICHMOND, VA. September 2nd 1861.
REGISTER
TREAS

Courtesy: Palm Beach County Historical Society

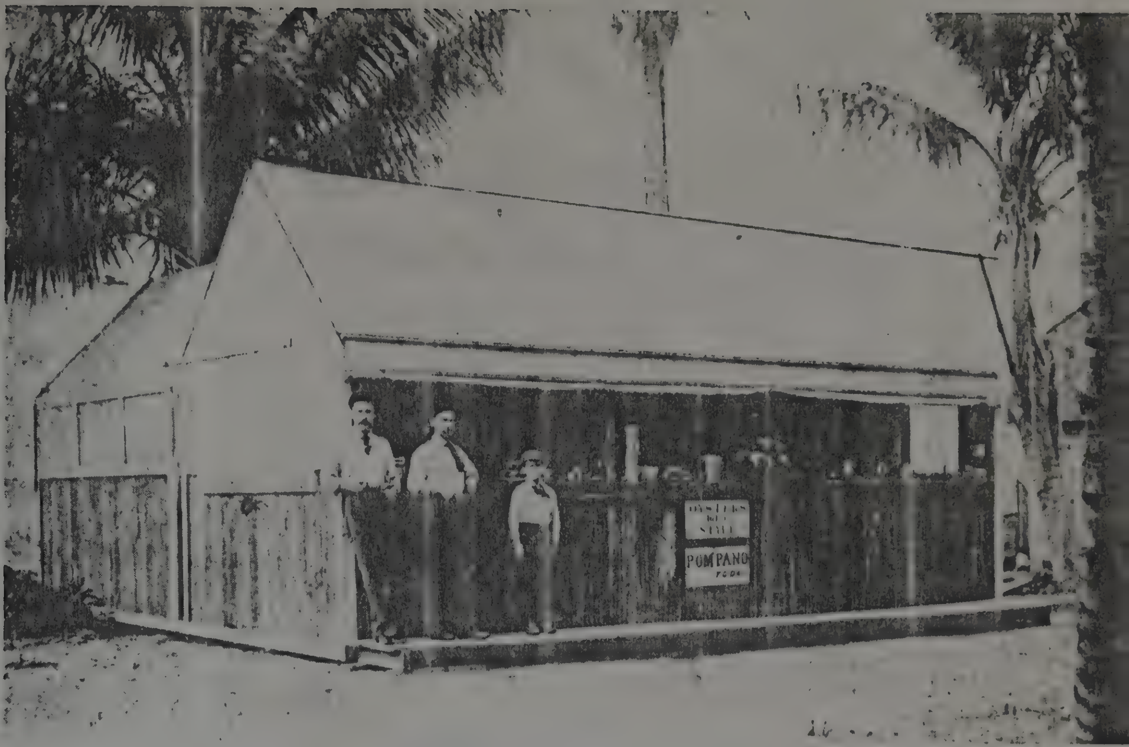
Above: Vanderbilt Special Train and distinguished members of the party, March 14, 1896. This was the first private train into Palm Beach. Below: The Breakers Hotel, Palm Beach, Florida, in 1905.



ABOVE: Oldest school house in Palm Beach County, 1886. Miss Hattie Gale, in center of doorway wearing white dress, was the first teacher. BELOW: Bible class conducted by William Jennings Bryan in Miami's Royal Palm Park in 1921.

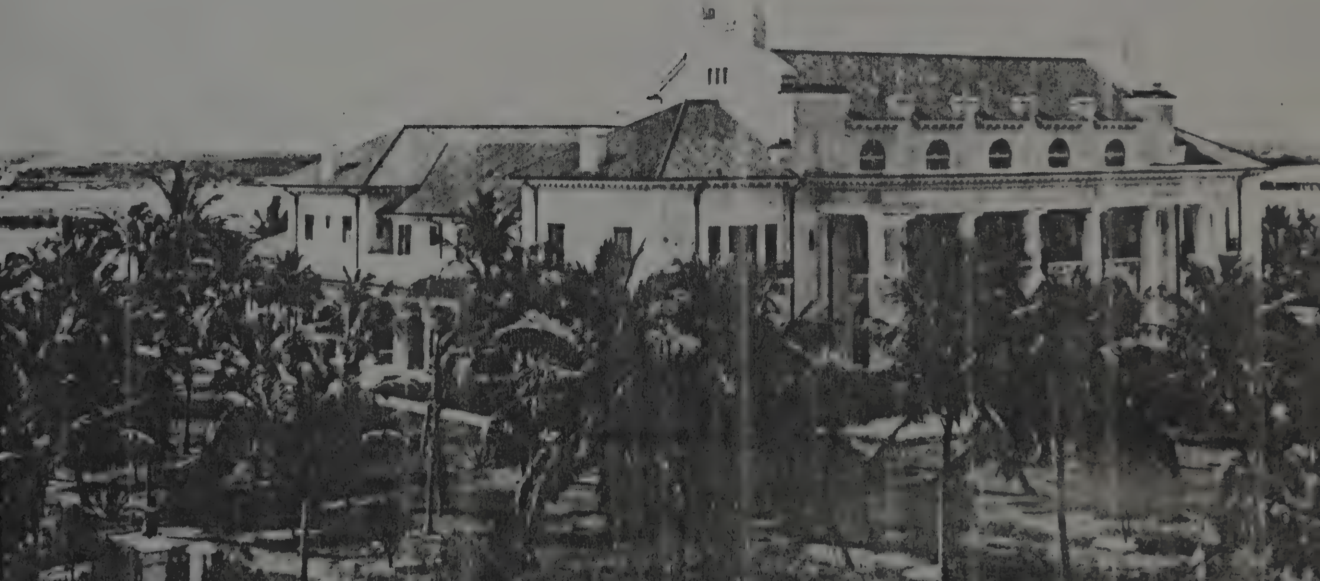


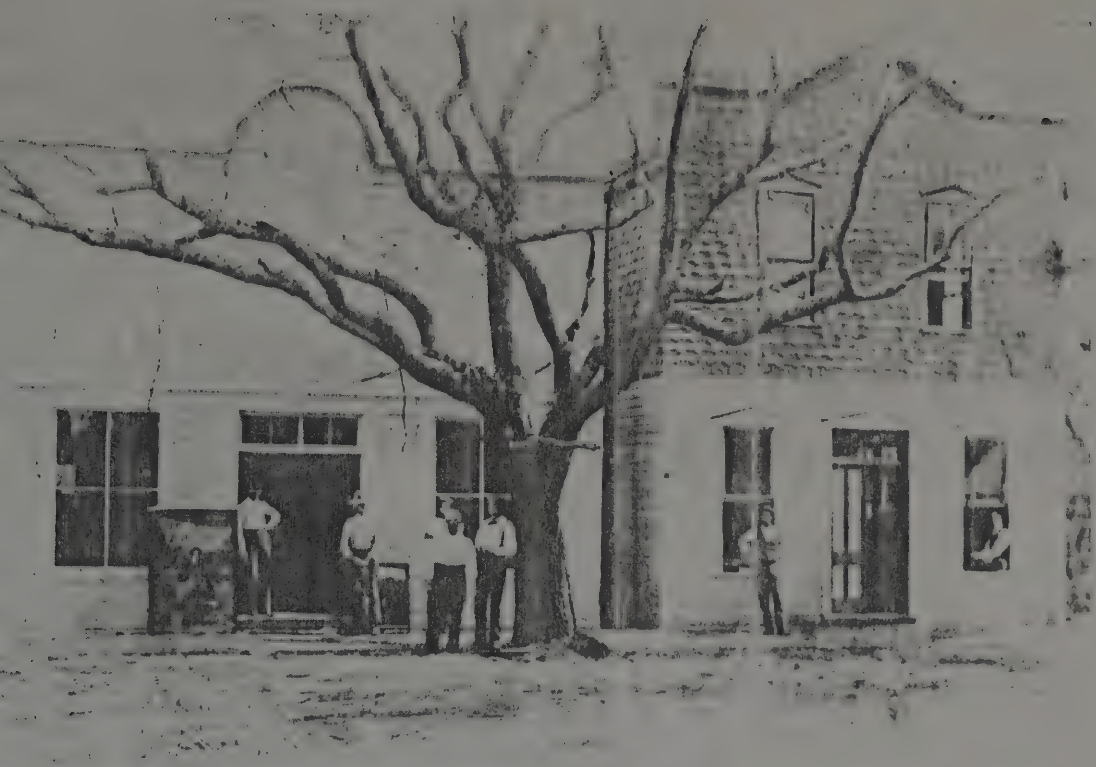
Above: St. James Hotel at Jacksonville where the first electric lights were said to have been installed in Florida in 1883. Below: First prize Henry M. Flagler Trophy won by the Schlappi Vegetable Display at Delray Beach, 1913-1915.



Courtesy: Publicity Department Miami

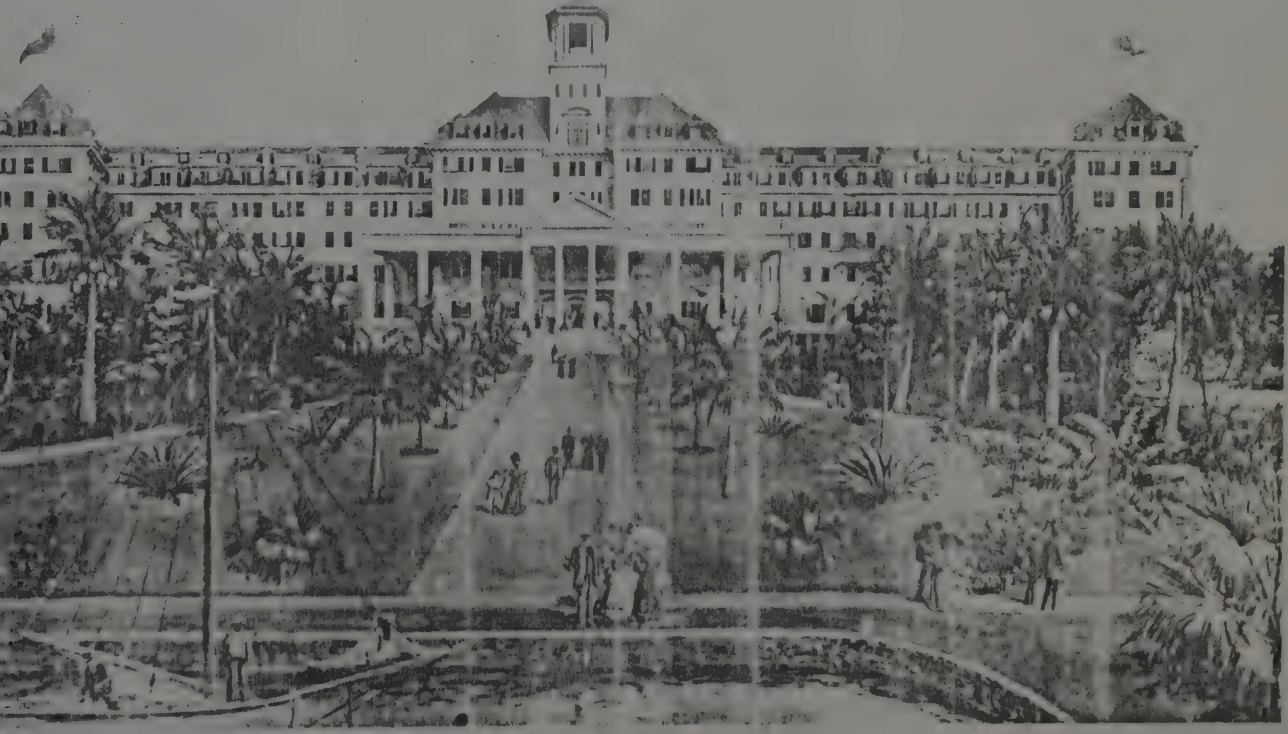
ABOVE: One of the early landmarks at Palm Beach was the Burkhardt Store. This picture taken in 1895. BELOW: "Whitehall," the home of Henry M. Flagler at Palm Beach in 1902.





Courtesy: Publicity Department Miami

ABOVE: E. L. Grady and Co.'s grocery store (left) and Miami's first bank, the Bank of Biscayne (right), were located at avenue D and 14th street (now Miami avenue and S.E. Second St.) Both buildings were destroyed by fire in 1896. BELOW: The Royal Poinciana Hotel at Palm Beach.



Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

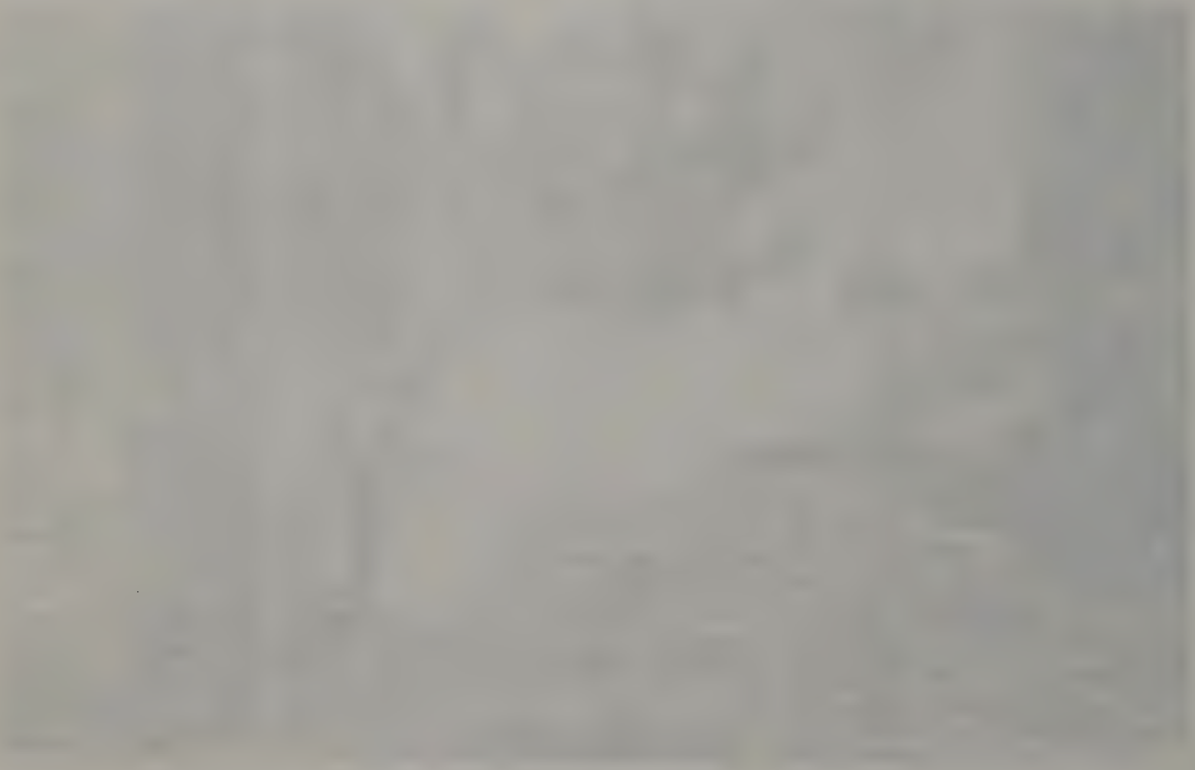
Aviles Street, St. Augustine, Florida

Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Ruins of Old Fort at New Smyrna Beach, Florida

The famous Bahia Honda Bridge on the Florida Keys. Under this bridge the waters of the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean meet.

[illegible]



[illegible]

Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Seminole Indian Woman, Dania, Florida

Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Initial Run of the Orange Blossom Special into Fort Lauderdale in the late 1920's

Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Seminole Indian Family at Dania, Florida

[illegible]

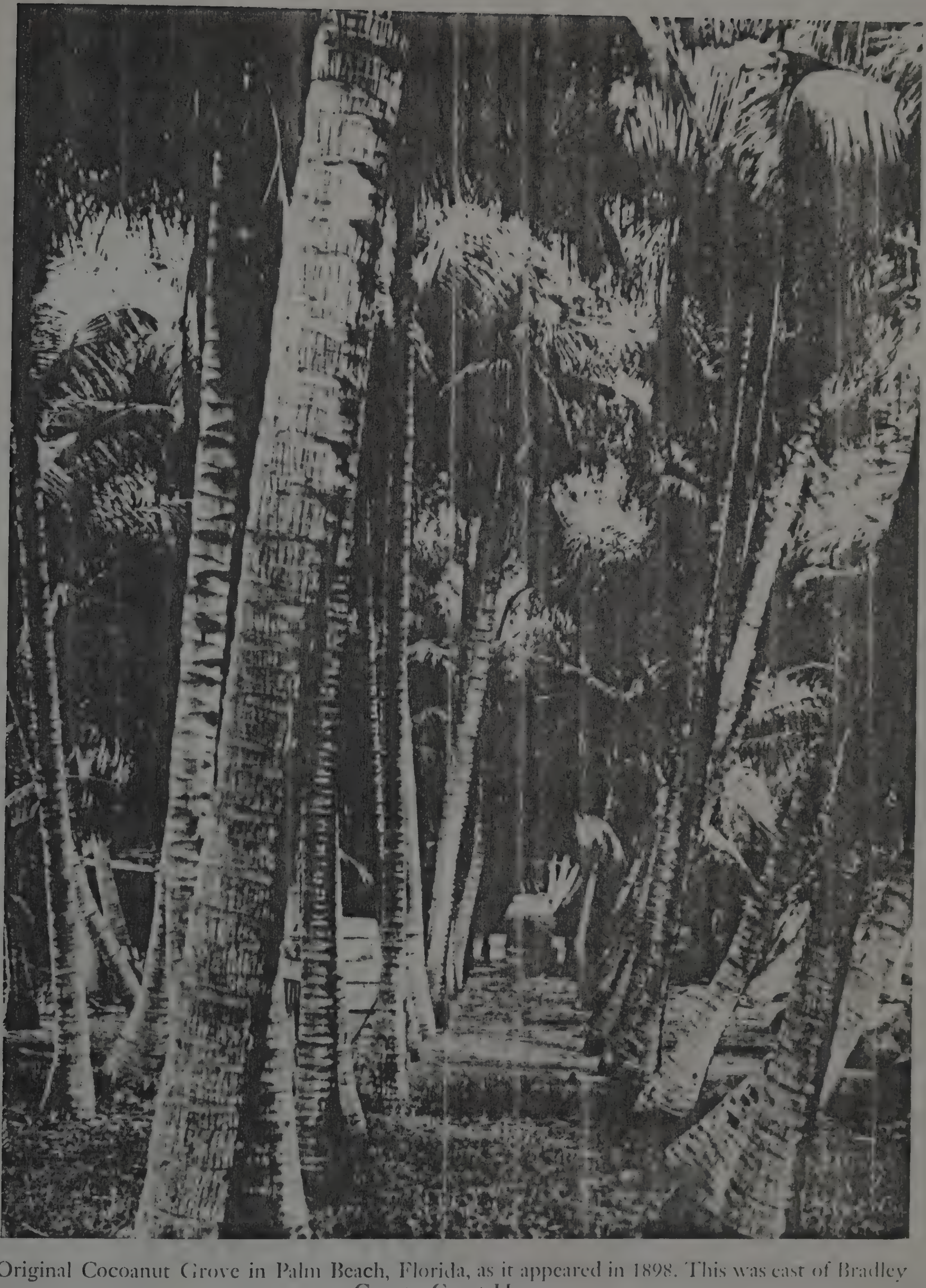
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

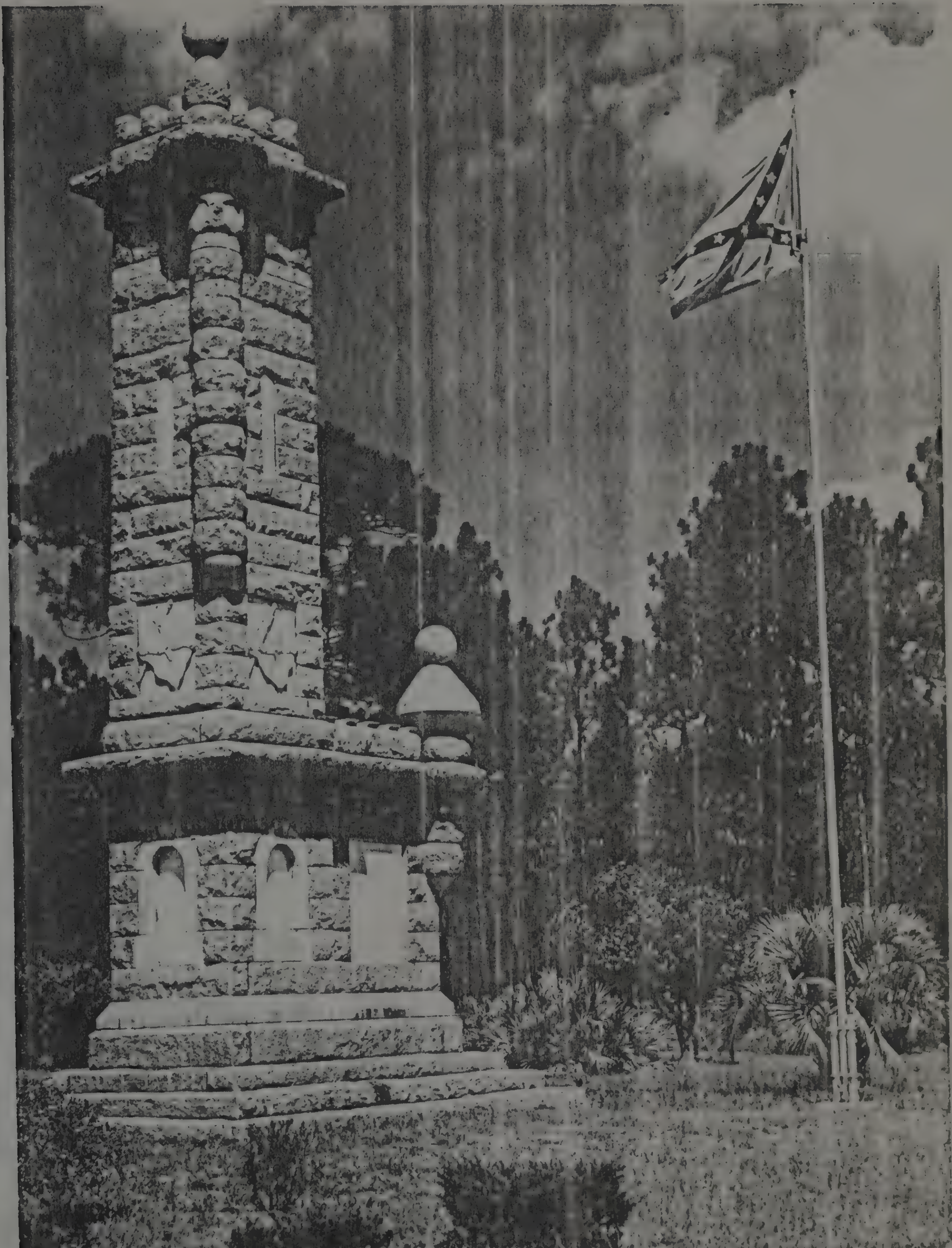
Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Ancient Spanish Mission Sugar Mill, Port Orange, Florida



Original Cocoanut Grove in Palm Beach, Florida, as it appeared in 1898. This was east of Bradley County Court House.

[illegible]



Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Monument, Olustee Battlefield, Olustee, Florida

Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Lighthouse, Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas, Fla.

Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Unloading giant sea turtles at Key West, Fla.

Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

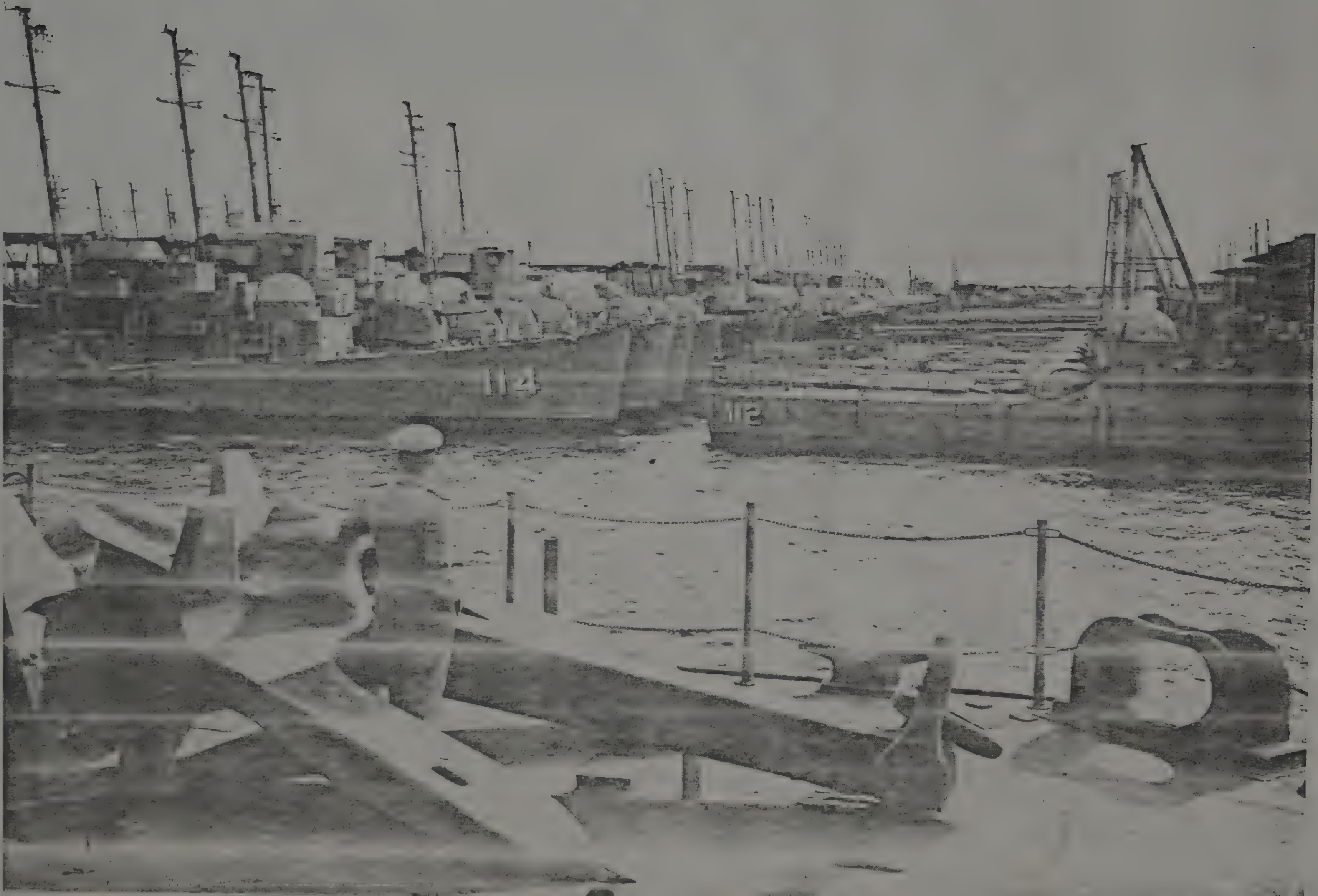
Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas, Florida Keys

Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Ponce de Leon Lighthouse, Volusia County

Courtesy: Chamber of Commerce, Key West

Famous Old Lighthouse, Key West, maintained by Coast Guard

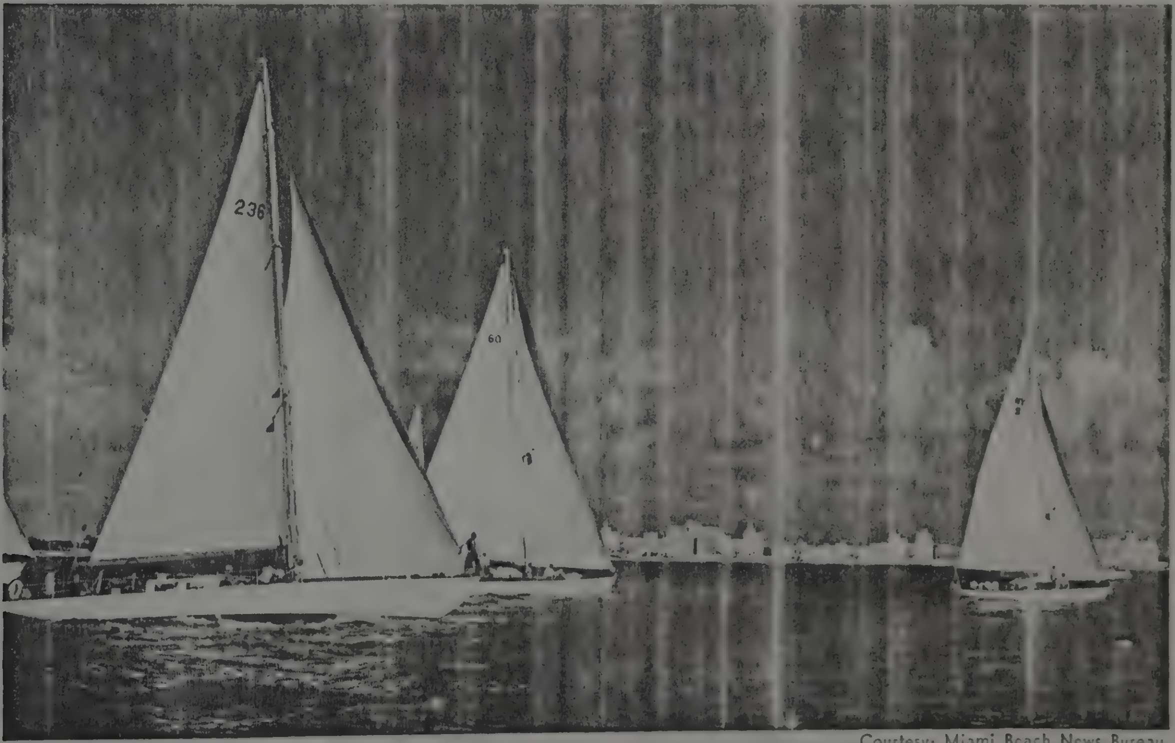


Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Mothball Fleet, Green Cove Springs, Florida

Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

Overseas Highway between Miami and Key West



Courtesy: Miami Beach News Bureau

Sailing Races at Miami Beach

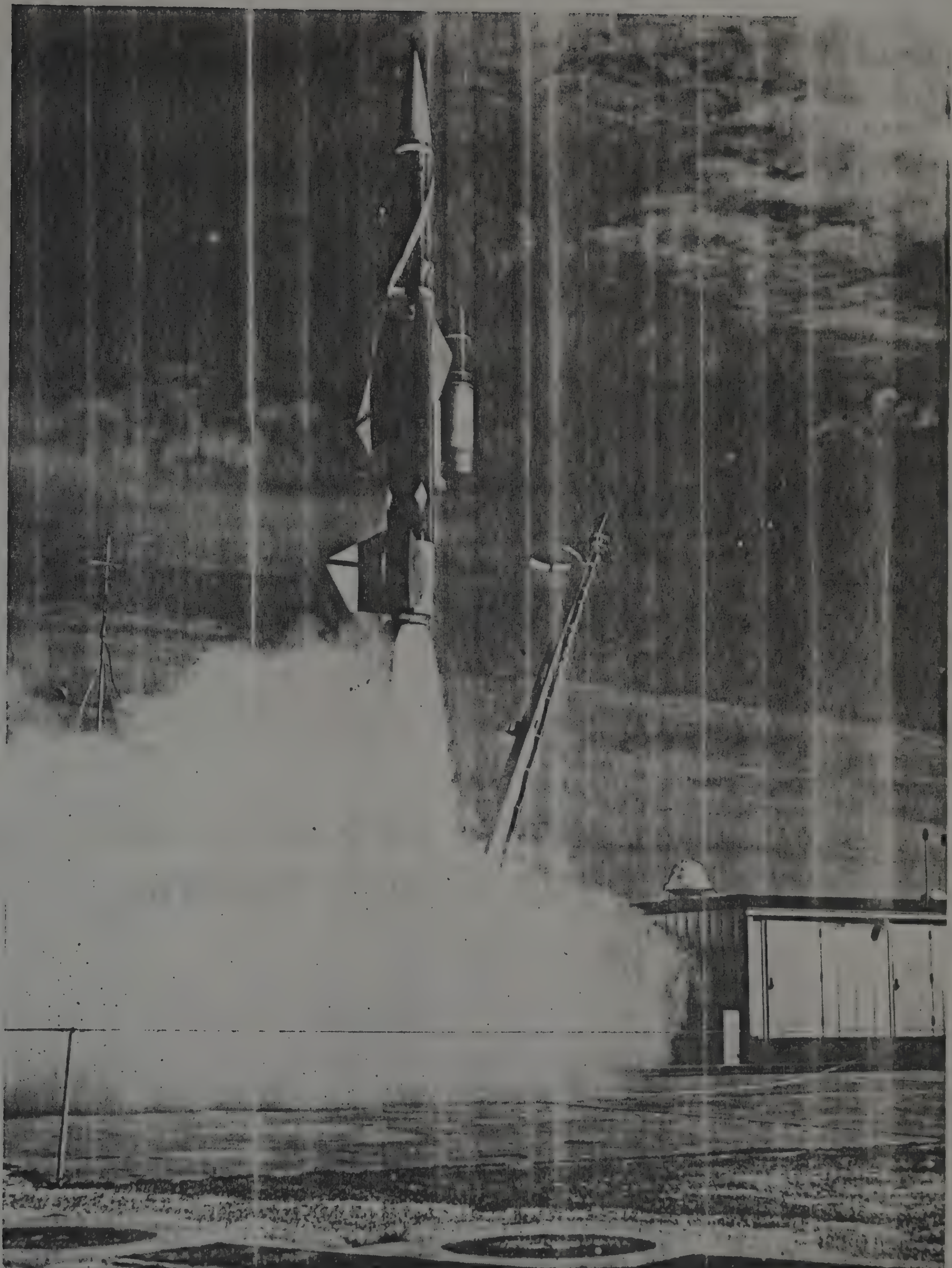


Photo by: Westberg

Launching of Bomarc Missile #631-3, Patrick Air Force Base, Florida

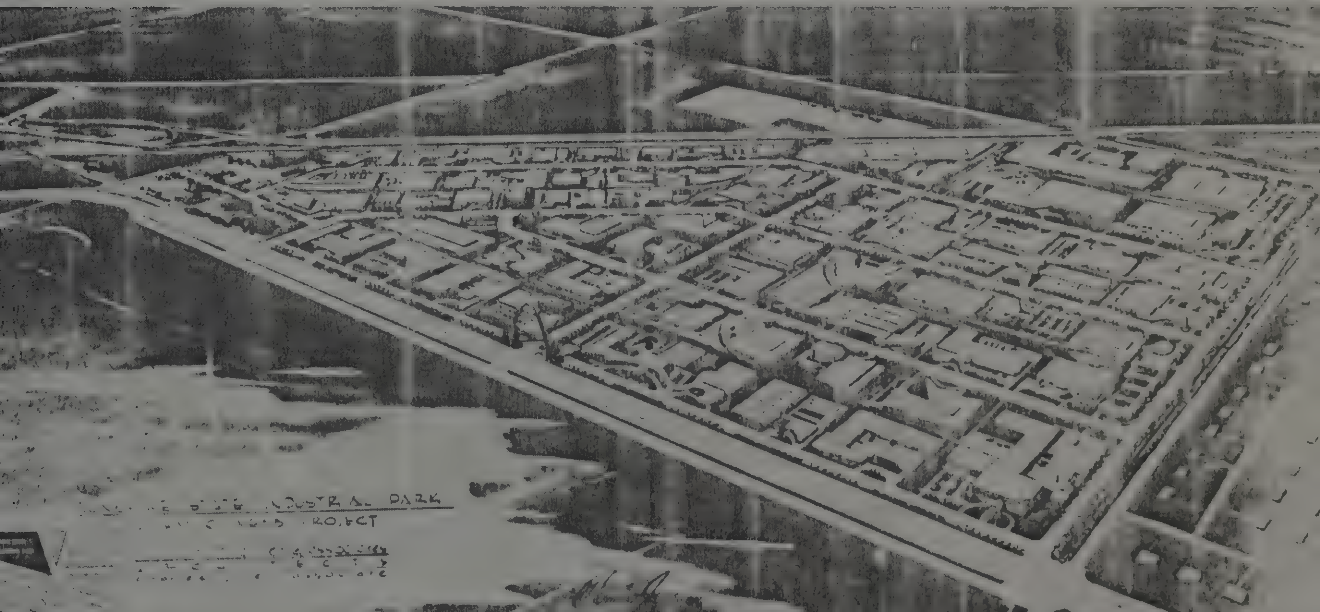
Commander Alan B. Shepard, Jr., U.S. Navy, in pressure suit worn during his historic suborbital space flight from Cape Canaveral.

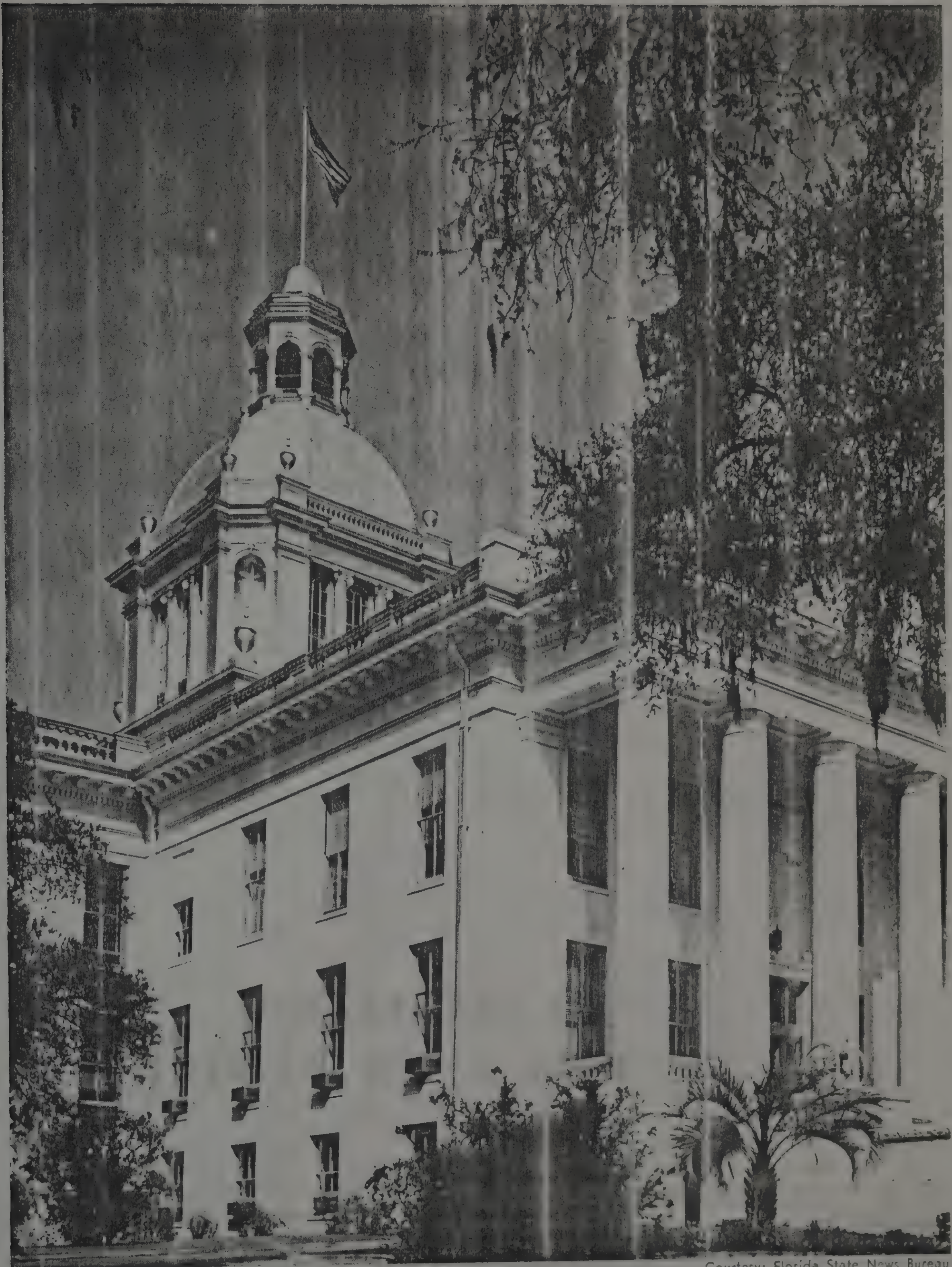
Official Photograph U.S. Navy

Above: Aerial view of part of the Student Training area in Jacksonville Naval Air Station. Below: Aerial view from St. John's River of the industrial area of The Jacksonville Naval Air Station.

Official Photograph U.S. Navy

ABOVE: Supersonic jets line the runway at Jacksonville Naval Air Station. BELOW: The Sunshine State Industrial Park was developed by William C. Webb near Dade County entrance to Florida's Turnpike. It is Florida's first industrial park.





Courtesy: Florida State News Bureau

State Capitol, Tallahassee, Florida

[illegible]